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LAZARUS SATURDAY IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION:
AN EXAMPLE OF STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS
OF THE BYZANTINE TRIODION

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of
Drew University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree,
Doctor of Philosophy

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Madison, New Jersey

October 1997

UMI Number: 9820070

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PREFACE

It is a common cliché that higher education consists of learning more and more about less and less. As with all clichés, there is a core of truth here, and one of the purposes of this preface will be to explain some of the decisions that had to be made in discerning just what smaller and smaller topic would be the object of more and more effort. Just as important, however, is the way in which this study relates to the larger context of projects which can emerge from it, as part of a program of research for a long time to come.

I was born into a vibrant Byzantine Catholic parish, and the faith life of that community was inextricably interwoven with my own growth and development. The opportunity to study theology at the post-graduate level provoked self-conscious reflection on those formative influences. Fifteen years of catechetical ministry within the Byzantine Catholic Church fostered an acute awareness of the complex dynamics of passing on a tradition in the multi-cultural realities of contemporary North America. The realization that one must thoroughly know a tradition before one could presume to share it has only become clearer with the passing of each year. The opportunity to teach Byzantine Theology at the undergraduate level provided a strong stimulus to recognize how deep were my roots in the Byzantine liturgical traditions. At the same time, it became clear how much of that tradition remained to be experienced and explored.

The discovery of the corpus of Byzantine liturgical hymnography, previously experienced only in a very limited way on Feast Days and during Holy Week, opened a pathway for immersion into the Byzantine tradition which was gradually pursued. Slowly my awareness of the importance of these hymns grew, something not easily accomplished given the paucity of translations twenty years ago. Thus the desire to develop a working knowledge of early Byzantine Greek and Old (Church) Slavonic led to a persistent effort to reach these linguistic goals.

Participation in a 1986 Seminar on Medieval Hagiography, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and led by Daniel J. Sheerin and Ruth Steiner, provided an opportunity to explore the academic ramifications of this personal interest. I entered the Seminar with a broad awareness of the formative factors of the corpus of Byzantine hymnography and a knowledge of some of the more recent studies in cognate disciplines which require a rethinking of many of the details of that process of formation. A wide range of source materials were collected that Summer - the tedious task of working through all of them made it clear just how deep and wide were the problematic areas in the study of Byzantine hymnography. Clearly it would be necessary to focus the object of study if any progress were to be made.

The English translation of significant parts of the Lenten Triodion published by Kallistos Ware and Mother Mary provided a wealth of information and a meaningful personal participation in aspects of the Lenten traditions of the Byzantine Churches. The sweeping observation of Fr. Alexander Schmemmann resonated with my own personal experience.

TRIODION - the unknown and neglected book! If only we knew that it is there we can recover, make ours once more, the spirit not only of Lent alone, but of Orthodoxy itself - of its "Paschal" vision of life, death, and eternity.¹

When the opportunity came to pursue a Ph.D. in the Program of Liturgical Studies at Drew University, it soon became clear that an academic focus for my immersion into the tradition of the Orthodox Church should be the Lenten Triodion. How this dissertation focused on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, as well as on specific elements within the commemorations of these two days, will be explained in chapter 1.

As work on this dissertation comes to a close, my interest in the "inexhaustible treasury of life"² which it has helped me to explore is even greater than it was at the beginning of this research. Throughout this dissertation indications will be given to some of the many academic projects which I, and perhaps others, can profitably explore in attempting to better understand and share with others the riches of Byzantine liturgical hymnography.

My work at Drew lead to the realization that the study of my own tradition often encountered issues and dynamics which were shared by fellow students and professors who worked in areas far removed from my own specialization. An ecumenical context for liturgical studies has proven to be academically fruitful, but also spiritually enriching. It is another aspect of this dissertation which I plan to continue developing in the future.

¹ Alexander Schmemmann, *Great Lent* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), 44; hereafter cited as Schmemmann, *Great Lent*.

² The image is taken from the Akathistos Hymn, where it is applied to Mary: Χαίρε, Θεσαυρὲ τῆς ζωῆς ἀδαπάνητε.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Arranz, "Constantinopolitan Hours" = Miguel Arranz, "La liturgie des heures selon l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," 1-19.
- AB* = *Analecta Bollandiana*.
- ABD* = David Noel Freedman ed., *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).
- ANF* = *Ante-Nicene Fathers*
- AT* = *Athens Triodion* = Τριώδιον Κατανύκτικον, (Athens: Apostoliki Diakonia, 1960).
- Baldovin, "Lenten Lectionary," = John Baldovin, "A Sunday Lenten Lectionary at Jerusalem," in Neil Alexander, ed., *Time and Community, Essays in Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington: NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy, 1990).
- Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy* = John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* = OCA 228 (Rome: PIOS, 1987).
- BBGG* = *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*
- Bertonière, *Easter Vigil* = Gabriel Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* = OCA 193 (Rome: PIOS, 1972).
- Bradshaw, *Search* = Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods*

- for the *Study of Early Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Cappuyns, *Étude*, = Norbert Cappuyns, *Le Triodion. Étude historique sur sa constitution et sa formation*. Doctoral Dissertation, PIOS: Rome, 1935.
- Church at Prayer* = A. G. Martimort, *The Church at Prayer* (4 Vols., Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1986), English translation of *L'Eglise en Prière: La Liturgie et le Temps* (Paris: Desclées, 1983).
- CPG = M. Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Brepols: Turnhout, 1974).
- CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*.
- CSEL = *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*.
- Dmitrievski, *Opisanie* = Алексѣй Дмитриевскій, *Описание литургическихъ рукописей, хранящихся въ библіотекахъ православнаго востока* [*Inventory of Liturgical Manuscripts, Preserved in the Libraries of the Orthodox East.*] Vol I, Τύπικα Kiev:, 1895; Vol. II, Εὐχολογία; Vol. III, Τύπικα Petrograd:, 1917.
- DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
- EH = Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*.
- Festal Menaion* = Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, *The Festal Menaion* (Boston and London: Faber and Faber, 1969).
- Follieri, "Problemi," = Enrica Follieri, "Problemi di Innografia bizantina," *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'études byzantines [Ochrid 10-18 Septembre 1961]*, (Beograd, 1964):

- Gardner, *Russian Church Singing*, = Johann van Gardner, *Russian Church Singing* = Volume 1 of *Orthodox Worship and Hymnography* (Crestwood New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), English translation by Vladimir Morosan of sections of the Russian manuscript, previously published in a German edition: *idem*, *System und Wesendes russischen Kirchengesanges* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1976).
- GOTR = *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
- Grosdidiers de Matons, *Poésie* = Jose Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris, 1977).
- Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* = Sebastia Janeras, *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire des ses offices* = *Analecta Liturgica* 13 = *Studia Anselmiana* 99 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1988).
- Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod* = Карабинов, И. А., *Постная Триво́дь* [*The Lenten Triodion*] (St. Petersburg, 1910).
- Knowles, "Renaissance," = Peter Knowles, "A Renaissance in the Study of Byzantine Liturgy?" *Worship* 68 (1994): 232-241.
- Krivocheine, "Particularités" = Basile Krivocheine, "Quelques particularités liturgiques chez les Grecs et chez les Russes et leur signification," *Liturgie de l'Église Particulière et Liturgie de l'Église Universelle* = *Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia* 7 (Roma: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976): 211-229.
- LT = Mother Mary and T. Kallistos Ware, *The Lenten Triodion* (Boston and London: Faber and Faber, 1977).

<i>LTSup</i>	=	Mother Mary and T. Kallistos Ware, <i>The Lenten Triodion: Supplementary Texts</i> (Bussy-an-Othe: Monastery of the Veil, 1979).
<i>LQF</i>	=	<i>Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen</i>
Marchadour, <i>Lazare</i>	=	Alain Marchadour, <i>Lazare. Histoire d'un récit, Récits d'une histoire = Lectio Divina</i> , 132 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988).
Mateos, "L'office monastique"	=	Juan Mateos, "L'office monastique à la fin di IV ^e siècle: Antioch, Palestine, Cappadoce," <i>Oriens Christianus</i> 47 (1963): 53-88.
Mateos, <i>Typicon I</i>	=	Juan Mateos, <i>Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Saint-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes</i> , Tome I, <i>Le Cycle des Fêtes Fixes</i> = <i>OCA</i> 165 (Rome: PIOS, 1965).
Mateos, <i>Typicon II</i>	=	Juan Mateos, <i>Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Saint-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes</i> , Tome II, <i>Le Cycle des Fêtes Mobiles</i> = <i>OCA</i> 166 (Rome: PIOS, 1966).
Migne, <i>PG</i>	=	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
Migne, <i>PL</i>	=	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>MMB</i>	=	<i>Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae</i>
Momina, "Origins"	=	Momina = Момина, М., «О происхождении греческой триодии» [Towards the Origins of the Greek Triodion] <i>Палестинский сборник</i> , 28 (1981): 112-120.
<i>NPNF</i>	=	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>NPNFSS</i>	=	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second</i>

	<i>Series</i>
NZT	= <i>"New Zealand Triodion" = Triodion: The Compunctious Book of Lent.</i> (Athens: The Ecumenical Patriarchate, Holy Archdiocese of Southeast Asia and New Zealand, Exarchate of India, 1990).
ODB	= A. Kahzdan <i>et. al.</i> , eds, <i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
OCA	= <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OCP	= <i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
Ostrogorsky, <i>History</i> ,	= George Ostrogorsky, <i>A History of the Byzantine State</i> (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press) 1969 revised edition, translation by Joan Hussey of <i>Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates</i> ³ (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagbuchhandlung) 1963.
Petras, <i>Typicon of Alexis</i>	= David Petras, <i>The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136.</i> (Cleveland: Star Printing Company) 1991.
PIOS	= Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum
Papadopoulos-Kerameus, <i>Catalog</i>	= Παπαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς, Α., <u>Ἱεροσολυμίτικι Βιβλιοθήκη</u> , ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκῃς τοῦ ἁγιοῦ ἀποστόλου τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόχου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. [<i>The Jerusalem Libraries, or the Catalog of the Libraries of the Holy, Apostolic and Catholic Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.</i>] 3 Vols., 1891. Reprinted Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963.
Quinlan, <i>Sinai Gr. 734-5</i>	= Andrew Quinlan, "Sinai Greek 734-735

- Triodion." Doctoral dissertation, Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1991.
- RT* = *Roman Triodion* = Τριώδιον, (Rome, 1896).
- Schmemmann, *Great Lent* = Alexander Schmemmann, *Great Lent: Journey to Pascha* (Crestwood NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press) 1974 revised edition of 1969 original.
- SVTQ* = *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, continuation of *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*.
- Taft, *Athos* = Robert F. Taft, "Mount Athos: A Later Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *DOP* 42 (1988): 179-194.
- Taft, "Triduum," = Robert F. Taft, "In the Bridegroom's Absence. The Paschal triduum in the Byzantine Church," in *La celebrazione del Triduo pasquale: anamnesis e mimesis* = *Studia Anselmiana* 102 (Rome, 1990): 71-97.
- Taft, *History* = Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press) 1992.
- Taft, *Hours* = Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*. (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press) 1986.
- Taft, "Two Cities," = Robert F. Taft, "A Tale of Two Cities. The Byzantine Holy Week Triduum as a Paradigm of Liturgical History," in Neil Alexander, ed., *Time and Community, Essays in Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington: NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy, 1990), 21-41.

- Talley, *Liturgical Year* = Thomas J. Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York: Pueblo, 1986).
- Tarchnischvili, *Georgian Lectionary* = Michel Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (V^e - VIII^e siècle, = CSCO 189, *Scriptores Iberici* 10 (Louvain, 1959).*
- Triodion Athoum* = Enrica Follieri and Oliver Strunk, *Triodion Athoum, & Pars Suppletoria, = Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae IX* (Munksgaard:, 1975).
- TU* = *Texte und Untersuchungen*
- Wellesz, *Byzantine Music* = Egon Wellesz, *Byzantine Music and Hymnography*² (Oxford, 1961)
- Wuellner, "Life" = Wilhelm Wuellner, "Putting Life back into the Lazarus Story and its Reading: The Narrative Rhetoric of John 11 as the Narration of Faith," *Semeia* (1991): 113-132.

EDITORIAL METHOD

Much of the research for this dissertation involved sources in other languages and alphabets, and the Byzantine hymns which provide the primary object of study do not yet have any standardized format of citation. Issues of translation and citation, then, need to be clarified, as well as some of the style issues which determine how these translations will be presented. The decision of what text to use as the base text has implications for all of the others, however, and so an explanation of that decision will be offered first of all.

Choice of a "Base Text."

The Preface has already explained how this study came to focus on the Lenten Triodion. The base text for this study will be the Τριώδιον Κατανύκτικον, published at Athens by Apostoliki Diakonia in 1960. This text will be referred to with the *siglum AT*, from the mnemonic for *Athens Triodion*. Three of the particular decisions which led to this choice of a base text are explained below.

Starting with a Contemporary Version

The first decision made was to start with a contemporary version of the Triodion. There are some disadvantages to this choice, most noticeably the facts that significant elements which influenced the development of the Triodion are no longer included in the

printed editions, which do, however, include some recent developments which clearly were not part of the early evolution of the text. Any of the specific alternatives available, however, would also represent selective anthologies of the larger tradition, and given the foundational nature of this study, beginning with a contemporary text provides the broadest foundation upon which to build future research.

In making that choice, however, it must be made clear that we do not intend to accord this version the status of a received text against which all other versions are considered variant readings. A simple listing of the differing readings among the published editions of the Triodion would be a worthwhile project, one which would probably provide enough information to discern the editorial criteria which guided some of the past publishers of this liturgical book. Clarifying when and why the massive output of Byzantine hymnographers gradually filtered into the specific elements included in our current anthologies is one of the central challenges facing scholarship in this area.

A Greek Text

The second decision made was to work from a Greek text, which provides several advantages over working with a source in any other language. There is no doubt that Greek was the original language of composition of the overwhelming majority, if not all, of the hymns included in the Triodion. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Byzantine hymns are the degree to which they are rooted in the Scriptures, while another is the extent to which they reflect the writings of the Greek Fathers. Tracking down such explicit borrowings or implicit allusions is much easier when one remains within the

same linguistic tradition of Hellenistic Greek which produced the Septuagint translation of the Jewish Scriptures, and in which all of the Christian Scriptures were preserved, and almost surely composed.

This does not imply that the current Greek text inevitably preserves the most ancient version of these hymns, on the contrary, there is evidence that more primitive versions of texts eventually found in the Triodion exist in Georgian and Slavonic translations. There are also suggestive indications that some of the most significant developments in Byzantine hymnography were influenced by, and probably rooted in, developments in Syriac rhetorical expression. Nevertheless the practical expedient of using the current Greek text as the baseline provides a more inclusive frame of reference for taking account of these earlier witnesses than any of the available alternatives.

Athens rather than Roman Edition

One obvious alternative to *AT* is the 1896 Roman edition, which will be cited as *RT* from the mnemonic *Roman Triodion*. Indeed, the Roman editions of the Byzantine hymnographic anthologies, as of the Byzantine liturgical books in general, are usually those which are cited in academic studies. Probably there are practical and aesthetic dimensions to this preference - the Roman editions are generally more attractive and seem to have undergone a more rigorous editorial proofing, they may well be more available to academic libraries than the corresponding Orthodox publications are. I have never seen a published evaluation of the scholarly value of these two editions; it is likely that each version has its strengths (or conversely that there are scholarly deficiencies with

each.)

Until recently there would have been an ideological identification inherent in this choice between an Orthodox or Catholic edition, and while that context has changed dramatically in the last 50 years, the issue of ecclesiastical association is still a most important one for those who would study the Byzantine liturgical traditions. Thus one observation which led to the choice of *AT* was the perception that it was the text more widely used in worshipping communities at the present time. In itself this bias in favor of Orthodox texts should never be a determining factor, yet there are additional reasons why such a preference is an appropriate starting point.

Of central importance for this study was the fact that *AT* includes the Synaxarion notices for the Lenten Triodion, which are not included in *RT*. Whatever qualms one may have about the historical or spiritual value of these notices, they often witness to an early level of interpretation of the Triodion, as well as providing clues to its formation.

Fortunately, in the particular texts which will be the focus of this study, there were very few substantive differences in the texts of these two editions, and none of these had any significance for the overall direction or conclusions of our study. Appendix 1 represents a composite text utilizing both witnesses. While the critical apparatus makes the printed version difficult to read, computer technology makes it easy to re-generate either source text, or to make specific comparisons between them. It should also be possible to work from this base text back to various manuscript sources, something which can hopefully be undertaken in the future. Appendix 2 lists the consistent differences between *AT* and *RT* which emerged from a careful comparison of the texts for Lazarus

Saturday. A broader and deeper characterization of the strengths and weaknesses of the various base texts available to students of Byzantine liturgy would be a most useful contribution to the field.

Translation Issues

Translating the Target Texts

One of the first projects undertaken as part of this study was to make a fresh translation of the texts of Lazarus Saturday from *AT* into English, and it is this translation which makes up the bulk of Appendix 3. The original motivation of this translation was to create a Machine Readable Version of the Triodion which could serve as the basis of analysis, and the reproduction of such a large section of the English translation of Kallistos Ware and Mother Mary would probably go beyond the "Fair Use" provisions of the Copyright laws. As the dissertation focused on issues antecedent to the creation of such a Machine Readable Text, this original purpose lost its cogency. Still, the work of translation proved to be an invaluable aid in becoming familiar with the texts and more sensitive to their own literary "logic."

Technical Terms of Byzantine Liturgy

The vexing issues of Byzantine liturgical terminology are not quite as pressing in a dissertation as in more popular writing. In this study terms will often be presented in the original Greek, sometimes in transliterated form to "create" an equivalent English nomenclature, resulting in terms such as Kanon, Exaposteilaria, Kontakion or Troparion. Where one term has two clearly distinguishable meanings, an attempt has been made to

provide clearly distinct English translations, thus καθίσματα will be translated "Reading from the Psalter" when it refers to directions for the *lectio currens* of the Psalter within the weekly cycle, and "Sessional Hymn" when it refers to the poetic compositions sung between such recitations from the Psalter.

Where commonly used English terms do not lead to possible confusion, they are preferred. Thus Vespers has its roots in a transliterated Greek expression, and Matins is always understood to refer to the official morning prayer of the Church, even though scholars may argue over the precise degree of equivalence between Matins in various traditions. A conscious effort has been made, however, to avoid rendering a technical Greek term by a Latin equivalent, even though this practice has been very widespread in the academic writing of the last two centuries. If possible an English equivalent is offered, thus the hymns intercalated with the verses of Psalms 145-150 near the end of Matins which are usually introduced in the Greek liturgical books as Εἰς τοὺς Αἶνους will be described as "At the Praises" rather than "At *Lauds*." When no unambiguous English equivalent is available, the transliterated Greek term will be retained. Thus the hymns which make up the Kanon will be described as either Heirmoi or Troparia, while the hymns used at Psalm 140 will be called Stichera.

American spelling has been used whenever possible, thus Matins rather than Mattins, although the latter spelling will be retained in direct quotes from the translations of Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware. Whenever it has been necessary to add words to a translation which are not found in the original, they will be enclosed in curly brackets, e.g., {additional words not in original}. A brief discussion of the problems with

Byzantine liturgical terminology, as well as some *desiderata* for the future can be found in my review of Peter D. Day's *The Liturgical Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*.¹

Transliteration Issues

Direct quotations from other sources have preserved the translations and transliterations used in those sources, a principle which has led to much more diversity in this paper than would otherwise have been desirable.

When rendering names into English, an English equivalent is used if it will be recognized as referring to the appropriate person, thus John the Monk rather than Ioannis the Monk. Where the original language uses a geographic specifier, the English version has been chosen to avoid confusion with our modern idea of "last names," thus we will refer to John of Damascus rather than John Damascene, or Mary of Magdala rather than Mary Magdalene. Names transliterated from Greek will usually be given an -os ending in English, thus Maximos rather than Maximus. The most prominent exception to this latter principle is Lazarus, where this latinized English transliteration is so prominent that to render it Lazaros would risk confusion.

Where prominent Greek terms originally came into English through Latin, there is often a widely accepted English equivalent, e.g., canon or icon, nevertheless this study will follow the more recent academic practice of staying closer to a transliteration from the original Greek, thus kanon or ikon. Derivative forms such as canonical or

¹ (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1993). The review was published in *Diakonia* 27 (1994): 194-198.

iconographic will be retained in their more expected English spellings. Again, since spelling will not be changed in direct quotes from other sources, this practice will result in a regrettable lack of uniformity throughout the paper.

Occasionally a difficulty has arisen when a non-English source transliterates from another alphabet, e.g. French or Italian transliterations of Syriac or Armenian terms, or Russian transliterations of Georgian phrases. If an English version is known from other publications it will be used, otherwise a footnote will indicate that the transliteration was taken from a source language other than English.

When there is any danger of confusing the source language, a language tag is given in brackets at the beginning of the citation, e.g. <Gk>, <Bulgarian>, etc.

Style Issues

In translating from Italian and French sources where there was confidence that the original author's intention had been grasped, a more dynamic English rendition has been offered. In a few cases, there was sufficient confidence in other languages to do the same. In all other instances, a more literal translation has been retained in the hope that this will allow others access to the sources while giving them more latitude in interpretation. Occasionally a direct citation of the original language will be included to assist in that process.

Where relevant, an attempt has been made to follow the recommendations given by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in their *Criteria for the Evaluation of*

*Inclusive Language Translations of Scriptural Texts Proposed for Liturgical Use.*²**Citation**

There is as yet no accepted standard for citing elements from the Byzantine hymnographic anthologies. Certainly it is possible to use page references when referring to a specific edition, and since *AT* is our base text, page references to *AT* will be offered for citations from the Lenten Triodion. When the original translation of the texts of Lazarus Saturday is being given, citations to the page references of both *AT* and *RT* will be given. When the English translation of Kallistos Ware and Mother Mary are being used, a page reference will be given to *LT* or *LTSup* where that translation can be found, along with the *AT* page reference.

These page references will be supplemented by descriptive references which should allow readers using other editions of the Lenten Triodion to find the original text, or an equivalent translation in another version. For our target texts, these descriptive references will run from most specific to more general descriptors. For most of our citations, the basic unit would be a "hymn," although when more specific descriptors are conventional they will be used as described above. Thus the component hymns of Kanons will be identified as Heirmoi or Troparia, while hymns used at Ps 140 at Vespers will be called Stichera. If these Stichera are explicitly identified in the source text as

² (Washington: United States Catholic Conference, Publication No. 421-X, November 15, 1990). While these Criteria have a more focused application, they represent a reasonable *vade mecum* in an area which is quite important in spite of the often irrational rhetoric it provokes.

Idiomela or Prosomia, this designation will be retained. The next unit of identification would be the liturgical usage of the element if relevant, thus "Kanon" or "At the Praises" or "At Ps 140." In some cases, this identifier becomes an adjective preceding the hymn, this "Sessional Hymn," or "Aposticha Hymn." The next level of identification is the particular service of the daily *cursus*, most often Vespers or Matins, followed by the specific day. There are two other items of identifying information which will be given when they are clearly indicated in the source text. The first is the attribution of a hymn to a specific composer, the second is the indication of the musical Tone of a hymn.

Chapter 19 is the only section of this dissertation which includes a significant number of citations from the Byzantine liturgical books apart from the Lenten Triodion, specifically the Pentekostarion and Oktoechos. Since these hymns are cited in an English translation which is not widely available, page references are not given. The descriptors of a particular hymn are given in this chapter in the reverse order from that reported above. Thus the first descriptor will be the liturgical book, the next the day, then the service, then the liturgical unit.

Both systems of identification seem logical to this author, and it was decided to retain the different systems in the hope of gaining insights into ideal standards that could eventually be proposed for adoption by the academic community. This is another area where the research undertaken in this dissertation is understood to be foundational for broader efforts in exploring the corpus of Byzantine hymnography.

PART ONE

FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER 1

METHOD

Concern for method is characteristic of our contemporary "post-modern" age. Expressions of that concern are prominent in current writings about Liturgical Studies in general, about the study of the Byzantine traditions more specifically, and in particular about the study of the *corpus* of Byzantine Hymnography. The importance of decisions about method was succinctly stated by Alain Marchadour:

Tell me what is your method and I will tell you what conclusions you have a chance of reaching. In other words, method is never neutral. It is more than just a technique, it is a spirit, a mentality, a sensibility and a representation of the real.¹

This section will survey some of those concerns which have implications for this study of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine Tradition.

Method in Liturgical Studies

There are two trends worthy of attention here. The first concerns the appropriate use of sources, and has recently been championed by Paul Bradshaw.² The second involves the relationship between theory and practice, and is conveniently summarized in

¹ Alain Marchadour, *Lazare. Histoire d'un récit, Récits d'une histoire* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988 = *Lectio Divina* 132), 17, cited hereafter as Marchadour, *Lazare*.

² Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship. Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), cited hereafter as Bradshaw, *Search*.

works such as Kevin Irwin's *Liturgical Theology: A Primer*,³ and David Fagerberg's *What is Liturgical Theology? A Study in Methodology*.⁴

The Proper Use of Sources

Bradshaw describes his work as:

a guide or handbook for the journey through the field of Christian liturgical origins. It seeks to explain what are perceived as problems inherent in interpreting the source-documents on which our knowledge of early Christian worship is based, and also the reasons why we can no longer always share the methodological presuppositions adopted by earlier generations of scholars - nor consequently the conclusions that they reached.⁵

Several of the issues explored by Bradshaw relate to the foundational presuppositions of our study. The first of these relates to the relationship of Jewish and Christian worship, where a recent awareness of the dynamic diversity of Judaism during the formative Christian centuries has undermined the confident assertions of continuity among an earlier generation of scholars. Robert Taft's cautious agnosticism about the specifics of such a relationship reflects the concerns articulated by Bradshaw and others:

Jews pray at set times. So do Christians. The first Jewish-Christians may even have recited the same prayers at the same times as their Jewish contemporaries. Morning and evening prayer seem to have been the most constant and important hours of Jewish prayer. This will become true for Christians as well. And, of course, Old Testament themes and types, and even texts, have formed part of the stuff of Christian prayer from the beginning. Beyond such generalities lie

³ Kevin Irwin, *Liturgical Theology: A Primer* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1990).

⁴ David Fagerberg, *What is Liturgical Theology? A Study in Methodology* (Collegeville MN: Pueblo, 1990).

⁵ Bradshaw, *Search*, x.

obscurity and speculation.⁶

Two specific areas where this new caution influences the study of Byzantine hymnography are in assumptions about the origins of the Christian use of psalmody during daily worship and in speculations about the origins of Christian poetic compositions to be used as hymns.

An earlier generation of scholars routinely asserted that the Christian use of psalmody was rooted in patterns of Jewish synagogue worship which were brought by the first generations of Christians into their own routines of increasingly Christo-centric prayer. Among the most prominent names who championed such an association were the musicologists Eric Werner and Egon Wellesz.⁷ Responding to such confidence, Bradshaw cautions, "There is, however, an almost total lack of documentary evidence for the inclusion of psalms in synagogue worship."⁸ Knowles raises the same concern and

⁶ Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*. (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 1986), 3; hereafter cited as Taft, *Hours*.

⁷ Werner's *The Sacred Bridge. The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium* (London, 1959) argued strongly for the continuity of Jewish and Christian musical forms, a continuity accepted by Wellesz in *Byzantine Music and Hymnography*² (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 35ff., hereafter cited as Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*. The publication of what is called Volume 2 of *The Sacred Bridge* (Ktav, 1984) has led to several more recent reviews of the work, since this "second volume" is more properly a second edition, prepared for publication in 1974 and thus not taking account of any work done since then. Peter Jeffery published an extensive review in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 77 (1987): 283-298; see also the comments of Robin A. Leaver, *Expository Times* 97 (1986): 157.

⁸ Bradshaw, *Search*, 23. See also James W. McKinnon, "On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue," *Early Music History* 6 (1986) 159-91, and J. A. Smith, "The Ancient Synagogue, the Early Church, and Singing," *Music and Letters* 65 (1984): 1-16.

makes explicit its implications:

For example the use of the Psalter as a prayer book is still an open question. As with so many other elements in the early history of our liturgy, our knowledge of the role and development of the Psalter in this context is limited by a lack of clear and consistent historical evidence.... a similar situation prevails in relation to the manner in which the biblical odes came to be distributed in the office of matins. The lack of clarity on this point has implications for the way we see the evolution of the hymnographic kanons and their place in the structure of matins.⁹

Academic speculation about the origins of the Christian poetical compositions which eventually form such an important part of the Byzantine liturgical inheritance have offered a wide range of possibilities, many of which are mutually exclusive, at least in their popularized forms. The popular methodological caution that one tends to find what one looks for is well demonstrated in these studies, in which the academic specialty of the investigator almost inevitably turns out to be the crucial factor in explaining the origins of Byzantine hymnography. Among the factors which have been championed so far are:

Biblical Judaism¹⁰

⁹ Peter Knowles, "A Renaissance in the Study of Byzantine Liturgy?" *Worship* 68 (1994): 234, hereafter cited as Knowles, "Renaissance."

¹⁰ Studies of this type share the assumption of a high degree of continuity between the practices prescribed and described in the Jewish Scriptures and later Jewish traditions, and thus both were used rather uncritically to represent the Jewish practices of Jesus and the apostles. See, e.g. the oft-quoted work of W.O.E. Oesterle, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925). This perspective is still being presented in popular works, e.g. Benjamin D. Williams and Harold B. Anstall, *Orthodox Worship: A Living Continuity with the Synagogue, the Temple, and the Early Church* (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1990) particularly the discussion of "The Old Testament Basis for Christian Worship" on pp. 9-13. On the specific issue of the origins of hymnody, the following statement of Jean Daniélou represents this approach well: "The singing of hymns in the Christian community accomplishes the type of the Cantic of Exodus and prefigures the celestial liturgy. It must be added that this liturgical motif appears already in the Old Testament. Mary's Cantic shows well the influence of the

First-Century Judaism¹¹
 Jewish-Christianity¹²
 Classical Pagan Greek Models¹³
 "Heretical" Christianity¹⁴

liturgical celebration of the exodus from Egypt within Judaism which is incorporated into the narrative. Here again Jewish liturgy shows us the blueprint of Christian liturgy." [Jean Daniélou, *Bible et Liturgie = Lex Orandi* 11, (Paris: Cerf, 1951), 132.]

¹¹"On the other hand, although there may be no evidence for the use of the canonical psalms in early Judaism, there are at least some indications that hymns and songs were being composed and used in some way." Bradshaw, *Search*, 23-4. In Footnote 48 on p. 24, Bradshaw gives the following primary source references for those indications: the collection of Qumran *Hodayoth*; Philo *In Flaccum* 121-4 and *De Vita Contemplativa* 29, 80, 83, 84. See also Heather A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue: The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

¹² The "Bagatti-Testi School" of archeology, representing scholars from the Franciscan Custodies of the Holy Land, has prominent been among the proponents of such communities of Jewish-Christians. Recently Joan Taylor has subjected their data to a careful re-examination which questions if there ever were such "Jewish-Christian" communities in Palestine before the era of Constantine: see Joan Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). Jean Daniélou was among the most prolific writers to attempt a reconstruction of the beliefs of such Jewish Christian communities from literary evidence, see his *Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Danton, Longman and Todd, 1964). The English version is reportedly an adaptation, not a simple translation, of the original French.

¹³ This was the assumption of the first classicists to write about Byzantine Hymnography. See the summaries of the literature in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 2-23; and Grosdidier de Matons, *Poésie*, 3-15. The latter holds a more nuanced version of this position: "Until proven otherwise, {the kontakion} can properly be considered an original creation of the Greek genius, whose elements are complex. In it the rich tradition of Syrian hymnography intermingles with two other properly hellenistic traditions, that of the poetic homily and that of liturgical poetry." (*Poésie*, 4.)

¹⁴ Jose Grosdidier de Matons surveys the evidence and its treatment in the literature in *Poésie*, 5-15. He notes, "If we have given little emphasis to heretical hymnography, it is because the historians of Greek hymnography have attributed such great importance to {heretical hymnography} in the development {of Greek hymnography}." (*Op. cit.*, 6.)

Syriac-speaking Christianity¹⁵
 Rabbinical Judaism¹⁶

My own working hypothesis at this point in time is that Jewish and Christian poetical compositions represent parallel but independent developments¹⁷ out of a common ancestral "pool" of exegetical, homiletic, and catechetical traditions which were then shaped by the particular linguistic, cultural, and liturgical situations in which they were

¹⁵ Both Grosdidier de Matons (*Poésie*, 3-4) and Wellesz (*Byzantine Music*, 3 ff.) trace the discovery of this influence to Pitra's *Hymnographie de l'église grecque* (Rome, 1867), although Grosdidier de Matons says "the credit for having established it with certitude goes above all to W. Meyer, 'Anfang und Ursprung des lateinischen und griechischen rythmischen Dichtung,' *Abhandlung der philosophie-philologie Klasse der k. bayer Akademie der Wissenschchaft zu München* 17 (1885): 265-450." (*Poésie*, p. 4, footnote 1.) William L. Peterson ["The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem: Its Importance for the Origin of the Kontakion," *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985): 171-187] provides a summary of past positions before re-affirming this dependence in explicit opposition to the position of Grosdidiers de Matons mentioned above.

¹⁶ For an overview of the development of the Hebrew *piyuttim* or hymns see Jefim Schiffman, "Hebrew Liturgical Poetry and Christian Hymnology," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 44 (1953-4): 123-161 and more recently: J. A. Smith, "First-Century Church Singing and its Relationship to Contemporary Jewish Song," *Music and Letters* 75 (1994): 1-15.

¹⁷ The phrase "independent developments" as used here is not intended to deny the likelihood of mutual influence among these various currents, but simply to suggest that each had sufficient momentum that it would have continued to develop on its own, even if it had not been subject to the influences of the other currents. Further speculation about the mutual influences of hymnography among the Hellenistic-Jewish, Palestinian-Jewish, Babylonian-Jewish, Syriac Christian, and Greek-speaking Christian communities needs to await further developments within each field. Even the relationship between the hymnographic developments in Greek and Latin-speaking Christianity, which has received some academic attention, is not well charted as yet. See Egon Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant* (MMB, American Series Volume 1, 1947) as well as some of the studies in A. Schoors and P. Van Deun eds., *Philohistôr: Miscellanea in Honorem Caroli Laga Septuagenarii = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 60 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1994), e.g., Willy Evenpoel, "The Early Christian Poets Gregory Nazianzen and Prudentius," 87-101 or Édouard Jeaneau, "Θεοτοκία grecs conservés en version latine," 399-421.

composed and passed on.¹⁸ As this study unfolds it will present evidence which is supportive of this perspective; however, since its main focus lies in later developments, their application to the discussion of the origins of Byzantine hymnography will not be pursued here. The general point being made here, illustrated below with some specific issues within Byzantine Liturgical studies, is that the assumptions and perspectives of earlier scholarship often will not be appropriate for a more detailed awareness of the sources of Byzantine liturgy.

There will also be many instances in which the concerns which Bradshaw focused into "Ten Principles for Interpreting Early Christian Liturgical Evidence"¹⁹ will be applicable to attempts to understand the sources of Byzantine Liturgy.²⁰ His observation about liturgical studies is certainly applicable to the more specific field of Byzantine liturgy.

Strangely enough, while conscious reflection on the methodologies appropriate to the discipline has constituted a significant element in scholarly research in such

¹⁸ See Egon Wellesz, "Melito's Hymn on the Passion: An Investigation into the Sources of Byzantine Hymnography," *Journal of Theological Studies* 64 (1943): 41-52 and the resume of the issue in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 184ff. Many specifics of his argument are no longer tenable, but the recognition of the parallels between Melito's rhetorical expressions and later hymnographic forms cannot be denied.

¹⁹ Originally published in Paul Bradshaw and Lawrence Hoffman, eds., *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), expanded into Chapter 3 of Bradshaw, *Search*, 56-79.

²⁰ See the insightfully witty comments of Thomas J. Talley in his response to receiving the *Berakah* award for 1987 from the North American Academy of Liturgy, published as "Response to the Berakah Award: Confessions of a Reluctant Generalist," *Worship* 61 (1987): 305-317, especially 310-312 where the divergent manuscript witnesses concerning baptismal practices on Lazarus Saturday and Holy Saturday are discussed.

areas as biblical studies and ecclesiastical history in the course of recent decades, the same has not really been true in the field of liturgical history. There has been very little critical discussion of the particular methods which are applicable to this subject and few serious attempts to formulate principles for the interpretation of primary sources which ought to guide ongoing research.²¹

What is Liturgical Theology?

Fagerberg surveys the approaches of five figures before offering his own synthesis which is then applied to two case studies. One of the figures summarized is Alexander Schmemmann, (pp. 143-179) whose work *The Eucharist* is one of Fagerberg's case studies (pp. 256-286).²² Schmemmann is a good example of where the issues raised in the study of Byzantine liturgical traditions can impact on the larger discipline.²³

Similarly Kevin Irwin's *Liturgical Theology: A Primer* begins by describing the origins of the notion of "Liturgical Theology" before surveying the contributions of six European and seven American authors. This survey then leads to Irwin's own brief but insightful synthesis of issues for the future, "Directions for a Method for Liturgical Theology."

Methodological Concerns in Byzantine Liturgical Studies

²¹ Bradshaw, *Search*, 56-7.

²² Walter Ray has also attempted a synthesis of Schmemmann's Liturgical Theology in his 1992 Master's Thesis at St. Vladimir's Seminary.

²³ Robert F. Taft is another such example. See his response to the *Berakah* award of the North American Academy of Liturgy, "Anamnesis," *Worship* 59 (1985): 304-325. It is worth noting that not only Fagerberg and Irwin, but most of the authors they summarize, explicitly acknowledge the influence of Schmemmann and Taft on their own work.

In the Introduction to *The Byzantine Rite, A Short History*, Taft makes explicit some of the specific challenges facing scholars who would examine the Byzantine traditions.

The following pages will present what I think can be said about this question at the present stage of research in a field where much is unknown, a great deal is hypothetical, and an enormous amount of work remains to be done. It will not be possible to write the full history of Byzantine liturgical ritual until we have: more primary liturgical manuscripts edited critically and accompanied by serious commentaries situating them in their liturgical and historical context; more scholarly studies of the relevant liturgico-canonical material from the synods and councils with the same contextualizations; more scholarly studies of Byzantine church music not just as musicology but from the point of view of its place in the history of liturgy; and a taxonomy or typology of the medieval liturgical books of the sort already available for the West.²⁴

Two recent essays have explicitly addressed how these *desiderata* of the study of Byzantine liturgy might be addressed. Peter Galadza's essay, "Restoring the Icon: Reflections on the Reform of Byzantine Worship,"²⁵ begins by noting how the issue of liturgical reform in Churches which follow the Byzantine liturgical traditions has been the subject of much discussion but little concrete action.²⁶ He then provides a series of insightful observations about the wide range of factors which work against liturgical reform in the Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic Churches of North America. One of the strengths of his analysis is the ability to recognize that many of these factors have both positive and negative expressions, thus resisting the temptation to seek simplistic

²⁴ Taft, *History*, 13.

²⁵ *Worship* 65 (1991): 238-255.

²⁶ Footnotes 1 and 2 of the article provide an excellent survey of some of the articles representative of the call for reform.

solutions to complex problems.

The core issues addressed by Galadza were earlier articulated in a series of articles that appeared in *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* in 1968-69. Bernard Botte began by suggesting that the Eastern Christian churches would benefit from something similar to the liturgical reform which was then being undertaken in the Roman Catholic Church.²⁷

In "A Brief Response," Alexander Schmemmann argued:

What we need above everything else is the understanding of that tradition, of the "essence" of liturgy.... The time thus is not for an external liturgical reform, but for a theology and piety drinking again from the eternal and unchanging sources of liturgical tradition.²⁸

In the next volume of the journal, W. Jardine Grisbrooke expressed dissatisfaction with Schmemmann's position, questioning if the concept of the "eternal and unchanging sources of liturgical tradition" was appropriate, and wondering how worshipers could ever arrive at an understanding of the "essence" of liturgy when the external forms of the liturgy they experienced were clearly deviations from the historical norm.²⁹ Schmemmann replied:

In the approach which I advocate by every line I ever wrote, the question addressed by liturgical theology to liturgy and to the entire liturgical tradition is not about liturgy but about "theology," i.e. about the faith of the Church as expressed, communicated, and preserved by the liturgy.... the tragedy which I denounce and deplore consists not in any particular "defect" of the liturgy - and God knows that there have been many of such defects at all times - but in something much deeper: the *divorce between liturgy, theology and piety*,... In other terms, the crisis I try to analyze is a crisis not of liturgy but of its

²⁷ Bernard Botte, "On Liturgical Theology," *SVTQ* 12 (1968): 170-173.

²⁸ Alexander Schmemmann, "A Brief Response," *SVTQ* 12 (1968): 173-4; here p. 174.

²⁹ W. Jardine Grisbrooke, "Liturgical Theology and Liturgical Reform," *SVTQ* 13 (1969): 212-17.

*understanding...*³⁰

Clearly the core issue here is the same understanding of the relationship of liturgy and theology which was mentioned above. Galadza's analysis specified an impressive range of factors which contribute to confusion about or resistance to liturgical change. The last factor he mentions returns us to the concern for a proper use of sources:

A final reason for the reluctance to reform Byzantine worship has to do with the fact that until recently the history of many of its components was relatively unknown. In fact, there are various services that still have not been researched adequately. In this regard, the East is at least several decades behind the West.³¹

Galadza's final conclusion seeks a *via media* on the issue of liturgical reform:

Since liturgy is symptomatic, it is necessary for a church to repent and reform its *total* life. It is my belief, however, that part of this "repentance" - and not just an epiphenomenon - is the revision of obfuscating worship. Changing liturgical structures should itself be a *means* of ecclesial renewal.³²

Peter Knowles suggests that "The study of Byzantine Liturgy, after almost a century of slow and painstaking development, has reached a point where exciting and dramatic growth is inevitable."³³ Clearly Knowles feels that the progress in knowing and understanding liturgical sources is soon to reach the point where the concerns mentioned above can and will be addressed. More precisely, Knowles is applying the two concerns mentioned above to the specific issues of Byzantine liturgical studies, calling for more

³⁰ Alexander Schmemmann, "Liturgical Theology, Theology of Liturgy, and Liturgical Reform," *SVTQ* 13 (1969): 217-24; here pp. 218-19.

³¹ Galadza, *op. cit.*, 253.

³² *Op. cit.*, 255.

³³ Knowles, "Renaissance," 232.

dependence on the specific data of the sources and more awareness of the interpretive frameworks within which these data are understood:

Notwithstanding the particular axioms that all too often have been taken as absolute guidelines, and a reluctance to examine in greater depth the primary sources both in the original Greek and in their earliest translations, perhaps it is a certain narrowness of outlook that is the main limiting factor in our understanding of the history of the Byzantine liturgy.³⁴

Complaints about the difficulties encountered in the study of Byzantine Hymnography are a commonplace among those who have undertaken that enterprise.

In the past scholars seem to have been daunted by the sheer mass of the manuscript material to be found in the various collections and libraries. Even the extent of what is now lying there awaiting a resurrection is quite unknown. The overall neglect of this hymnographic storehouse shown not only by liturgists but indeed by the general body of Byzantinists is astonishing.³⁵

Andrew Quinlan offered a useful summary of "General Problems in the Study of Liturgical Poetry."

- a) Much Greek liturgical poetry has only survived in the Georgian, Armenian, or Slavonic ms. tradition.
- b) Most liturgical poetry is anonymous and can not be dated. The ms. tradition often attributes the same hymn to a variety of poets.
- c) There are no 'critical editions' of any Byzantine liturgical texts.
- d) Even if the outline of the Byzantine synthesis is true, it is almost impossible to categorize a liturgical ms.
- e) To understand liturgical poetry musical and theological aspects must be taken into consideration.³⁶

Enrica Follieri's publication of the *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae* provided

³⁴ Knowles, "Renaissance," 240.

³⁵ Knowles, "Renaissance," 239.

³⁶ Personal correspondence dated 8:6:93, p. 4.

a tremendous tool to those who would wrestle with these problems. It is characteristic that her formal announcement of the usefulness of this resource at the XIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies in 1961 was entitled "Problems in Byzantine Hymnography."³⁷ She observed:

There are two different problems, therefore, where the *Initia* will be a useful working instrument: for the problem of the identification of a text, especially concerning codicologists, and for recognizing those {texts} which are inedited, of interest also to editors.

Yet how many other problems remain in Byzantine Hymnography! Metrical problems, problems of attribution, problems of homonymy, problems relating to the sources used by the hymnographers.³⁸

Obviously one dissertation is not going to make a significant impact upon these issues, however these concerns provide a focal lens for choosing the methodology which will allow this study to provide the most benefits for the larger field of study.

Structural Analysis

The specific methodology chosen for this study is the refinement of Comparative Liturgics which Robert Taft has called "Structural Analysis." Taft has applied the method in exhaustive detail to the study of the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgies,³⁹ while

³⁷ Enrica Follieri, "Problemi di Innografia bizantina," *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'études byzantines (Ochrid 10-18 Septembre 1961)*, (Beograd, 1964), 311-325; cited hereafter as Follieri, "Problemi."

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, 312.

³⁹ See Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-Anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*,² = OCA 200 (Rome: PIOS, 1978) and *Idem.*, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Volume 4: The Diptychs* = OCA 238 (Rome: PIOS, 1991).

making clear the method and its application in the article, "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology."⁴⁰ One of the first issues discussed is the relationship between this method and the broader concerns of "Liturgical Theology" which were mentioned above.

For in the history of liturgical *development*, structure outlives meaning. Elements are preserved even when their meaning is lost (conservatism), or when they have become detached from their original limited place and purpose, acquiring new and broader meanings in the process (universalization). And elements are introduced which have no apparent relationship to others (arbitrariness).

In the history of liturgical *explanation* there has been a contrary shift from structure to symbolic interpretation. Most medieval commentators attended only to meaning, and their interpretations often did violence to structure. In the Reformation period structure was bent to serve theology. *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi* was turned around, and theology determined rather than interpreted liturgical text and form.

In my own work, I attempt to reverse this process, insisting with the structuralists on the importance of imminent analysis of the structure itself before relating it to other disciplines such as history or sociology - or even theology. These disciplines are essential for explaining the how and the whys, but prior structural analysis is necessary to recover the what.⁴¹

In this study, therefore, the primary concern will be to clarify the "what" of the celebration of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition, within the broader context of the pre-paschal preparations of Lent and Holy Week covered by the Lenten Triodion. This focus is not intended to de-value historical or sociological or theological contributions; on the contrary the goal is to provide a more solid foundation for such applications. In fact, in the actual doing of the research, historical considerations often

⁴⁰ *Beyond East and West, Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Washington DC: Pastoral Press, 1984), 151-164, adapted from *Worship* 52 (1978): 314-329.

⁴¹ Taft, *op. cit.*, 152.

shape the particular structural elements examined, and in later chapters discussion of structural elements within the historical frameworks within which they existed will present these two dimensions as inextricably intertwined. As Taft put it:

There must be a constant dialectic between structural analysis and historical research. I describe the analysis first because it is conceptually prior, if not always so in execution.⁴²

In describing processes which are "conceptually prior," even if they are often unclear at the beginning of a study, it is helpful to have a "meta-theoretical framework" of what one is trying to accomplish. In a succinct summary of insights that were popularized in Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*,⁴³ Taft makes explicit the ultimate goal of research and how it relates to the more proximate objectives of study:

Knowledge is not the accumulation of data but the perception of relationships that permit data to be organized into intelligible patterns. The sooner one can arrive at a working hypothesis, the quicker things will go. This is true even if the hypothesis turns out to be wrong.⁴⁴

This concept of knowledge as the perception of relationships, or the organization of data into intelligible patterns, will be discussed in more depth below. How one arrives at such patterns will be our next concern; how does one evaluate the worth of such a conceptual framework is a distinct yet closely related consideration.

Now in this process of hypothesis formation, I have found the structural analysis of liturgical units to be the most useful first step after the gathering of the initial data. That is, I have found it preferable to identify, isolate, and hypothetically

⁴² Taft, *op. cit.*, 153.

⁴³ (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1962.)

⁴⁴ Taft, *op. cit.*, 154.

reconstruct individual liturgical structures, then trace their history as such, rather than attempt to study complete rites as a unity in each historical period. For it has been my constant observation that liturgies do not grow evenly, like living organisms. Rather their individual elements possess a life of their own.⁴⁵

Structural Analysis of the Triodion

Kallistos Ware has described Karabinov's work on the Lenten Triodion⁴⁶ with these words: "For the development of the Lenten Triodion, the fundamental study, not yet superseded..."⁴⁷ In chapter 5 below we will see how, without making the methodology explicit, Karabinov did in fact identify and then separately analyze the primary elements which make up the Lenten Triodion.⁴⁸ Gabriel Bertonière's study of *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*⁴⁹ divided the vigil into its constitutive elements, which were then analyzed independently before a synthesis was attempted. Sebastia Janeras took the same approach with even more methodological rigor and more detailed use of the manuscript

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ И. А. Карабинов, *Постная Триодъ [The Lenten Triodion]*, (St. Petersburg, 1910), cited hereafter as Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*.

⁴⁷ Ware, *LT*, 18.

⁴⁸ Knowles, basing himself on the work of Quinlan, observed: "However the fundamental text on the manuscript history of the triodion, both Greek and Slavonic, remains that of I. A. Karabinov. Unfortunately this work is flawed by a lack of organization of the material." Knowles, "Renaissance," 237.

⁴⁹ *OCA* 193 (Rome: PIOS, 1972), cited hereafter as Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*.

sources in his study of Great Friday in the Byzantine Tradition.⁵⁰ Robert Taft utilized these works among others in his essays, "A Tale of Two Cities. The Byzantine Holy Week Triduum as a Paradigm of Liturgical History,"⁵¹ and "In the Bridegroom's Absence. The Paschal Triduum in the Byzantine Church."⁵² In <Bulgarian> «3a старословенскиот триод» ["Concerning the Old-Slavonic Triodion"],⁵³ Lidia Slaveva undertook a more detailed examination of the structural and textual elements included in six of the Slavonic Triodion manuscripts which Karabinov had already studied, which enabled her to identify four "types" of manuscripts.

Two recent musicological studies seem to take a similar approach of breaking the music into component elements and then analyzing the interaction of these elements. Nina K. Ulf-Møller set out "to study the relationship between melodic formulas and stereotype text phrases in Old Russian stichera."⁵⁴ She began by looking at fifteen phrases in a twelfth century Russian manuscript, then examined 100 phrases as found in three Byzantine manuscripts. Based on these still preliminary investigations she was able

⁵⁰ Sebastia Janeras, *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire des ses offices.* = *Analecta Liturgica* 13 = *Studia Anselmiana* 99 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1988); hereafter cited as Janeras, *Vendredi Saint*.

⁵¹ In Neil Alexander, ed., *Time and Community, Essays in Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington DC: NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy, 1990), 21-41; cited hereafter as Taft, "Two Cities."

⁵² In *La celebrazione del Triduo pasquale: anamnesis e mimesis* = *Studia Anselmiana* 102 (Rome, 1990): 71-97; cited hereafter as Taft, "Triduum."

⁵³ *Slovo* 22 (1972) 93-116.

⁵⁴ "A Note on Formulaic Organization in Byzantine Stichera," *GOTR* 37 (1992): 394.

to conclude:

The collated material shows that every analyzed textual formula usually comprises one or two musical formulas, but seldom more. Every stereotype text phrase corresponds almost invariably with the same group of musical formulas, exactly repeated or given in a variation of the same basic models.

This clearly demonstrates that the phenomenon of treating textual and musical formulas as a single unit has been typical of Byzantine sticheraric tradition from an early period of its written existence, both in the manuscripts with Coislin and, later, those with Round notation.

In the translation of Byzantine stichera into {the} Russian tradition this peculiarity has been preserved.⁵⁵

H. C. Spyridis and D. V. Politis applied the mathematics of Information Theory to their analysis of the "Parasimantiki (= Παρασημαντική)" notation of Byzantine music.⁵⁶

They broke the Parasimantiki notation into three component elements, quantity characters, time characters, and quality or expression characters.⁵⁷ After coming up with a scheme for computer coding these elements, they analysed a sample of 48 heirmoi of the First Tone using the mathematics of Information Theory. This analysis quantified the observations that each of the component elements operated as a mathematical "law" to convey the information content of a particular melodic scheme, and actually enabled them to create computer generated hymns defined by the complementary elements

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, 395. The earlier work on the Slavonic manuscript was published as N. Ulf-Møller, "The Connection between Melodic Formulas and Stereotype Text Phrases in Old Russian Stichera," *Cahiers Institut du Moyen Age, Grec et Latin* 54 (Copenhagen, 1987): 49-60.

⁵⁶ H. C. Spyridis and D. V. Politis, "Information Theory Applied to the Structural Study of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Hymns," *Acustica* 71 (1990): 41-49. The anglicization "Parasimantiki" is that of the authors, on p. 49.

⁵⁷ They acknowledge that, "Apart from the above-mentioned characters there is a great variety of other signs, the roles of which are various, aiming at the description of the precise development of the melody." *Op. cit.*, 42.

"chance" and "law." While this ground-breaking study may benefit from refinements in its hymnological and mathematical assumptions, it clearly demonstrates the advantages of breaking the musical element of Byzantine hymns into component parts which can then be analyzed.

All of these works show the benefits of this type of structural analysis in the study of Byzantine Liturgical sources. The current study seeks to demonstrate the usefulness of this method in studying Byzantine Hymnography by applying it to the Lenten Triodion. Even here the scope is so vast that only a survey of structural elements in the Lenten Triodion can be undertaken in Part Two of this dissertation. Part Three will go into more depth by analyzing the more significant elements associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. Part Four will show how this approach can be fruitful when surveying some of the historical sources which precede the printed Triodion. Finally Part Five will offer both chronological and thematic summaries to illustrate the significance of what was undertaken in this study and the possibilities for further research building upon this foundation.

Structural Analysis of Lazarus Saturday

In applying the method of structural analysis to the study of the celebration of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition, this study will begin with the received tradition of this celebration as it is reflected in the contemporary printed liturgical books, primarily the Triodion, although information from the Typika will also be utilized as

appropriate.⁵⁸ The first step in this analysis will thus be to locate the Triodion within the broader range of Byzantine liturgical sources, which will be done in the next chapter. An orientation to the Triodion in Chapter 3 completes the foundations of Part One.

The survey of the structural elements of the Lenten Triodion which makes up Part Two of our study begins by noting the major divisions of the Lenten Triodion in Chapter 5. Chapters 6 through 9 survey the various structural elements which can be discerned within the existing texts. This foundational work will hopefully be useful for more specific studies in the future, but its main purpose within this study will be to provide a context within which the celebration of Lazarus Saturday can be understood.

Part Three moves on to core of this study, the specification of the structural elements which are evident in the existing texts for Lazarus Saturday. Ideally, all of them would then be explored in all of the available sources. Given the current state of research tools in the field as well as the inevitably initiatory scope of research in a dissertation, this specification of potential sources makes no pretense of being exhaustive or even definitive. What it does intend to provide is a solid foundation for future studies by consolidating data which up to this point have not been brought together in such a way as to illustrate their inter-relationships. In Part Four, a sampling of sources will be examined in the light of our structural analysis of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. Explaining the limits of this sample is the purpose of the next section in this chapter.

⁵⁸ An explanation of the choice of a base text is given above in the section on Editorial Methods.

Focusing the Analysis

Given the practical limitations of a dissertation, focusing on specific elements within the celebration of Lazarus Saturday is the only way to realize the depth of analysis necessary to illustrate the usefulness of this method to the study of the *corpus* of Byzantine hymnography. One consequence of this focusing will be a predictable tension between this necessary specificity and the broader foundational goals of this enterprise, a tension that will be evident in choices that need to be made about what to attend to and what to ignore, what to include and what to leave out. The methodological sensitivities mentioned at the beginning of this chapter make clear that such choices inevitably influence the results obtained. This awareness requires caution if not humility in the claims made for the conclusions of such a preliminary analysis. It also requires that an explanation be offered for some of the major choices made in concentrating the scope and nature of this investigation, as these choices may influence the results obtained as much as, and possibly even more than, the specific evidence examined.

There are two major areas where decisions needed to be made in order to focus this study: the first decision was which particular elements in the celebration of Lazarus Saturday would be analyzed in Part Three, the second was the choice of specific sources which could realistically and fruitfully be examined in Part Four. We begin by explaining the first set of choices.

Choosing the Elements

Appendix 6 offers an outline of the main structural and hymnographic elements

associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in the current printed Triodion, while Table Three in Chapter 5 gives a listing of the more obvious liturgical elements which can be identified within the current Triodion texts for these days. The ideal would be that someday, someone will investigate all of them. Within the limits of this dissertation, however, only three could reasonably be pursued.

The Commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus

The centrality of this theme to our study is self-evident. While we will have occasion to raise many questions about how the commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus got started, how it came to be associated with Palm Sunday, and why other elements came to be associated with it, the liturgical commemoration of the events described in John 11 provides the central framework to which the other elements of our study can be related. The focus on this commemoration also influenced the decision to begin Part Four with an examination of the Raising of Lazarus in Christian Writings.

Baptism on Lazarus Saturday

If the choice of our previous element was obvious because of its pervasive centrality, the decision to investigate the association of Baptism with Lazarus Saturday is rooted in the problematic nature of this association. Given the strong paschal-typology of baptism in Paul's writings, and the subsequent championing of paschal baptism in some of the formative patristic writings, an ideology which is eventually expressed in the Byzantine liturgical tradition in the very structure of the services of the Paschal vigil, why

would baptisms be solemnly celebrated a mere seven days earlier? Indeed, given the solemnly anamnestic commemoration of the passion which remains characteristic of the Byzantine celebration of Great and Holy Week, what the Slavic tradition rather aptly calls страстная неделя, "Passion Week,"⁵⁹ how does a baptismal celebration make any sense within this lenten liturgical rhythm? It was precisely these problematic aspects of the baptismal celebration of Lazarus Saturday which led Thomas Talley to see this as a most suggestive piece of evidence for the Alexandrian origins of Lent.⁶⁰

The Destruction of Hades⁶¹

Chapter 20 will explore the theme of the Destruction of Hades as it is found in the existing texts of Lazarus Saturday, relating these to other texts within the Triodion and Octoechos which are surveyed in Chapter 19. The choice to include this particular

⁵⁹ Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 128 describes a similar tradition in Syriac sources, where Holy Week is called the "Week of the Great Suffering."

⁶⁰ See Thomas J. Talley, "The origin of lent at Alexandria," in E. Livingstone, ed., *Studia Patristica* 17:2 (1982): 594-612. The argument is expanded in Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 176-213.

⁶¹ In academic studies, our theme is usually referred to as the Harrowing of Hell. Technically, however, this language is specific to western Christian developments on the theme. In this study, the term 'Destruction of Hades' will generally be used for this cluster of thematic elements, as is specified in Chapters 19 and 20 below. In contexts where such precision is not necessary, however, the phrase 'Harrowing of Hell' will be used, simply to help the reader make the associations with this other literature; likewise, the phrase will be retained whenever it appears in one of the sources. The literary elements included in the Destruction of Hades can be considered a sub-set of those found in the larger category of Christ's descent into Hades, which can now be placed within the context of other narratives from the Ancient Near East which Martha Himmelfarb has studied as "Tours of Hell."

element in this study was influenced by several different types of factors.⁶² As with the previous choice, one is immediately struck by the prominence of this theme within the hymnography for Lazarus Saturday, especially since it has no precedent within the biblical narrative of the raising of Lazarus. As the research proceeded, it became clear that there were several patristic sources which could account for the origins of this theme being associated with Lazarus. Finally, in what still seems to be an unrelated development, there is an association in the patristic tradition between the Harrowing of Hell and baptism.

The Importance of Non-literary Sources

The decision to focus on the texts of Lazarus Saturday found in the current Triodion was made relatively early in the process of planning this study. Given the nature of the sources, which are overwhelmingly textual, this choice might seem self-evident. Yet even while focusing on texts, a wide assortment of contextual factors not only influence how these texts are understood, they may often determine the meaning a text has (or does not have) for a particular community.⁶³

⁶² In January of 1996, I became aware that Gaga Churgaia was preparing a dissertation for the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome on Lazarus Saturday, a dissertation that was apparently defended in June of that year. Despite several attempts to contact Mr. Churgaia, I still have no more specific knowledge of what was covered in his dissertation. The Destruction of Hades theme is one that is so unusual that it seemed like a prudent inclusion to be sure that my own dissertation would make a contribution to the field of Byzantine Liturgical Studies, whatever other overlap with Churgaia's research there might be.

⁶³ For a concise yet insightful articulation of the issue, see Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

Mary Collins OSB has argued persuasively for consideration of the "performative factors" in the analysis of liturgical acts,⁶⁴ and her own methodological refinements have gone a long way towards enabling research which goes "beyond the text:" - "to proceed to the worshipping community that lives beyond the text."⁶⁵ Three factors have contributed to a self-conscious omission of such considerations from the current study. First of all, a basic knowledge of the text is a prerequisite to moving beyond it. Providing such a basic knowledge is one of the tasks this study will seek to accomplish.⁶⁶ Secondly, these particular texts are not well known or celebrated within most of the Byzantine parishes of

1987), 1-3. Hoffman's subsequent application of this insight to a characterization of the differing eras in the study of Jewish liturgy is illustrative of analogous developments in other areas of liturgical study.

⁶⁴ See the useful summary in Irwin, *op. cit.*, 55-57. Specific studies by Collins include "Liturgical Methodology and the Cultural Evolution of Worship in the United States," *Worship* 49 (1975): 85-102; "Critical Questions for Liturgical Theology," *Worship* 53 (1977): 302-17; a more recent study in a similar though not identical vein is Joseph J. Schaller, "Performative Language Theory: An Exercise in the Analysis of Ritual," *Worship* 62 (1988): 415-432.

⁶⁵ Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁶⁶ Irwin's summary pointed towards a complementarity of the dynamic approach championed by Collins and the more traditional text-centered approaches. "Collins' critical approach to liturgical theology, especially when added to the method of mining liturgical sources and the liturgical tradition as exemplified in the work of others, for example Robert Taft, offers an important challenge that hopefully will influence and help shape future approaches to method in liturgical theology." (*op. cit.*, 57. See also his observations in Endnote 93 on p. 63 on the importance of study and immersion in the sources.) Taft has described himself as "a mere orientalist, practitioner of the more pedestrian, positivistic, and phenomenological trade of historian of Eastern Christian worship, and (even more reprehensible) an obstinate advocate of the now disdained-as-outdated philological approach to liturgical texts." [Robert Taft, "What Does Liturgy Do? Toward a Soteriology of Liturgical Celebration: Some Theses," *Worship* 66 (1992): 194.] This ironic self-characterization indicates that although Taft is aware of these issues, he is unrepentant in the stress he lays on beginning with the sources.

North America. While the specific reasons for this neglect are complex, the large difference between the importance Lazarus Saturday is given within the texts of the Byzantine liturgical tradition and the almost complete lack of awareness of this celebration in contemporary churches is another justification for this study. Finally Byzantine believers are currently split into Orthodox and Catholic groups, with a maze of competing jurisdictions and ideological affiliations within and across those major groups. These divisions make the choice of a particular worshipping community into a decision which carries such emotional and ideological consequences that the original purpose would surely be obfuscated or even obliterated.⁶⁷

One limited way in which this perspective will be incorporated into this study is through the observations of Bishop Basil Krivocheine concerning some of the differences in the lenten liturgical customs between the Greek and Russian Orthodox traditions. He explains his approach as follows:

In this study I am interested not only in this or that textual variant or difference in the order of religious ceremonies, but also and above all in the meaning and importance which the same word or the same liturgical moment can acquire in the spiritual awareness of believers, in their religious behavior, even if these different attitudes are often based on misunderstandings.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Some of these factors are articulated in Philip E. Yevics, "Tensions Inherent in Eastern Catholic Theology," an essay based on a presentation to the Conference on Academic Theology in the Catholic Tradition at Marquette University on August 7, 1995 which is currently awaiting publication.

⁶⁸ Basile Krivocheine, "Quelques particularités liturgiques chez les Grecs et chez les Russes et leur signification," *Liturgie de l'Église Particulière et Liturgie de l'Église Universelle = Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia* 7 (Roma: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976) 211-229, here p. 211. Hereafter cited as Krivocheine, "Particularités."

Practical considerations are not limited to restrictions of time, space, and energy. Access is one such factor which will often be determinative in choosing which specific sources to examine. The lack of any particular aptitude or training in Musicology, Art History, or Archeology was a determining factor in precluding detailed analysis of these types of sources. They are, nevertheless, so important for an understanding of the texts of Lazarus Saturday that they deserve explicit consideration within this study. The limited inclusion of iconographic and archeological sources is explained in the next section. Since musical considerations are so important to the understanding of hymnographic texts, yet they will rarely be included in the body of this study, a rationale for this neglect is appropriate here.

Musicological considerations in the study of Byzantine hymnography.

The observation that musical factors are critical in understanding hymns would seem to be self-evident,⁶⁹ yet the current state of Byzantine Liturgical studies makes that statement into more of a *desideratum* than a *datum*. Egon Wellesz asserted in 1948 that,

The days have gone by when the text of a hymn was considered without bearing in mind that it was sung, not read; and when, on the other hand, artificial rythmical schemes were introduced without taking notice of the rythmical signs with which Byzantine musical notation abounds. There is general agreement, at

⁶⁹ Carol Doran and Thomas H. Troeger, "Recognizing an Ancient Unity: Music and Liturgy as Complementary Disciplines," *Worship* 60 (1986): 386-398, obviously addresses this concern, although it might best be characterized as an *apologia* for the development of contemporary programs for the formation of pastoral musicians. Similar concerns were expressed by Peter Jeffery in the *Proceedings* of the 1989 meeting of the North American Academy of Liturgy, concerns which M. Francis Mannion chose to emphasize in "Forum: The Need for an Adequate Liturgical Musicology," *Worship* 64 (1990): 78-81.

least among musicologists, that words and music are inseparably linked together, and that the text should not be altered to bring it into conformity with that of other manuscripts on purely philological grounds.⁷⁰

Nevertheless in 1994 Peter Knowles observed:

Over the past eighty years, for example, some great strides have been taken in the field of Byzantine musicology. Very often, however, the same musicologists have shown themselves unaware of the purpose, theological content or even the functions that the works under study fulfill within the structure of the liturgy. It is not at all surprising then that the texts of these hymns are dismissed in a somewhat perfunctory manner. On the other hand, the tendency prevails among liturgical specialists to study these texts, whether from the manuscript tradition or from printed editions, without any care for the music designed to carry them.⁷¹

All scholars of Byzantium are indebted to the meticulous labors which have resulted in the publications of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, and several of them will be used in the course of this study. Knowles' statement of the ideal utilization of such musicological research remains a standard to strive for in the future:

If a valid understanding is ever to be reached, the liturgy must be seen as one among the many expressions of the culture of the Eastern Empire.... Unfortunately, the situation that prevails at the present moment is marked by fragmentation. The musicologist, the liturgist, the historian, and the philologist, each in his or her narrow cell, allow themselves to be confined to their own field of specialization with sometimes quite disastrous results.⁷²

Johann von Gardner, in the process of explaining the rationale for the traditional ban on instrumental music at Orthodox services, provides what amounts to an argument for the theological priority of the verbal content of Orthodox hymns.

⁷⁰ Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 26.

⁷¹ Knowles, "Renaissance," 241.

⁷² Knowles, "Renaissance," 240-41.

Orthodox worship consists almost exclusively of verbal expression in its many forms: prayer, glorification, instruction, exegesis, homily, etc. Only the word is capable of precisely expressing concrete, logically formulated ideas. Instrumental music, on the other hand, by its nature is incapable of such unambiguous expression... Only the word can give musical sounds a definite, unambiguous meaning. And in worship, only the word can clearly express the ideas contained in prayer, instruction, contemplation, etc.⁷³

Gardner may well be overstating his case, both in terms of the precision he attributes to verbal formulations and in his reluctance to acknowledge the experiential, pre-conceptual basis of Orthodox theology. His point nevertheless offers a reason why it makes sense for this study to begin by clarifying the textual element of the Triodion hymns.

Another factor discouraging the inclusion of musicological data in this study is the fact that there is a great disparity between the contemporary liturgical "performance" of these texts and the original musical contexts for which they were composed. Add to this the fact that a majority of Orthodox worshippers have experienced these texts in translation, and it becomes clear that a focus on the textual dimension of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday is a necessary foundation for serious musicological work in the future.

This dissertation has made an effort to include musicological information in the data collected, especially in the indications of Tones for particular hymns, however little

⁷³ Johann van Gardner, *Russian Church Singing* = Volume 1 of *Orthodox Worship and Hymnography* (Crestwood NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), 22. Cited hereafter as Gardner, *Russian Church Singing*, this work is an English translation by Vladimir Morosan of selections from Gardner's Russian manuscript, already published in a German edition as *System und Wesen des russischen Kirchengesanges* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976).

use has been made of these cues within this study.⁷⁴

Choosing Specific Sources for Analysis

As mentioned above, practical considerations of personal aptitude and access play a large part in determining which particular sources were chosen for analysis.

The Canonical Scriptures

As the only primary source for the narrative of the raising of Lazarus, the account of John 11 is clearly central to our study. In summarizing recent research on that text in Chapter 20, some discussion of the contrasting concerns and methods of that research with the current study is necessary. Discussion of the relationship of the narrative of John 11 to other texts in the canonical Christian scriptures necessitates consideration of the Lazarus of Luke 16, the other resurrection miracles in the Gospels, and the controversial text Morton Smith has styled "the secret Gospel of Mark."

The perspective of rhetorical analysis offers an insightful approach to the biblical

⁷⁴ In addition to the ongoing labors of the *MMB*, the following are some studies which might contribute to a more complete understanding of the musical dimensions of Byzantine hymnography. I.D. Petresco, *Études de Paléographie Musicale Byzantine* (Bucarest: Éditions Musicales de l'Union des Compositeurs de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1967); Γρ. Θ. Σταθης, Ἡ Ἑξηγησις τῆς Παλαιᾶς Βυζαντινῆς Σημειογραφίας [The Exegesis of the Ancient Byzantine Notation] = Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας Μελέται 2 (Athens, 1978); Κ. Α. Ψαχου, Ἡ Παρασημαντική τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς [The Parasimantiki of the Byzantine Music], (Athens: Dionysios Publishing Co., 1978); Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη, Ὁ Μουσουργὸς Ἰωάννης Θ. Σακκελλάρης καὶ ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ² [The Musician John Sakellariou and Byzantine Music], (Thessalonika, 1988); Е. Герцман, Византийское Музыкальное Знание [The Study of Byzantine Music], (Ленинград: Издательство Музыка, 1988.)

texts while explicitly addressing some of the methodological concerns which have been raised above.

A rhetorical reading works on three levels: (a) the author and the produced text; (b) the reader interacting with the text, thereby bringing the text to life, as orchestra and audience do when both together make up the "performance"; and (c) the scholarly critic, nowadays fully aware of the ambiguous legacy of the modern sciences in the post-modern era.⁷⁵

It is this "first level" of rhetorical analysis which will be the focus of Chapter 21 below.

Yet even here it is helpful to break free of the philological constraints which have often characterized scripture study over the last 100 years.

On the first level we need to note that what the author through his voice, the narrator, produced in the Lazarus story as an artifact is more than a mere *literary* artifact. The story's syntactical, textual (literary and rhetorical) constraints constitute *one* part (of the *three* parts) of the distinctively Johannine narrative world, which is narrated with consummate skill and profound intentionality. *This* part of the narrative rhetoric may be called the rhetoric *in* John, for it pertains to the literary and linguistic devices which are internal to the text.⁷⁶

As we attempt to trace the history of the reception of the text, we function at rhetorical analysis' second level:

The second level is concerned with what readers (whether as original readers of the Johannine community, *or all subsequent readers*, past, present, and future) *experience* in the ever changing, never static reading of John's narrative rhetoric.... It could be called the rhetoric of John.⁷⁷

Wuellner's comments about the importance of the context within which a text is

⁷⁵ Wilhelm Wuellner, "Putting Life back into the Lazarus Story and its Reading: The Narrative Rhetoric of John 11 as the Narration of Faith," *Semeia* (1991): 113-132. Cited hereafter as Wuellner, "Life," the current citation is at p. 113.

⁷⁶ Wuellner, "Life," 114.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

experienced echo the methodological concerns chronicled above, and are clearly applicable to the performative contexts of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

It is primarily in the performance of the text that we begin to appreciate the rhetoric *of* John. The text is no longer merely or mainly an object to be analyzed, or a subject (like a speaker/author) to be understood. The experience of the Lazarus story (heard, read, or sung; seen in script or in some performing arts; on television or on computer screens) is then no longer an activity with "only one consciousness, one subject."⁷⁸

In our own consideration of the performative context of these texts, we are necessarily focusing on a particular "community of interpretation," and we are self-consciously attempting to remain within that hermeneutical community. Recognition of the inevitable community dimension to individual experience and analysis is another methodological pre-occupation inherent in all contemporary liturgical studies.

The power of the Lazarus story is, rhetorically speaking, largely a function of its argumentative force; our evaluative responses to its argumentation (belief and conviction and persuasion, versus unbelief), especially *after* reading, are more than mere appraisals; they are commitments (to accept or reject; to tolerate some or all of it). Such reading response and responsibility is always and ultimately a corporate, cultural experience and never mainly a private, individualistic one; and it is an ongoing, never ending process specific to its cultural context and media choice (Miller's materiality of reading).⁷⁹

Our study itself functions at what Wuellner called the third level of reading.

The third level of the rhetorically critical reading of the Lazarus story focuses on the rhetoric of rhetorical theory and of rhetorical criticism itself. What the scholarly critical readers both give and receive in their critical deliberations about the producer, the product, and the consumer of the Johannine rhetoric in, and of, John 11 is in itself a profoundly rhetorical activity. We exegetical scholars seek to be both convincing and persuasive in what we share concerning our

⁷⁸ Wuellner, "Life," 115.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

findings, oftentimes with fellow-scholars exclusively.⁸⁰

Certainly this dissertation seeks to place itself within a wide range of ongoing scholarly inquiry, however the history of *its* reception is happily beyond the range of the work itself.

Egeria

This late 4th century travelogue is justly famous for its vivid if selective portrayal of the liturgical life of Jerusalem around the year 385. As the first explicit witness to the liturgical commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus, Egeria's testimony is a crucial touchpoint in the historical development of many of the elements which will later become incorporated into Lazarus Saturday. Unfortunately she does not make any statements which directly contribute to our understanding of the thematic elements of the Destruction of Hades, much less to the specific association of such themes with Lazarus. Nevertheless her evidence is so important for understanding all of the subsequent data, as well as providing a convenient point of comparison for the few pieces of evidence from an earlier date, that it must be presented here, even if in the schematic form of Chapter 22. Chapter 23 expands that coverage with comparisons to the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries which tell us of the Jerusalem liturgy from the 5th through the 8th centuries.

Patristic Literature

The crucial significance for the Patristic literature to our investigation is so

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

obvious it needs no justification. What does require some explanation are the inevitable omissions which are necessary to survey such a vast body of material within the scope of this dissertation. This is offered at the beginning of Chapter 24. Chapter 25 provides an equally selective presentation of the theme of the Destruction of Hades in the same body of literature.

Final Synthesis

After this limited survey of sources in Part Four, Part Five of this study will provide a synthetic analysis of the evidence which has been examined. This synthesis will allow some preliminary conclusions. The final step in our study will be to speculate on the possible implications of these conclusions for present understandings and future research in the understanding of Byzantine liturgical hymnography.

Paul Bradshaw described one of the major goals of his own work in these words:

What this particular contribution to research has tried to do, therefore is to help construct just such a new matrix for the search for the origins of Christian worship, one which takes seriously the altered face of Jewish liturgical scholarship, the basic pluriformity of New Testament Christianity and the inherent ambiguity of its witness to primitive liturgical practice, the real character of the source-documents of the early centuries and the extent of the gaps of our knowledge of the period, and above all of the clues which point to the essentially variegated nature of ancient Christian worship.⁸¹

In a more limited way the current study hopes to contribute to the creation of a useful matrix within which to understand the complex sources of Byzantine liturgical practice.

Within that goal, however, its focus will be on better understanding the sources, the

⁸¹ Bradshaw, *Search*, 205.

"what," behind a focused set of texts within the Triodion. As Knowles observed:

A reassessment of the past theories of the development of the Byzantine Liturgy may shed light on its evolution and inner meaning; however there remain many areas that merit further and more exact research at the practical level.⁸²

This dissertation will attempt such an examination of the sources. In many areas it will need to be content to indicate areas where more research is desirable. Even the limited research that is undertaken here, however, should have implications for the broader understanding of Byzantine liturgy. If it is successful, its conclusions might best be judged within the framework proposed by Bradshaw:

The resultant shape formed within this matrix may be less satisfying than the picture painted by earlier scholarship - but a much better representation of the truth.⁸³

Before examining the Triodion, therefore, two additional foundational tasks must be addressed. The next chapter will offer an initial survey and taxonomy for the sources for the study of Byzantine liturgy, while chapter 3 will offer an orientation to the Triodion.

⁸² Knowles, "Renaissance," 234.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 2

BYZANTINE LITURGICAL SOURCES

This chapter will provide a general taxonomy for collections of hymns within the Byzantine Tradition by first locating the Triodion within the broader categories of Byzantine liturgical sources,¹ and then breaking down the Triodion into appropriate "structural elements" which can be utilized in more specific analyses.

Types of Liturgical Sources

A Preliminary Taxonomy

Andrew Quinlan offers a succinct statement of the desirability and difficulties inherent in classifying historical documents.

The accurate and reliable classification of any document is an important part in the process of reaching an understanding of the document itself. This classification should give an idea not only of the form of the document, but also its content. . . . The difficulties that are created for classification by a changing form, combined with an ever-increasing content, can not be underestimated.²

The cues for classifying the basic categories of Byzantine liturgical sources were

¹ Taft's comments on the importance of such a classification apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to this investigation as well: "...A taxonomy of these documents, contextualized within the history of Studite, Sabaitic, and hagiorite monasticism, is basic to an understanding of the role of Mt. Athos in the fixation of the final Byzantine synthesis during the hesychast ascendancy." Taft, *Athos*, 180.

² Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, XXIII.

made explicit by Robert Taft S.J. in his study of Athonite liturgical contributions to the Byzantine rite.

Like everything else in cultural history, liturgies of the past are recuperable, at least in part, via their extant monuments, literary and archeological: documents that contain (service books), regulate (typika, diataxeis, canonical legislation) or describe (mystagogia, ekphraseis, histories, pilgrim accounts) the celebrations; and what remains of the edifices built to house them.³

The primary division is between literary and "archeological" sources.⁴ Literary sources break down into the 2 categories of "Liturgical Books" (those actually used in liturgical services), and "Descriptions."

Liturgical books are of two kinds: (1) liturgical texts actually used in the services; (2) books that regulate how those texts are to be used. Category 1, the texts themselves, comprises two levels of elements, the *ordinary* and the *proper*. The ordinary of an office is the basic skeleton that remains invariable regardless of the day, feast, or season. The proper comprises those pieces that vary according to the calendar. The ordinary is the bearer of each service's immutable thrust: vespers remains evensong, prayer at sundown to close the day, be it Christmas or a simple feria. The proper's nuance this basic thrust with festive and seasonal coloration.⁵

Historical study shows that early collections of the "Proper" texts often were

³ Taft, *Athos*, 179-180.

⁴ Perhaps a better tag is needed for this group, as "archeological" tends to have negative connotations in liturgical discourse. "Non-Literary Sources" has the advantage of being the most inclusive, but the disadvantage of being defined by negation. In any case, they would certainly include more than "the remains of the edifices built to house" liturgical celebrations. To offer only two examples, Baldovin's work on stational liturgy clearly demonstrates the significance of broader "archeological" data, while Michael Stone's ongoing Inscription Project can offer a great deal to our understanding of pilgrimages in the Holy Land. Taft himself has been a prime proponent of the need to situate literary sources in a broader cultural context - the *Symbolgestalt* spoken of by H-J. Schulz. See Taft, *History*, 17-18 & 28-30.

⁵ Taft, *Athos*, 180.

compiled by liturgical genre, thus a collection of sticharia would be called a Sticherarion, a collection of Kontakia would be a Kontakarion, etc. (See below, p. 43.) The particular terminology used is quite fluid, and the same term might mean quite different things in different times and places. Nevertheless the broad descriptive category of collections organized by liturgical genre is a valid one.

The addition of a few other categories results in the Preliminary Taxonomy of Table One. Two additional "dimensions" can help to nuance this model, the widely used categories of time (chronology) and context.⁶

This model assumes that a given source will provide one and only one type of information. Study of the "received tradition" of liturgical sources quickly encounters a wide variety of types of material within a given source. To refine this model, we will need to break down the source into liturgical units or elements which can then become the objects of a structural analysis. The propers for the moveable feasts will provide the material for this next step, since they include the texts which will eventually be the focus of the current study.

⁶ See Paul Bradshaw, "Ten Principles for Interpreting Early Christian Liturgical Evidence," in Bradshaw, *Search*, 77-78. "Context" is most often thought of simply as geographic location, however experience in our own era confirms what is suggested by some ancient evidence, that two communities within the same geographic area might provide very different social contexts, while communities in distant geographic locations might provide similar social situations.

Table One: A Preliminary Taxonomy of Byzantine Liturgical Sources

Non-Literary Sources

Inscriptions

Buildings

Site-plans

Demographic inferences

Written Descriptions of Non-literary Monuments

Literary Sources

Liturgical

Texts

Ordinary

Euchologia

Horologia

Proper

Compiled by Liturgical Genre

Prophetologia

Sticheraria

Kontakaria

Kanonaria

Compiled in order of Liturgical use

Mobile Cycle

Triodia

Complete Triodia

Lenten Triodia

Pentekostaria

Oktoechoi

Fixed

Menaia

Scriptural Texts Compiled for Liturgical Use

Psalters

Evangelia

Praxapostoloi

Regulations

Typika

Diataxeis

Canonical Legislation

Table 1, Continued

Literary Sources

Liturgical (continued)*Lists*

"Canon lists" of Scripture

Menologia

Synaxaria

Descriptive

Martyrologies

Menologia

Synaxaria

Mystagogies

Ekphraseis

Histories

Hagiography

Pilgrim Accounts

The Propers for Mobile Feasts

A definitive account of the complex process by which the early Church gradually came to accept non-scriptural poetic compositions into the official worship of the community has yet to be written. New data continue to be published, and new interpretive frameworks offer constructive possibilities for a useful synthesis of what is known of that process. Karabinov's work remains, "For the development of the Triodion, the fundamental study not yet superceded."⁷ The Russian scholar made a real contribution in grounding the historical development of the Triodion within the broader history of the development of Byzantine hymnography.

The process of the formation of the Triodion reflects the development of Byzantine Church poetry two main periods being distinguished: the first

⁷ Ware, *LT*, 18.

from the 5th to the 9th century, and the second from the 9th to the present day.⁸

The precise path by which the earlier poetic compositions came to be collected and transformed into the liturgical books as they are now known in the Orthodox Churches has yet to be uncovered. What is clear is that with the monastic victory in the Iconoclastic struggle, the reformed Stoudite monastic tradition, which incorporated significant elements from the Palestinian Sabaite monastic tradition, quickly became normative for all of Byzantine worship. The poetic compositions which had gradually become more prominent in those traditions became the models for a massive production of new hymns. These strata of older and newer compositions circulated in a wide variety of local collections, slowly sifting themselves into ever-more similar configurations, until the editors of the printed liturgical books created a *de facto* standard which relatively quickly replaced and thus eliminated earlier alternatives.⁹ Quinlan offers a convenient summary of Karabinov's three-fold division of the second major period.

- 1) The work of St. Theodore based on the model received from the Sabaite tradition.¹⁰
- 2) The imitators of Theodore such as Klement and Joseph the Hymnographer.
- 3) The period from the 10th to the 15th century in which the Triodion is subject

⁸ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 77, cited in and translated by Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, VI.

⁹ Quinlan has identified Quirini's Roman edition of 1721 as a printed version which retains many hymns not included in the current printed editions. See Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, XXXIII - XXXIV.

¹⁰ Quinlan notes this may include the work of Theodore's brother, Joseph the Stoudite (762-826), however the identification of the many texts in the Triodion attributed to "Joseph" will require much further work before definite conclusions can be proposed.

to changes in form, and only a few additions in content.¹¹

Karabinov described the first step in this process:

Many observations demonstrate that before the appearance of the collection of the Lenten Triodion, where the hymns are grouped according to the services, there existed collections of particular types of hymns: Kontakia, for example, would be collected into a Kontakarion . . . psalmoglasni would be written together in a Sticherarion.¹²

In these early collections of hymns, there is little specificity in the nomenclature used to identify the hymns. Gradually distinctive terms for hymns based on their liturgical usage became more common, although the use of these more specific terms was never completely uniform from source to source, and might well be varied within a particular collection.

These hymns emerge as distinct genres of refrains called 'Troparia' or 'Hypakoe' or 'Stichari'. Tropar [τροπάριον: - harmony, tune], Stichar [from στίχαρ - verse], Hypakoe [from ὑπάκοειν: to hear attentively] are labeled as one or the other type of strophe, which refrains are placed within the Psalms or the Biblical writings. These three names were used interchangeably, as these texts demonstrate. Only at a later time would the term Sticheraria be used primarily for the refrains {used at} the Vesper Psalms 140, 142, 116 and {the Psalms} at Matins 148, 150. {Likewise the term} Troparia {came to be used specifically for} the refrains for Psalm 117 (Troparia at God is the Lord) and the Biblical Odes, while {the label} Hypakoe {was used for} the refrains after the appointed Psalms at Matins (134-135, 118), and after the 'Three-ode kanons.'¹³

As time went on, the calendar of the liturgical year became the most useful framework for organizing collections of hymns. The sources show a gradual

¹¹ Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, VII.

¹² *Postnaia Triod*, 206, cited in Momina, "Origins," 113.

¹³ Momina, "Origins," 114.

development in the way the compilers integrated the material for the fixed and moveable cycles.

Material with such collections are arranged in the order proceeding from the commemoration of the Menaion and Triodion cycles inseparably, as later with the Kontakaria or the notices of the Typika.

At first, the hymns of the Triodion cycle were placed after the hymns of the Menaion cycle.

Later {the Triodion hymns} would interrupt {the Menaion cycle} after February or March, with the hymns of the Menaion cycle continuing after the {Triodion material}.

These were the precursors of the collections of texts which were called Triodia, Menaia, or Oktoechoi. In the earliest stages there was only one book {which contained material for all of the proper cycles}. Within such a 'tropologion' as we have seen, are located the hymns called troparia (i.e. the refrains at Ps. 117) for each day commemorated, along with other psalms and biblical odes. Certainly the term 'tropologion' in the ancient tradition included {hymnographic elements which would later be included in} the earliest Menaia and Octoechoi.¹⁴

In Vatopedi 1488, both systems are used within the same manuscript.

... the stichera for the six weeks of Lent, together with those for the week preceding the Expulsion of Adam, differ from the remainder of the Triodion in another respect: they are arranged in the order of their performance and provided with rubrics specifying the week, the day, and the hour (ἐσπέρας, πρωί). Likewise arranged in the order of their performance are the antiphons of the Holy Passions and the troparia of the Good Friday hours. For the rest, the stichera for the various Sundays and other days solemnly celebrated continue the pattern already established at the first half of the Sticherarion: there is simply a heading giving the title of the feast, after which the single items follow in the neutral order of the modal cycle. The evident purpose of this arrangement is to make the book universally useful; it facilitates reference and leaves the individual community free to sing as many or as few of the stichera as its rule prescribes and to fit them all into the framework of the services in accordance with that rule.¹⁵

Momina gave several examples of how a particular Georgian source preserves

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Text re-arranged in translation.

¹⁵ *Triodion Athoum*, 5-6.

much early hymnographic material which later becomes part of the Triodion. She concluded:

Judging from this preliminary comparison of the Georgian {Tropologion H-2123} to {other known} Greek materials, the *Iadgari* preserves hymnographic material which would later be divided into three liturgical books, the Menaion, the Triodion, and the Oktoechos.¹⁶

Thus even as when focusing on the Triodion, it is necessary to be aware of other liturgical sources, especially among the early compilations, since these sources will often contain elements which later become associated with the Lenten Triodion. We turn, then, to an orientation to the Triodion.

¹⁶ Momina, "Origins," 117.

CHAPTER 3

AN ORIENTATION TO THE TRIODION

Preliminary Descriptions

This study will concentrate on the Triodion.

... - that book of divine services which contains the hymns for the days, beginning from the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee and concluding on the Sunday of All Saints, i.e. that cycle of time of the Triodion, which begins with the preparatory days for the Great Fast, then {includes} the days of the Great Fast [itself] (Lent, the Forty Days) then the 50 days, from Pascha to the Sunday of All Saints.¹

The most common use of the term today restricts the Triodion to the collection of pre-paschal texts, which is now published apart from the collection of texts for the "Easter Season."

Triodion (τριώδιον), liturgical hymnbook "of three odes" containing the variable parts of the services for the mobile Lenten and Easter cycle, from the pre-Lenten period beginning with vespers the eve of the tenth Sunday before Easter through *mesonyktikon* of Holy Saturday. The *triadion* originally also included the entire Easter season through to the end of the Pentecost cycle, but from the 14th C. onward this material, starting with Easter *orthros*, was sometimes relegated to a separate book, the Pentekostarion.²

Thus it seems like a useful convention in English that,

To avoid confusion, we shall follow the Greek practice, reserving the name 'Triodion' to the volume for the Lenten period, and always referring to the

¹ Momina, "Origins," 112.

² Robert F. Taft in *ODB* s.v. "Triodion," 3:2118-19.

volume for the period after Easter by the title 'Pentecostarion'.³

In recent centuries Triodion almost always refers to the Lenten Triodion as described here, but it is important to remember that, "The word 'Triodion' (Τριῳδιον) refers to a particular type of hymn, whose character of 'three-ode kanons'⁴ gives its name to this book."⁵ The Synaxarion notice for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, the first such notice within the Triodion, goes so far as to say,

"It is a mistake to call this book 'Triodion' for it is not made up exclusively of three-oded Kanons. The majority of its kanons, however, do have only three odes."⁶

The point is that the books called Triodia contain a lot more than just the hymns known as Triodia:

Apart from these "three-oded kanons", we can also discover many other hymns, distinctive in form and size. These {include} Kanons, Sessional Hymns, Sticharia, 'Podobni' and 'Psalmoglasni', Troparia at *God is the Lord*, Hymns of Light, Kontakia, Troparia, Prophecies. The prose texts of the Triodion, which include the 'Paremii' (readings from the Old Testament), and sometimes the

³ *LT*, 14, n. 1. Cf. Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 3, "The Lenten Triodion is a collection of the moveable parts of the divine services for the first half of the Cycle known as 'Moveable Days,' beginning from the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee and ending on Great and Holy Saturday."

⁴ I have chosen the awkward English phrase 'three-ode kanons' to translate this meaning of 'triadion.' In *LT* and *Supplemental Texts*, Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware use the phrase 'three-canticle canons;' *NZT* uses 'tri-ode canons.'

⁵ Momina, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *AT*, 8; *NZT*, 5, adapted. For more on the Synaxaria listings, see below in chapter 9, p. 203 and ff.

Synaxaria, were compiled by the 14th century. In all, the Triodion contains about 600 hymns.

In the Triodion we discover a collection of excellent Byzantine poetical works from the 5th through the 14th centuries. The best poets of Byzantium and the near east participate in this collection, among whom are Romanos the Melodist, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, Kosmas of Maiuma, Theodore the Stoudite, Kassia, and many others. Study of the Triodion is useful not only for Byzantine philology but also for Byzantine history. This liturgical book existed first in Greek, then in Old Slavonic. Its transfer makes possible a study of the process of transmission, while for historians, liturgists, specialists in Greek and Slavonic linguistics [etc.], studying the Triodion can provide much new and unknown material.⁷

There is one more characteristic of the Triodion that is not evident in most descriptions.

What do we find, then, in this book of preparation that we term the Lenten Triodion? It can most briefly be described as *the book of the fast*. Just as the children of Israel ate the 'bread of affliction' (Deut. 16.13) in preparation for the Passover, so Christians prepare themselves for the celebration of the New Passover by observing a fast.⁸

The theme of fasting is integral to the texts themselves, as the Slavonic title of the book suggests - *постная триодъ*, the Triodion of the Fast, or the Lenten Triodion. "The Great Fast" provides the historical as well as the existential/spiritual background for all of the texts collected in the Triodion. It is thus not surprising that fasting is a common subject addressed by the hymns of the Triodion, and the biblical teaching about the true meaning of fasting is repeated, explored, and developed with the poets' full repertoire of

⁷ Momina, "Origins," 112. I have usually retained the Slavonic nomenclature which Momina uses to minimize the interpretation inherent in translation.

⁸ *LT*, 14.

linguistic imagery.⁹

Historical evidence makes clear that there was a great diversity of pre-paschal fasting practices in the formative years of the Christian tradition, and a structural analysis of the Byzantine Triodion provides striking confirmation for that "original diversity" which is eventually incorporated into the Byzantine synthesis. Before presenting this evidence, however, it is necessary to further clarify the liturgical elements within the Triodion which can be the object of such an analysis.

Classification of Triodia Manuscripts

Attempts to develop a classification scheme for Triodia Manuscripts were begun by Karabinov¹⁰ and Cappuyns.¹¹ Momina added some nuances to these schemes¹² and Quinlan gives an evaluative summary of them all.¹³

1. Karabinov

⁹ Good summaries of the fasting practices assumed in the Triodion can be found in *LT*, 13-28, and Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 49-55. Quinlan refers to the following work as providing background on the patristic use of biblical *exempla* of fasting: H. Musarillo, "The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers," *Traditio* XII (1956).

¹⁰ *Postnaia Triod*, 205-216.

¹¹ Cappuyns, *Étude*, 120-127, *apud* Quinlan *Sinai Gr. 734-5*, XVII.

¹² Momina, "Origins", 113.

¹³ *Sinai Gr. 734-5*, XXIII -XXVIII. The summary that follows is dependant upon Quinlan and Momina for the discussion of Cappuyns, which has never been published and was not available to this author. Karabinov and Momina were consulted directly. For these works Quinlan's observations are followed unless otherwise indicated, although Quinlan explicitly acknowledges that he is summarizing only those aspects of previous works which apply to the specific manuscript he is studying. (See pp. II and IV.)

Karabinov collected information on over 50 Triodia manuscripts, dividing them into "Eastern and "Western" groups and providing chronological information where it was known.¹⁴ Based on observations about the hymns included in each witness, he divided them into 5 "types".

Type 1 is characterized by the compositions of Klement and/or Joseph the Hymnographer, with the Idiomela collected at the beginning, followed by a daily arrangement of material from Joseph (sessional hymns, stichera, and Triodia) followed by compositions attributed to Theodore. *Vatican Greek 771* is the "typical" example given, although none of the group has the same order for the singing of the kanons. Karabinov could not discern any pattern to the inclusion or separation of the pre- and post-Pascha material within this group.

Type 2 has the same arrangement without the works of Klement, and only rarely including the works of Joseph. Material before and after Pascha is usually included.

Type 3 arranges the material (basically the same as in **Type 2**) according to liturgical use. Pre- and post-pascha material is always divided, sometimes at Great Saturday, other times at Lazarus Saturday.

Type 4 is virtually identical to the printed Triodia, with the earliest exemplars being from the 12th century. It includes only pre-Pascha material.

Type 5 is characterized by the absence of any of the second Kanons on Sundays, while limiting itself to material for the "Lenten" Triodion.

2. Cappuyns

Cappuyns' dissertation "represents a clarification of much that is unclear in

¹⁴ These are listed on pp. iv - vi in Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod* and have been rearranged into chronological order in the Bibliographic Appendix "Potential Manuscript Sources for the Study of the Triodion." In addition to over 40 Greek Triodia manuscripts, Karabinov also studied 10 Slavic Triodia and Greek manuscripts of earlier collections of hymns, i.e. Sticheria and Irmologia. Karabinov's discussion of the 5 types is on pp. 205-216.

Karabinov," according to Quinlan.¹⁵ Cappuyns utilized the hymnographers who are credited with composing the hymns to divide the Triodia manuscripts which collect their works into three groups.

Jerusalem Triodia include the work of hymnographers from Jerusalem and the Palestinian monastery of St. Sabas. Momina lists Andrew of Crete (originally a monk at the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem), John of Damascus, Kosmas of Maiuma, and Andrew the Blind, who all lived and worked in Palestine in the late 7th into the 8th centuries.

Stoudite Triodia focus on the compositions of the monastery of the Stoudion in Constantinople, primarily Theodore and Joseph (the Stoudites).

Mixed Triodia include works by non-Stoudite Constantinopolitan authors, such as Joseph the Hymnographer, Emperor Leo the Wise, or Theophanes Graptos. The compositions of these non-Stoudite authors are never found apart from material from one or both of the previous two groups.

3. Momina

Among Momina's contributions was to distinguish manuscripts based upon the types of hymnic "elements" they contain. By distinguishing between those hymns which are common to the Greek, Slavonic, and Georgian manuscripts (and therefore presumably represent a common core tradition) from those hymns that differ from manuscript to manuscript,¹⁶ another step is taken towards what we are calling here a "structural analysis." She also notes that "Triodia are very diverse (especially with regard to Greek Triodia before the XIth century and Slavonic before the XIVth c.) not only in their

¹⁵ *Sinai Greek 734-5, XXVI-XXVII.*

¹⁶ "Origins," 113.

components but also in the arrangement of the hymns."¹⁷ By recognizing the significance of differing ways of arranging hymnographic elements, Momina indicates a direction which would enable a more sophisticated taxonomy of the manuscripts.¹⁸

Through the careful comparison of the Greek and Slavonic Triodia with the Georgian *Iadgari* (and specifically the manuscript Tbilisi H-2123, which turns out to have much in common with a VIIth century Jerusalem Kanonarion preserved in a Georgian manuscript discovered by Kekelidze¹⁹), Momina is able to offer a series of observations about the ways various hymnic elements occur in our different sources.

1. Often an equivalent hymn will be described as belonging to different hymnic genres in different sources, . . .
2. When the same element is used by different sources in different ways, it will often be in a different tone. Thus the "*Akebditsa*" for Lazarus Saturday "*Vidartsa etkodye*" (128) in the 5th tone, is equivalent to the Greek verses at the praises, "As he said" (*RT*, 599) in the 8th tone.
3. Sometimes an equivalent hymn will be used on different days by different sources. . . .

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ One specific advantage of this additional criterion is that it avoids the dependence of previous classification schemes on the attributed authorship of hymns. The tenuousness of these attributions has been explicitly acknowledged by Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, vii-viii; Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, VII-VIII; and Momina, "Origins," 113. For more on these attributions see below, pp. 142 and ff.

¹⁹ Kekelidze = Кекелидзе К., Иерусалимский канонарь VII в. [A Jerusalem Kanonarion of the Seventh Century], (Тифлис, 1912.) See Anton Baumstark and Theodore Kluge, "Quadragesima und Karwoche Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert," *Oriens Christianus* n.s. 5 (1915): 201-233. This article includes a German translation by Kluge of portions of the 7th century Jerusalem Kanonarion which Kekelidze had published, with introduction and notes by Baumstark. These early publications are now superceded by the edition of Michel Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (V^e - VIII^e siècle, = CSCO 189, Scriptorum Iberici 10* (Louvain, 1959), hereafter cited as Tarchnischvili, *Georgian Lectionary*.

4. Finally, one encounters textual variants among equivalent hymns.²⁰

Each of these observations supports the rationale which underlies a structural analysis, i.e., the component "elements" which make up the liturgical services do not evolve as a unit, rather each element goes through its own complex development. An adequate understanding of this development must therefore identify these elements and attempt to trace their particular histories. The next step is thus to begin to identify the various structural elements which make up the Triodion. Before doing so, however, it will be helpful to add some more information about the way in which the hymnographic material for the moveable cycles eventually came to be separated into two parts.

The Synaxarion notice for the feast of the Publican and the Pharisee speaks of the "period of the Triodion" which the prologue earlier specified as "beginning from the Publican and the Pharisee and continuing until {the Sunday of} All Saints."²¹ The title of Vatopedi 1488 describes the contents of the manuscript as

Στιχεράριον τῆς ἀγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ τῇ κυριακῇ τοῦ φαρισαίου μέχρι τῶν ἀγίων πάντων - "The Sticherarion for Lent, from the Sunday of the Pharisee to All Saints." Such a book, containing only the stichera for the moveable feasts, is more usually called a "Triodion," the designation "Sticherarion" being as a rule reserved for books containing the

²⁰ Momina, "Origins," 117. I have simply transliterated Momina's Russian rendering of the Georgian titles. On the difficulties encountered in understanding Georgian hymnological terminology, see Peter Jeffery, "The Sunday Office of Seventh-Century Jerusalem in the Georgian Chantbook (*Iadgari*): A Preliminary Report," *Studia Liturgica* (1992): 55.

²¹ *AT*, 8.

stichera for the fixed feasts or those containing the entire repertory.²²

Karabinov drew attention to the fact, already mentioned above (see p. 46), that:

This Lenten Triodion is only the first half of the ancient liturgical collection for the moveable feasts, the second half of which is the Pentekostarion: in antiquity (9th-12th centuries) these two books made up one complete work. Therefore research on the Triodion proper must concern itself with both sections which were later, simply for the sake of convenience, divided into two parts.²³

This process deserves more careful examination, for as was suggested by Karabinov's third type of manuscript (see p. 50 above), it turns out to have special relevance to our study of Lazarus Saturday.

The Separation of the Lenten Triodion from the Pentekostarion

The phenomenon which Karabinov had noticed can now be studied more fully with the addition of more evidence. Examination of the List of Potential Manuscript Sources for the Study of the Triodion²⁴ clearly shows this development. Clarification of this process is one of the contributions of Momina's study.

The majority of the oldest Greek and Slavonic exemplars contain complete Triodia. Still {even} in the most ancient exemplars, some can be found which are divided into two parts. There are two methods of such a division. The Lenten part {in some cases} concludes with the services for Vespers at Great Saturday,

²² *Triodion Athoum*, 2. Quinlan (*Sinai Gr.* 734-5, p. VI) notes, "The manuscript presented by Follieri and Strunk can in no way be considered a Triodion, and to call it so creates some confusion. It is a Sticheraion that contains stichera used during Lent and the pre-Pentecost period. However transmitting as it does so much poetic material that is to be also found in the manuscript tradition of the Triodion, it occupies an important place in the study of the history of this book."

²³ *Postnaia Triod*, 111.

²⁴ Included below as Appendix 9.

with the Pentekostarion beginning with the Paschal Sunday. {In other cases}, the Lenten part concludes with the Matins Service for the Friday of the Sixth Week of the Fast, while the Pentekostarion begins with the Vespers service on the Friday before Lazarus Saturday. Among Greek Triodia we find both methods of division within the same time period. In the Slavonic {Triodia}, the second method was acceptable before Patriarch Nikon and the first {became the norm} after the reforms of Nikon. Thus since the 6th Week (of the Palms) was called in Slavonic "Flowering" or цвѣтная, the Pentekostarion beginning with that time came to be called in Slavonic the "Flowering Triodion."

This is why {both} the Week and the Sunday are called "Flowery", as Maresč has written about it. This naming was already encountered in the Assemani codices, "Savvinoi" books. It is complete in the Gospel book of Ochrid and the following Epistle Lectionary. Maresč notes that Cyril and Methodius encountered this terminology in Moravia, such that Galicia and the western churches were using the term *domenica florum*.²⁵

A specific, relatively late example of a Greek manuscript which limits the period of the Lenten Triodion to the days up to Lazarus Saturday is included in Papadopoulou-Kerameos' *Catalog of Manuscripts from the Library of the Jerusalem Patriarchate*²⁶, # 221, dated to the year 1416. The first 113 folia of the manuscript are described as a *Paraklitike*. The next section begins with the heading:

Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ τοῦ Τριωδίου τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης καὶ
ψυχωφελούς τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς τοῦ Τελώνου
καὶ τοῦ Φαρισαίου μέχρι τῷ Σαββάτῳ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου.

²⁵ Momina, "Origins," 119. I have translated цвѣтная as "flowery" to retain the associations with *domenica florum*. Prof. Meyendorff astutely notes that the original meaning of the term was "bright."

²⁶ Papadopoulos-Kerameus = Παπαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς, Α., Ἱεροσολυμίτικι Βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκῃς τοῦ ἁγιωμάτου ἀποστόλικου τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόχου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. [The Jerusalem Libraries, or the Catalog of the Libraries of the Holy, Apostolic and Catholic Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.] 3 Vols., 1891. Reprinted Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963. Hereafter cited as Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Catalog*.

The beginning, with the help of God, of the Holy Triodion, for the Great, Holy, and Soul-enriching Forty-days, beginning from the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, until the Saturday of the Holy and Righteous Lazarus.²⁷

Erhard's work on manuscripts which collect patristic homilies revealed a similar phenomenon.²⁸ Some of the manuscripts contain homilies for all of the Moveable feasts, from the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee to the Sunday of All Saints, in one codex. Other codices divide the Moveable feasts into two sections, the first going as far as Lazarus Saturday, the second picking up on Palm Sunday.

Other sources provide support for the idea of Lazarus Saturday as a key transitional moment within the Paschal cycles. In the Armenian Lectionary,

At the end of the *canon* for Friday of the sixth week we find: "the order of the sixth week of the holy Lent is completed." *Canons* for the Eucharist on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday follow, and then the order for Great Week. Some kind of distinction is clearly being made between the first six weeks of Lent and the week which follows, a week of immediate preparation for the Pascha. . . . Certainly some such break is envisioned by Egeria, who notes that the catechetical lectures are concluded before the beginning of Great Week, for there is not time for them once this week of arduous religious and liturgical exercises begins.²⁹

Similarly, the *Apostolic Constitutions* V.13 tells us:

. . . the fast of Lent is to be observed by you as containing a memorial of our

²⁷ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Catalog*, 331-2, where a further reference is given to Ouspensky, *Отчетъ Импер. Публ. Библ.* (St. Petersburg, 1883), # 435 on p. 150.

²⁸ A. Erhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, II (Leipzig, 1938), Chapter 5, section 5 on "Die homilarien," pp. 242-305.

²⁹ Baldovin, "Lenten Lectionary," 116-117. The relevant texts from Egeria are presented in Appendix 8, and will be examined in chapter 22 below. For a clarification of the Armenian Lectionary's use of the term *kanon* as equivalent to the Latin term *ordo*, see Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy*, footnote 102 on p. 65.

Lord's mode of life and legislation. But let this solemnity be observed before the fast of the Passover, beginning from the second day of the week and ending at the day of the preparation. After which solemnities, breaking off your fast, begin the holy week of the Passover, fasting in the same all of you with fear and trembling, praying in them for those that are about to perish.³⁰

Within the known works of the hymnographers Theodore, Joseph, and Klement are cycles of hymns for every weekday from the first day of Lent to the Friday before Lazarus Saturday. While not conclusive, such cycles strongly suggest that at the time these composers were active, the period of 40 days leading up to Lazarus Saturday was understood as a distinct liturgical unit from those days which followed.³¹

Part Three of this study will provide a detailed examination of the texts of Lazarus Saturday, identifying the main structural elements of that particular celebration. That investigation will provide additional evidence that, at least during certain periods of its development, Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday were understood as liturgically distinct from both the 40-day fast which precedes them and the Paschal fast of Great Week for which they prepare. Before undertaking that task, however, it will be helpful to clarify the context by specifying the structural elements of the Lenten Triodion itself, which will be done in Part Two of this dissertation.

³⁰ English Translation by James Donaldson in *ANF* VII:443.

³¹ The evidence is surveyed in Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, XXXII - XXXIV.

PART TWO

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE TRIODION

CHAPTER 4

MAJOR DIVISIONS OF THE LENTEN TRIODION

Keeping in mind the need to consider evidence from the broader categories of Byzantine Hymnography, the next step is to focus on the Lenten Triodion and to identify within that body of texts the various structural elements which make it up. We begin in this chapter by looking at the cues for the largest sub-divisions.

A. The Three Major Divisions of the Triodion

In the current printed editions of the Triodion, headings are provided for significant blocks of text, while the size of the print used in the headings suggests a hierarchy of the interrelation of these elements.¹ Closer examination will reveal that they

¹ There are similar cues in the manuscripts, e.g. the use of uncial, majuscule or miniscule lettering, which are best considered in the examination of specific sources. Enrica Follieri's description of Vatopedi 1488 (*Triodion Athoum*, 13-14) as an example of the use of majuscule script for headings and other text to be distinguished from the hymnographic texts; later (p. 24) she mentions the same phenomenon for Moscow Gr. 299. Quinlan (*Sinai Gr. 734-5*, XVI) reports that in those manuscripts, "The scribe uses the uncial-form for the titles of each day, the models of the prosomia, for the irmoi of the kanons, for the first letter of each troparion of the kanon and the first letter of each hymn or prayer. This form is also used to indicate if a hymn is considered a kathisma, sticheron, idiomelon, and in the case of the latter if it is to be sung at Vespers or Matins. The titles of the kanons, their acrostic, if present, and the abbreviations of the poets' names are also in uncial-form. The most sustained use of this form is in Holy Week, where the "rubrics" for both of the rites of the Pedilavium are uncial and the incipits of the readings and the psalm verses used on Holy Thursday and Good Friday are in the same form."

are not as obvious as they might at first appear, still they provide a useful starting point.

Kallistos Ware succinctly describes this division:

The portion of the Church's Year covered by the Lenten Triodion falls into three periods:

(1) *The Pre-Lenten Period*: three preparatory Sundays (the Publican and the Pharisee; the Prodigal Son; the Last Judgement), followed by a preliminary week of partial fasting, ending with the Sunday of Forgiveness.

(2) *The Forty Days of the Great Fast*, beginning on Monday of the first week (or more exactly, at Sunday Vespers on the evening before), and ending with the Ninth Hour on Friday of the sixth week.

(3) *Holy and Great Week*, preceded by the Saturday of Lazarus and Palm Sunday.²

For anyone familiar with the liturgical experience of Lent in the Byzantine tradition, these three categories might seem self-evident. A period of preparation entails gradually more intense fasting, leading up to the formal initiation of "The Great Fast" at "Forgiveness Vespers." The "Great and Holy 40 Days" which follow last until Vespers on the Friday before Lazarus Saturday, and then culminate in the demanding, yet immensely popular, cycle of services for Great and Holy Week. The current Triodion clearly marks these transitions with dramatic "headline" type on a new page (*AT*, 78) for "The Beginning of the Great and Holy Forty Days," similarly for "Great and Holy Week" (*AT*, 392.) Evidence that there were other ways of dividing the Lenten season will be examined below, but it is convenient to begin with the system that appears to be normative in the existing books.

² *LT*, 28-29.

1. The Time of Preparation for Lent

The current Triodion includes texts for the following specific days of preparation for Lent.

Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee

On the same day, we keep the memory of the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee, from the holy Gospel of the Evangelist Luke, Chapter 18 vv. 10-14. (AT, 8, Synaxarion notice.)

Sunday of the Prodigal Son

On the same day, we keep the memory of the parable of the Prodigal Son from the holy gospel, which our divinely-led Fathers appointed as the second of the Triodion. (AT, 15, Synaxarion notice.)

Saturday before the Judgement *Saturday of the Dead;*

We celebrate the memory of all the Orthodox Christian Fathers and Brothers who have fallen asleep throughout the ages. (AT, 18.)

On the same day, we keep the memory of the pious of all ages who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection unto eternal life, the divinely-favored fathers. (AT, 22, Synaxarion notice.)

Sunday of the Last Judgement *Sunday of Meatfare;*

On the same day, we keep the memory of second and impartial ἀδεκάστου coming-again of our Lord Jesus Christ. (AT, 32, Synaxarion notice.)

Monday before Cheesefare

Tuesday before Cheesefare

Wednesday before Cheesefare

Thursday before Cheesefare

Friday before Cheesefare

Saturday before Cheesefare

We celebrate the memory of all of our God-bearing fathers who were radiant in ascetical efforts. (AT, 58, title before Friday Vespers.)

On the same day, we celebrate the memory of all of the holy men and women who were radiant in ascetical efforts. (AT, 65, Synaxarion notice.)

Sunday of Cheesefare *The Sunday of Forgiveness; The Sunday before Lent;*

On the same day, we commemorate the expulsion of Adam the first-formed from the Paradise of food τῆς τρυφῆς [NZT of delight]. (AT, 72, Synaxarion notice.)

Momina offers the useful generalization, "The older a Triodion or Typikon is, the

fewer are the preparatory Sundays commemorated in it."³ Additional information about how these units were understood is provided in the descriptions often given in the titles for the various services or in the Synaxarion notices, provided above *in italics*.

There are three general types of descriptive terms used in identifying days within the Triodion. *Chronological* cues simply specify the nth Sunday/Week before/of the Fast. *Thematic* identifiers are often based on the gospel passage for that day. Themes can also be taken from a particular service, thus Forgiveness Vespers leads some to speak of Forgiveness Sunday; similarly we find the Thursday of the Great Kanon or Akathist Saturday. Themes can also be taken from the hymnography, as in the "Expulsion of Adam from Paradise." Later in the Triodion, days are often identified by the commemorations which take place on that day - the Saturday of Theodore the Recruit, the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the Sunday of John of the Ladder, etc., *Ascetic* terms identify a day or week in terms of the fasting practices associated with it, thus Meat-fare and Cheese-fare.

Sundays of Preparation

Clearly the Sundays of Preparation get their themes from the Gospel Readings at the Liturgy, although for Cheese-Fare Sunday there are several other sources of thematic development. These Sundays will be considered here in the order of their proximity to Lent and Pascha, since that is most likely the order in which they developed historically.

³ "Origins," 113.

Cheese-fare Sunday

Cheese-fare Sunday is a title which identifies the day in terms of the ascetical fasting discipline. In the titles of the Triodion, it is also identified chronologically, as the Sunday before Lent, and thematically, as the commemoration of the expulsion of Adam from Paradise. It is also known as the Sunday of Forgiveness, from the unique service of forgiveness which concludes Sunday Evening Vespers and begins the lenten season.

The Scriptural Readings at the Liturgy on this day include the Prokeimenon from Ps 75.12; the Epistle Reading from Romans 13.11 - 14.4; the Alleluia from Ps 91.2 & 3; and the Gospel from Matthew 6.14-21. All relate to ascetical themes appropriate to the impending Season of the Fast.⁴

The theme of the Expulsion of Adam from Paradise is the most prominent motif in the hymnography of the day. The texts for Saturday Evening Vespers are not attributed to anyone in the printed books, while the Kanon of the Triodion (which has hymns for eight odes) is attributed to Christopher the Chief Secretary.⁵ Given how completely the expulsion from Paradise theme dominates these texts, it is interesting to note which texts do NOT refer to it.

⁴ The appeal of the Ps 75.12 to the monastic tradition is clear: "Make vows to the Lord and fulfill them." The pericope from Romans begins with a theme that will be prominent in the hymnography throughout the Fast, "Now is the time of salvation" (Rm 13.11) and then goes on to very practical advice for the "ascetical contest" which is about to begin: "Let not the one who eats despise the one who doesn't, and let not the one who refrains from eating judge the one who does eat... ." (Rm 14.3) The excerpt from the Sermon on the Mount also speaks to the issue of judging and forgiveness before specifically addressing fasting practices.

⁵ See A. Kazhdan, "Christopher of Mytilene Hypographeus," in *ODB* 1:442.

Saturday Evening Vespers

Theotokion at the *Litiya* (*AT*, 69; *LT*, 170)

?Theotokion at the Aposticha? (*AT*, 70; *LT*, 170)

This hymn does mention that Christ "clothing himself with me, freed Adam from the ancient curse." However the same hymn is used in the same place on the Eve of the Sunday of the Prodigal Son. (*AT*, 12; *LT*, 113-114)

Sunday Morning Matins

The Lenten Troparia at Ps 50

(*AT*, 70; *LT* does not repeat them here, but they are given earlier on p. 101.)

Heirmoi of the Kanon

Another {Second Sessional} Hymn and Theotokion after the Third Ode (*AT*, 71; *LT*, 172)

?Theotokion after the Eighth Ode? (*AT*, 74; *LT*, 176)

The Paradise imagery is not explicit, although it may be implicit in themes of light/darkness, passions, hope/hopelessness.

At the Praises

Second Triodion Hymn (*AT*, 75; *LT*, 178)

Hymn at the Glory (*AT*, 75; *LT*, 179, where the hymn follows an additional verse from Ps 9.33, which is not in *AT*.)

Sunday Evening Lamplighting

None of the proper texts at this service refer to the Expulsion from Paradise theme. The hymns at Ps 140 attributed to Joseph and Theodore do explicitly make reference to the beginning of the fast.

The expulsion from Paradise theme gets extensive treatment in the Synaxarion for Cheese-fare Sunday. This notice repeatedly and explicitly links this theme to the "order" of the Triodion:

Our Holy Fathers appointed {the order of - ἐνέταξαν} this commemoration before the Holy Forty Days in order to demonstrate for us how useful a medicine fasting can be for the requirements of human nature, or conversely how shameful gluttony and disobedience can be... .

Thus our God-bearing Fathers wished to depict all these things {of the paradigm of our dismissal from Paradise because of eating and of our return to worthiness because of the obedience of the Virgin and of Christ (discussed at length in the previous paragraphs)} by means of the entire Triodion; thus they chose to begin first with the events of the Old {Testament}, with the creation and then the expulsion because of food of Adam (which it is thus appropriate to remember at this time) and going on then through Moses and the Prophets and the fulfillment

of the words of David, and how through all of these grace was conferred. Then in order we come to the events of the New Testament: first among these within God's unfathomable plan of salvation is the Annunciation, which is always found within the season (σχεδόν) of Lent, then on to {the raising of} Lazarus, Palm Sunday and Great and Holy Week, on to the reading of the Holy Gospels concerning the saving passion of Christ according to the detailed singing of hymns, and on to the Resurrection, and all the rest up to the Descent of the Spirit, where the proclamation takes place, until {finally we come} to the feast (συνήγαγεν) of All Saints.⁶

The Forgiveness Service at the end of Vespers is not mentioned in the Triodion itself. Among the Typika where the service is prescribed, there is a difference in the Greek and Slav usages.⁷ Athas noted how much of the terminology here presumes a monastic context, an observation which also applies to the rubrics at the end of Matins on this day (*AT*, 75).

Meat-fare Sunday

Meat-fare Sunday, which comes eight weeks before Easter, is also known by the theme of its gospel (Mt 25.31-46) as the Sunday of the Judgement. The Synaxarion notice explicitly recognizes both the ascetic and thematic dimensions of this commemoration, and even tries to link the two as part of the "order" or "pattern" of pre-paschal preparation:

So in this very day of general consumption of every aliment have our Fathers put the remembrance of the final Judgement, that we may think of the probability to be condemned at that hour, and make the decision to abstain from the pleasure of

⁶ *AT*, 72-73; *NZT*, 81-83, adapted. It is worth noting that this notice thinks of the "time of the Triodion" as including the post-paschal commemorations.

⁷ See *LT*, 183.

eating, the pleasure of which was the cause of our expatriation from Eden.⁸

The Synaxarion notice explicitly relates this commemoration to the parables read on the two preceding Sundays, and to the Saturday of the Dead on the previous day.

Our Holy Fathers have put the present celebration of the Day of the Final Judgement in this order... to this aim: that none may trust in God's love and compassion only, and lead a life of negligence, saying to himself: God is full of love, and he will remit my sins at that hour.

Thus through the thought of death and the expectations of the frightful examination, we shall be frightened and we shall hasten to exercise virtue... .

As the souls of our departed brothers have already departed from us ... it is time now that we also remember our turn, sooner or later, and be properly prepared. Thus after last day's commemoration (Saturday of the Dead), the present celebration uses another help to our correction.⁹

NZT's translation suggests a thematic division in pre-lenten period which does not seem justified by the Greek, difficult as it might be:

This Sunday also concludes the festal series of the preparatory period of the Triodion, and makes the circle of life complete. From next Sunday we start to celebrate the beginning of the world after Adam's fall in Paradise.¹⁰

Τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ ἡ παρούσα Ἑορτή, ὡσανεὶ τέλος πασῶν τίθεται νῦν: ὅτι καὶ αὗται πάντων ἔσται τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τελευταία. Χρὴ γὰρ σκοπεῖν, ὡς τῇ ἐπομένῃ Κυριακῇ, τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Παραδείσου ἔκπτωσιν θήσουσι τοῦ Ἀδάμ: ἡ δὲ παρούσα πάντων τῶν ἡμετέρων τέλος, καὶ τοῦ κόσμου αὐτοῦ.¹¹

In this certain way, today's Feast sets that day somewhat as the end of all Feastdays, since the Second Coming shall be the one which follows upon the acts through all of those things prepared by God on our behalf; because we must have it in sight that on the next Sunday the Divine Fathers have set the commemoration

⁸ *NZT*, 34; cf. *AT*, 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *NZT*, 34.

¹¹ *AT*, 32.

of the Beginnings of the World and the banishment of Adam from Paradise, so again in today's feast there is a memorial for the completion of all our works and of the world itself.¹²

Close examination of the hymnographic images used on this day and their scriptural sources would provide a fascinating study of the eschatological theology common to the hymnographers. Similarly the "explanations" of the Synaxarion notice are an important witness to how this eschatological tradition was understood in thirteenth-century Byzantium.

Egeria explicitly speaks of an eight week pre-paschal fast at Jerusalem, and some would see in this the foundations of the eighth week of fasting from meat. Given the fact that witnesses near Egeria only have a seven week fast at Jerusalem, most explain her statement in some other way.¹³

The Sunday of the Prodigal Son

Nine weeks before Pascha the hymnography for Sunday is based on the gospel from Luke 15.11-32. Obviously this gospel would be part of the "Lucan cycle";¹⁴ in the current arrangement it falls during the 28th week after Pentecost. Lectionary evidence as

¹² Unpublished English translation by David Fritz from the Romanian *Triodul*.

¹³ See the discussion below on the Weekdays before Cheesefare, pp. 76 and ff. Wilkinson has a helpful summary of the issue in Appendix F, "The Duration of Lent," pp. 278-280.

¹⁴ In the Typikon of the Great Church, these "Gospel Cycles" are described in a rubric rather curiously placed at the end of the Holy Saturday services, before those of Pascha Matins. It says, "It is necessary to note that the Gospels are read in this manner: From Pascha to Pentecost the Gospel of John; from Pentecost until the New Year {i.e. September 23 in this Typikon} that of Matthew; from the New Year to the Fast that of Luke; {and} from the Fast to Palm {Sunday} that of Mark." Mateos, *Typicon II*, 90-91.

well as the content of the hymnography still preserved in the Triodion shows that at one time this reading was prescribed for the 2nd Sunday of the Fast.¹⁵ On this Sunday the Typikon prescribes adding Psalm 136 to the Polyeleos of Matins. In the Typikon of the Great Church this is identified as the "Sunday before Meat-fare," and it is the first commemoration given after the title for this section of the Typikon. Mateos calls attention to the fact that "the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee is not included in the preparation for Lent."¹⁶

The Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee

The beginning of the Triodion proper, ten Sundays before Pascha, is known as the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee. The gospel passage of Luke 18.10-14 would fall on Saturday of the twenty-ninth week after Pentecost in the current arrangement of the "Lucan cycle." Several examples were given above of manuscript titles which describe the "Triodion section" as beginning with this Sunday, although some earlier manuscripts do not yet include it within the liturgical preparation for Pascha.

The Sunday of Preparation for the Triodion

"The Sunday of Preparation for the Triodion" is a title created here to describe a curious development within the Byzantine tradition. While there are some Triodion

¹⁵ See *LT*, 317 note 5, as well as the evidence of Sinai 210 discussed below on pp. 117 ff..

¹⁶ More precisely, it is the first section specified in Patmos 266, which is the only manuscript with extant folia for this part of the Typikon. See Mateos, *Typicon II*, 2-3.

manuscripts which will have less than the four preparatory Sundays included in the Printed Triodia, there are no versions of the Triodion which begin before the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee. Thus as far as the Triodion itself is concerned, there is no such thing as the "Sunday of Preparation for the Triodion."¹⁷

The Sunday of Zaccheus takes its name from the Gospel reading from Luke 19.1-10, and is the appointed reading for the end of the "Lucan Cycle" on the thirty-second Sunday after Pentecost. It will usually be read just before the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, because the number of Sundays after Pentecost in the lectionary cycle is usually less than the actual number of Sundays between Pentecost of the previous year and the start of the Triodion cycle. In this normal situation, between one and four Gospels must be repeated to "fill in" until the tenth week before Pascha. This is usually done during the Christmas-Theophany season when repetitions can be replaced by the special gospels before and after the feasts. The result is that in practice the Gospel of Zaccheus is almost always read on the eleventh Sunday before Pascha, that is, the week before the start of the Triodion Cycle, even though there is no intrinsic connection between this reading and those of the Paschal Cycle.

There are two situations, both relatively rare, in which the Zaccheus reading will not be appointed before the Triodion Cycle. The first occurs when Pascha occurs so early relative to the fixed cycle that the Sunday before the Publican and the Pharisee is the

¹⁷ I am indebted to Fr. David Petras for clarifications in the following explanation of why the Sunday of Zaccheus usually precedes the Triodion period.

Sunday after Theophany; in this situation the Zaccheus reading (along with others of the Lucan Cycle) is simply omitted that year. The other scenario is when an early Pascha one year is followed by a late Pascha the next, resulting in more than thirty-two weeks after Pentecost before the Triodion Cycle begins. In this case the Gospel of the Canaanite Woman (the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost, which is usually pre-empted by one of the Sundays before or after the Exaltation of the Cross or by the early beginning of the Lucan cycle) is read as a supply gospel.

Because of the common association of the reading for the thirty-second Sunday after Pentecost with that of the Publican and the Pharisee, and because the figure of Zaccheus fits well with a thematic approach to the time of preparation for Lent, the "Sunday of Zaccheus" is often thought of as part of the Lenten cycle. Thus Alexander Schmemmann claims: "The very first announcement of Lent is made the Sunday on which the Gospel lesson about Zaccheus (Lk. 19:1-10) is read."¹⁸ Constantine Andronikof discerns the same connection:

If we have examined the gospel passage from this Sunday of Zaccheus in detail {here}, it is because it clarifies the proposal of a number of themes which will be treated throughout Lent: that of searching, that of conversion, which are intimately tied to those of repentance in general and even of penitence... .

Finally, our insistence on this passage is motivated, perhaps paradoxically, by the fact that the liturgical hymns of the day have nothing to say about it. Even in the following weeks, there is no mention. The Oktoechos has nothing to say about it, and the Triodion has not yet started. It has been only in the last six centuries or so that this Sunday has been included in the list of Sundays designated as before or during the Fast by a commemoration printed in the Menaion: St. Thyron, St. Andrew of Crete, St. John Klimacus, St. Mary the

¹⁸ *Great Lent*, 17. Schmemmann goes on to develop the theme of desire as one which emerges from the Gospel pericope and relates to the Lenten preparation.

Egyptian ...¹⁹

Saturdays of Preparation

Consideration of the Saturdays of Preparation for Lent requires an understanding of the special status of Saturday within the Byzantine liturgical tradition, a status which turns out to be rooted in the commemorations of the Great Fast themselves.

{Saturday's} special liturgical status in our tradition and its exclusion from the lenten type of worship need some explanation. From the point of view of the "rubrics" ... Saturday is a day not of *fast* but of *feast* for God Himself instituted it as feast: "and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it: because that in it He had rested from all His work which God created and made" (Gen. 2:3)... . To keep the Sabbath as was meant from the very beginning means therefore that life can be meaningful, happy, creative; it can be that which God made it to be. And the Sabbath, the day of rest on which we *enjoy* the fruits of our work and activities, remains forever the blessing which God bestowed on the world and on its life. This *continuity* of the Christian understanding of the Sabbath with that of the Old Testament not only does not exclude, but indeed implies also a *discontinuity*...

Sabbath, the day of Creation, the day of "this world," became - in Christ - the day of expectation, the day *before* the Lord's Day. The transformation of the Sabbath took place on that Great and Holy Sabbath on which Christ, having "accomplished all His works," rested in the grave. On the next day, "the first after the Sabbath," Life shone forth from the life-giving tomb ...

All this explains the unique place of Saturday - the 7th day - in the liturgical tradition: its double character as a day of *feast* and a day of *death*... . All Saturdays in the liturgical year receive their meaning from two decisive Saturdays: that of Lazarus' Resurrection, which took place in this world and is the announcement and assurance of the common resurrection; and that of the Great and Holy Sabbath of Pascha, when death itself was transformed and became the "Passover" into the new life of the New Creation.²⁰

¹⁹ Constantin Andronikof, "La 'Pré-Quarantaine' ou les semaines préparatoires au Carême," in A. Pistoia, A.M. Triacca Eds., *Liturgie et Rémission des Péchés. Conférences Saint-Serge: XX^e Semaine d'Études Liturgiques* (Rome, 1975): 9-37. I have not been able to find any such notice in the Roman edition of the Menaia for February or March.

²⁰ Schmemann, *Great Lent*, 67-9.

There are two Saturdays of Preparation which have specific themes and proper hymnography given in the Triodion:

Saturday before the Judgement *Saturday of the Dead*;

We celebrate the memory of all the Orthodox Christian Fathers and Brothers who have fallen asleep throughout the ages. (AT, 18.)

On the same day, we keep the memory of the pious of all ages who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection unto eternal life, the divinely-favored fathers. (AT, 22, Synaxarion notice.)

Saturday before Cheesefare

We celebrate the memory of all of our God-bearing fathers who were radiant in ascetical efforts. (AT, 58, title before Friday Vespers.)

On the same day, we celebrate the memory of all of the holy men and women who were radiant in ascetical efforts. (AT, 65, Synaxarion notice.)

The Saturday before Cheesefare

This day does have a full set of propers for Friday evening through Saturday Matins and Liturgy. The precise connections among the texts for the "Saturdays of the Dead" and those which make up the "Office for the Dead" in the received tradition is worthy of further study and clarification.²¹ Mateos notes that in the Typikon of the Great Church, "This is the only Saturday where a commemoration of the dead is found."²² Schmemmann characterized the significance of this day with these words:

²¹ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 63-7, undertook a preliminary analysis of this issue and concluded that the transition from an ordinary Saturday commemoration of the dead to the particular remembrance of "all our holy and God-bearing Fathers who shone forth in the ascetic life" took place when Joseph and Theodore the Stoudites organized the Triodion into its current form, i.e., in the late 8th century. There are two sets of proper readings at the Saturday Eucharist, the first set "for the day," while the second is labeled "For the Holy Fathers," an observation which supports the conclusion that the later commemoration was added to a pre-existing practice.

²² Mateos, *Typicon II*, p. 9, note 1.

Then on Cheese-Fare Saturday the Church commemorates all men and women who were "illuminated through fasting": the Saints whose patterns we must follow, guides in the difficult art of fasting and repentance. In the effort we are about to begin we are not alone:

Let us praise the assemblies of holy fathers:

Anthony the Great, Euthymius the Great, and all their company!
Passing through their lives as through a paradise of sweetness

We have helpers and examples:

We honor you as examples, O holy fathers!

You truly taught us to walk on the right path; You are blessed for you worked for Christ²³

The Synaxarion reading for this day attributes the establishment at Constantinople of this preliminary week of fasting to the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) who is said to have imposed or established (ἐντάξει) the week of Cheese-fare because of a vow he made during his campaign against the Persian ruler Chosroes.²⁴ These Synaxarion readings are the work of Nicephorus Kallistos of Xanthopoulos, who was active around 1300 (See below, p. 203 and ff.). Peri drew attention to two sources (one in Arabic, the other preserved in Coptic) which, although much later than the time of Heraclius, support the testimony of the Synaxarion.²⁵ In the *Annals* of the Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria Eutyches (933-940) we are told:

{When Heraclius} had entered the city {of Jerusalem} and saw that which

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *AT*, 65.

²⁵ Vittorio Peri, "La Durata e la Struttura della Quaresima nell'Antico Uso Ecclesiastico Gerosolimitano," *Aevum* 37 (1963): 31-62, hereafter cited as Peri, "Quaresima." For the discussion of these sources see pp. 55-58.

the Persians had destroyed and burned, he was moved by a deep sadness; then on seeing what Modestos had /re/constructed of the Church of the Resurrection, of the {Place of the} Skull, and of the Church of *Mar* Constantine (20), he was moved to great joy, and he thanked Modestos for that which he had done. The Monks and inhabitants of Jerusalem said to him, "The Jews who live around Jerusalem, along with those of the Galilee, had all taken the part of the Persians, and they had assisted them in the invasion of the country. It was they who took the initiative to kill the Christians, even more so than the Persians; they destroyed Churches and put them to the fire." Then they made him look at the dead who were thrown down at Mamilla, and they informed him how many Christians had been killed and how many Churches had been destroyed at Tyre by the Jews. Heraclius responded to them, "What then do you want?" "That you give us satisfaction," they replied. "Kill every Jew that you find in the area of Jerusalem and the Galilee, because we do not want {to face the possibility that} if some other people hostile to us should come, {the Jews} might assist them as they had already aided the Persians." Heraclius said to them, "And how can I kill them, having already accorded them my protection and having given them my promise in writing?" ...

They replied to him, "Christ our Savior knows that their murder by your hands is a reason for forgiveness and purification of your sins. Men, for their part, will justify you, because at the time when you gave your protection to the Jews you did not know, you had not yet learned, how many Christians they had killed nor how many churches they had destroyed. They came to meet you, and they greeted you with gifts with the sole purpose of winning your favor, that they might escape the punishment for what they had done. If you kill them, it will be a worthy sacrifice which you could offer to God. We will not hold you responsible for this deed, nor will we blame you for it. In fact we will ask our Lord Jesus Christ to forgive you of this. We will do this for you, during the week before the Great Fast when it is permissible to eat eggs and cheese, we will keep an absolute fast: for the entire period of the Great Fast we will fast for you, and we will abstain for that time from eating eggs and cheese, for as long as Christianity lasts." The Melchites, in fact, during that week did abstain from eating meat, while they did eat eggs, cheese and fish, as is well demonstrated by the Typikon of the holy Mar Saba (21). "We will fast for you," they said, "and we will abstain from eating every type of fatty thing. We will make a rule, a prohibition and a curse which can never be changed, and we will send it in writing throughout every part of the world, as forgiveness for that which we are asking you to do."

Heraclius was satisfied, and he killed an uncountable number of Jews who lived around Jerusalem and in Galilee. Others succeeded in hiding themselves, and others fled into the desert and into the valleys, to the mountains and into Egypt.

Thus it was established, that the first week of fasting in which the Melchites abstain only from meat became a period of absolute fasting. They

fasted for the Emperor Heraclius, in order to beg forgiveness his having broken his word and having killed the Jews: during that period they abstained from eating eggs, cheese, and fish. They sent written notification of this proposition to every corner of the earth. The Copts of Egypt keep this fast even today, something which, on the other hand, those in Syria and the Greek Melchites do not do, because after the death of Heraclius they resumed eating eggs, cheese, and fish for that week. During that same week they abstain on Wednesdays and Fridays until the Ninth Hour, then they eat eggs, cheese and fish according to the *Ordo* of St. Nikephoros (22), patriarch of Constantinople, martyr and confessor, conforming to the Typikon of the church which allows the Orthodox to eat eggs and cheese in this week even on Wednesday and Friday, although only after the Ninth Hour. This rule is in clear contrast with the behavior of those who fast for the Maronite Emperor Heraclius, and may God preserve us from their impious conduct, because it is not right to fast for a man born of woman, even worse for an Emperor who left this world and died Maronite!

(20) This refers to the *Martyrium* or Basilica constructed over the crypt of the discovery of the Cross, 45 m. long and 26 m. wide. Cf. Bagatti - Testa, *Il Golgota e Croce*, Gerusalemme 1978, pp. 41-45, 58ff.

(21) Breydy, *op. cit.*, p. 85ff. holds that here it an intercalation to the original text of Eutychius which occurred during the various phases of the Antiochian redaction, based above all on the fact that the Typikon mentioned here was known in Arabic only after the XIIth century.

(22) For the reasons to consider this passage also as an intercalation to the original structure of the Annals of Eutychius cf. Breydy, *op. cit.*, p. 86ff. Breydy in fact holds that the Rule of St. Nikephoros should be assigned to the XIII century.²⁶

²⁶ The Annals of the Patriarch Eutychios of Alexandria, chapter XVIII.6, translated from the Italian version of Pirone, pp. 323-4. Eutichio, Patriarca di Alessandria (877-940), *Gli Annali*, Introduzione, traduzione, e note a cura di Bartolomeo Pirone = *Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 1 (Cairo: Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies, 1987). A critical edition of the Arabic text with a German translation was published by M. Breydy, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien* = CSCO vol. 450, Tome 44-45, Louvain, 1985. Breydy was building on the work of L. Cheikho, *Eutychio Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* = CSCO vol. 50, Tome 6, vol. 51, Tome 7 (with Carra De Vaux and H. Zayyat), Louvain, 1954. The *Editio princeps* of the work was *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales, illustris*. Joanne Seldana chorago; translated by Edward Pocockio, Oxford, 1658, reproduced in Migne, PG 111, cols. 889-

The Arab historian Taqi ad-din Ahmad ibn `Ali al-Maqrizi (1360-1442) wrote a *History of the Coptic Christians*.²⁷ While this later history does differ in details from the account of the Patriarch of Alexandria, both of these sources agree that this "extra" week of fasting was added to the "Great Fast" as an act of penance for the Emperor's complicity in the massacre of the Jewish residents of Jerusalem who had collaborated with the Persian forces which had just been expelled by the efforts of Heraclius.²⁸

Weekdays before Cheesefare

The primary characteristic of this week is the initiation of the Lenten fast.²⁹

In Constantinople from the sixth or seventh century onwards, there arose the practice of adding, before the seven weeks of the fast, an eighth or preliminary week of modified fasting. In our translation, we have termed this the 'Week

1232.

²⁷ Text and German translation in F. Wüstenfeld *Geschichte der Copten* (Göttingen, 1845). The transliteration of the Arab historian's name is given here according to Peri's Italian.

²⁸ For a survey of the accomplishments of Heraclius see Ostrogorsky *History*, 92 - 109. For more of a focus on the ecclesiastical developments during his reign, see Hans-George Beck, "Justinian's Successors: Monoenergism and Monothelitism," in H-G. Beck *et. al. eds., The Imperial Church*, 457 - 462. Beck (p. 459) points out, "The Jews, who even if they had not encouraged the Persian invasion had warmly greeted it, could hardly hope for mercy. The imperial troops made short work of them, and the struggle against them culminated in the imperial edict of compulsory conversion." He offers footnotes to Grumel, *Reg. no. 279-292*; and J. L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergius I bis Johannes VI (610-715)*, (Amsterdam, 1972).

²⁹ For the development of the Lenten Fast from the primitive Paschal vigil to the full extent of the contemporary Byzantine practice, good overviews can be found in *LT*, 28-34 and Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 135-137. The most focused discussion of the eighth week is found in Peri, "Quaresima." More recent treatments include Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 27-31, and Maxwell Johnson, "From three weeks to forty days: baptismal preparation and the origins of Lent," *Studia Liturgica* 20 (1990): 185-200.

before Lent'; it is often styled 'Cheese Week' or the 'Week without Meat' because during these days meat is forbidden but cheese and other dairy products are permitted. This preliminary week was added, among other reasons, from the same motive as led to the addition of four extra days at the start of Western Lent: so as to make up the full number forty... . The observance of 'Cheese Week' in the existing Triodion represents a compromise between the Constantinopolitan and the Palestinian practice: for 'Cheese Week' is to be considered part of the Fast, and yet it is not fully within Lent.³⁰

A more detailed examination of what texts are provided reveals that apart from the Sundays, only three days of preparation have proper texts provided for the *full* cycle of liturgical services, i.e., the Saturday before the Judgement, the Wednesday before Cheesefare, and the Friday before Cheesefare.³¹

Fr. Schmemmann described this week as follows:

Already during Meat-fare Week, which precedes "*Forgiveness Sunday*," two days - Wednesday and Friday - have been set aside as fully "lenten": The Divine Liturgy is not to be served and the whole order and scope of worship have the liturgical characteristics of Lent.³²

The Wednesday before Cheesefare

This Wednesday is the first day within the Triodion to follow the lenten pattern of worship. It is worth noting that in the Typikon of the Great Church, the Book of Old

³⁰ *LT*, 33-34.

³¹ To be even more precise, Vespers for Wednesday do not have proper texts at Psalm 140, while those at this place on Friday clearly relate to Saturday's commemoration of the ascetical champions of the past. This lack of proper hymns at Vespers is not uncommon within the liturgical anthologies, however, Within the Lenten Triodion itself, the hymns at Vespers for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Great Week are repetitions of hymns first given at Matins on each of those days.

³² *Great Lent*, 27.

Testament readings is first mentioned on the Wednesday of Cheesefare, likewise the Office of the Third/Sixth Hour (τριτοέκτη) is first encountered here.³³ The Constantinopolitan usage described by this Typikon also calls for the Presanctified Liturgy on this Wednesday and the Friday to follow.³⁴ The provision of rubrics explaining the procedures for taking the Kanons at Matins during Lent³⁵ and similar rubrics explaining the procedure for taking the Old Testament readings at the Sixth Hour³⁶ suggests that this day is initiating the Lenten pattern of weekday worship, as Fr. Schmemmann had indicated. At Matins, there is an Eight-ode Kanon attributed to Andrew of Krete, which is taken along with two Three-ode Kanons. The first of these Triodia is attributed to Joseph, and on the pattern of the rest of the Triodion it is reasonable to ascribe the second to Theodore, although that attribution is not given in the Printed Triodia.

The Eight-ode Kanon attributed to Andrew of Krete offers a series of biblical exemplars of fasting, abstinence, and repentance, precisely the type of content associated with Andrew in his "Great Kanon." The first Triodion attributed to Joseph contains many phrases conveying the beginning of the fast:

The gateway to the Fast has been opened; ...
The blessed season of the Fast has dawned, and shines upon us with the
light of repentance...

³³ See Mateos *Typicon II*, p. 4 line 6, and p. 5 note 1.

³⁴ Mateos, *Typicon II*, p. 7, note 1.

³⁵ *AT*, 55; *LTSup*, 14.

³⁶ *AT*, 62; *LTSup*, 24.

With discernment let us observe a holy Fast; let us proclaim a time of abstinence from the passions

Accepting the Fast as a gift, let us glorify the Giver who established it for our salvation. With all our strength let us observe it, and so receive from our Creator the forgiveness of our trespasses.³⁷

The second Three-ode Kanon, however, focuses on the Cross and does not offer any imagery proper to Lent or its ascetical disciplines.

This is also the first day in the Triodion to give a "Troparion of the Prophecy" for the Sixth Hour, which also has an Old Testament reading from Joel 2.12-26, even as Vespers has a reading from Joel 3.12-21. Fr. Schmemmann called attention to the way the hymns of this day "greet" Lent.

On Wednesday at Vespers we greet Lent with this beautiful hymn:

The lenten spring has come!
the light of repentance;
Let us, brothers, cleanse ourselves from all evil,
crying out to the Giver of Light:
Glory to Thee, O lover of man.³⁸

The Friday before Cheesefare

Structurally, this day has the same elements as those noted for Wednesday, although on Friday the Eight-ode Kanon is attributed to Joseph. Both it and the Three-

³⁷ Hymns at the Third Ode, Three-ode Kanon in Tone Two, attributed to Joseph, *LTSup*, 16. Similar expressions are found in the hymns at the Eighth and Ninth Odes of the same Kanon.

³⁸ Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 27. The translation given in *LTSup*, 25 is as follows: "The springtime of the Fast has dawned, the flower of repentance has begun to open. O Brethren, let us cleanse ourselves from all impurity and sing to the Giver of Light: Glory be to Thee, who alone loves mankind."

ode Kanon attributed to "the same Joseph" speak of the upcoming fast and of the Cross, while the second Three-ode Kanon deals only with images of the Cross. *LTSup* notes that "Canticle Nine of the Second Three-Canticle Canon follows in the Slav books, but it is missing in the Greek,"³⁹ The Reading at the Sixth Hour comes from Zechariah 8.7-17, and is preceded by the Troparion of the Prophecy and a Prokiemenon as is the Lenten pattern.

Vespers on Friday Evening relate thematically to the commemoration of the following Saturday, as do all Friday Vespers in Lent.

2. The Beginning of the Great and Holy Forty-Days

The current Triodion places this heading above the texts for Matins on the Monday of the First Week,⁴⁰ yet there is some evidence in other sources and within the texts themselves, that Lent is understood to begin at Vespers the night before.

Since the hymns for Lazarus Saturday explicitly celebrate the completion of "the Forty-days," it is clear that the received Byzantine tradition counts these forty days continuously, including all seven days of the week, beginning with Monday of "Clean Week" and continuing without interruption until the Friday of the Sixth Week of Lent, the Week of the Palms. This calculation counts six weeks of seven days each (making forty-two), minus Forgiveness Sunday and Lazarus Saturday to arrive at the Forty-day

³⁹ *LTSup*, 41, footnote 1. They chose not to give a translation from the Slav usage here, although elsewhere they do supplement the Greek texts from the Slavonic texts of the Jordanville Triodion.

⁴⁰ *AT*, 78.

fast which was so important to the typological mindset of the early Church. Clearly there were many ways that Christian communities of the fourth through sixth centuries calculated "the Forty-days."⁴¹

This period of forty days will be examined in more detail in chapters 5 through 10, which will analyze it in terms of the four basic elements which were identified by Karabinov. Before continuing with that analysis, however, some observations should be made about the third major period of the Lenten Triodion, Holy Week.

3. (The) Great and Holy Week

This is the title given in large bold letters before the texts for Matins of "Great and Holy Monday." As was mentioned above and will be explored further in the chapters of Part Three, the exact status of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday with relation to Great and Holy Week is somewhat unclear. Clearly they do come **after** the "Great and Holy Forty Days" according to the reckoning of the compilers of the current Triodion. As Eucharistic days they are only awkwardly incorporated into the Fast days of Great Week, yet the thematic commemorations which take place on this weekend clearly prepare for and flow into that climactic fulfillment of the pre-paschal preparations.

Holy Week, along with Pascha, is the undisputed high point of the entire liturgical year, and for the Greeks as well as the Russians these are the moments which are most striking for popular piety, even if these moments are not exactly the same.⁴²

⁴¹ See the sources listed in note 29 above.

⁴² Krivocheine, "Particularités," 224.

The Easter Vigil

The Easter Vigil is clearly the most ancient service of the pre-paschal cycle,⁴³ and chronologically is the culmination of whatever preparation there is.⁴⁴ Liturgically this final preparation for the celebration of Pascha should have the same "ultimate" quality about it. Gabriel Bertoni re's study of the Paschal Vigil was the first detailed study of an element of the Triodion to appear after World War II, and while many aspects of it would benefit from a deeper treatment taking account of more recent publications, it still offers a wealth of information which has not yet been widely incorporated into the perspectives of those who are not specialists in Byzantine liturgy.

Bertoni re's study of the sources shows how the original Jerusalem vigil opened with a Lamplighting, followed by the Vigil proper with its series of ten Old Testament readings during which baptism was administered, culminating in the Eucharistic Liturgy. A second Eucharist was celebrated later in the Church of the Resurrection. Later developments expanded the importance of the Lamplighting, eventually adapting it to the evolved structure of festal Vespers, replaced the Jerusalem system of readings with a

⁴³ See Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 47-54; and Bertoni re, *Easter Vigil*, 21-71 and 101-104.

⁴⁴ A convenient collection of the earliest sources to speak of the annual celebration of Pascha is found in English translation in Raniero Cantalamessa, *Easter in the Early Church*, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1994), a slightly edited version of the *La Pasqua nella Chiesa antica* (Torino, 1978) and *Ostern in der Alten Kirche* (Bern, 1981), each of which includes the documents in their original source language along with Italian or German translations. Slightly broader in range is the critical survey provided by August Strobel in *Ursprung und Geschichte des fr christlichen Osterkalendars* = TU 121 (Berlin, 1977) which was followed by publication of the source texts themselves in *idem*, *Texte zur Geschichte des fr christlichen Osterkalendars*, = LQF 64 (M nster, 1984).

Constantinopolitan *cursus* of fifteen pericopes, and added the poetic and prayer elements associated with those readings. The interplay of the Hagiopolite and Constantinopolitan traditions is documented in this process, as Taft would later summarize and clarify in "A Tale of Two Cities."

Paschal Baptism

The association of baptism with the Paschal Vigil is an area which has received a large amount of scholarly attention.⁴⁵ The reform of the Holy Week services in the Roman Catholic tradition laid great stress on the Paschal Vigil,⁴⁶ and the recreation of the Catechumenate emphasised that focus even more.⁴⁷ Paul Bradshaw recently provided a useful historical review of the literature with a call to reassess the entire issue.⁴⁸

Great Friday

The earliest origins of a separate commemoration of the death of Jesus on what today is known as Great and Holy Friday cannot be determined with any precision from

⁴⁵ For succinct summaries with many pointers to the broader literature see Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 33-37; and Stuart Hall, "Paschal Baptism," in E. Livingstone ed., *Studia Evangelica VI* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972), 239-251. For summaries of the early sources see Bertoni re, *Paschal Vigil*, 65-6 for Jerusalem; 132 ff. for Constantinople; and 294, which simply restates the summary of the Jerusalem evidence.

⁴⁶ See *The Church at Prayer*, IV:34-45.

⁴⁷ Although there is an immense literature on the subject, a most helpful overview of the issues by one intimately involved with the Roman Catholic reforms can be found in Balthasar Fischer, "The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults: Rediscovery and New Beginnings," *Worship* 64 (1990): 98-106.

⁴⁸ Paul Bradshaw, "Christian Initiation: A Study in Diversity," in Bradshaw, *Search*, 161-184.

the sources which so far are known to scholars. Although the extant evidence of the "Quartodeciman Controversy" has not yet received an interpretation which could claim a scholarly consensus, it is very likely that the first steps towards a separate commemoration of Great Friday set the trajectory for the eventual development of what comes to be known as the Paschal Triduum, which expands into Holy Week.⁴⁹ Eventually Holy Week grows (or is joined to originally distinct elements) to encompass the entire pre-paschal period, which in varying forms is eventually found in all liturgical traditions. Sebastià Janeras has gone a long way towards clarifying the many different currents which have contributed to the current services associated with Great Friday in the Byzantine tradition, although he himself often indicates areas where further research is desirable.

While the historical, theological, and liturgical significance of the services of Great Friday and Saturday is indisputable, this is not necessarily the way they are perceived by the faithful.

For the Greeks, there are two ecclesiastical offices which are particularly popular among the people and which attract immense crowds during Holy Week. The first of these are the verses of Kassiana "Lord, the woman who had fallen into many sins" (Κύριε, ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις περιπεσοῦσα γυνή, *Gospodi, jage vo mnogie grehi padsaje jena*); the second is the procession with the *epitaphion* on Holy Friday evening. One could say that for the average Greek these two liturgical events make up the two principal attractions of all of Holy Week. The verses of the sinful woman are particularly popular, many of the laity know the words by heart and love to sing them. Newspapers speak of them in their descriptions of the religious ceremonies of Holy Week. Something similar could be said of the procession with the *Epitaphion*. It is not just carried outside

⁴⁹ See the sources listed above in Footnote 44, as well as the summary of the issue in Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 2-33.

the Church, but the *Epitaphion* which represents Christ ready to be laid in the tomb, is carried for entire kilometers accompanied by thousands of faithful carrying lighted candles and singing funerary hymns. It is rather different among the Russians, not in the ceremonies or the hymns themselves, which are almost identical, but for the place they have in piety. Thus the verses of Kassiana, which are so important to the Greeks, are also sung among the Russians, but they do not attract any particular attention among the believers who for the most part are unaware of them. It is simply one of the hymns of Holy Week, which are all very beautiful. By contrast the vigil on the night {before} Holy Friday (in practice, Thursday evening), the Office of the "Twelve Gospels" holds more importance for the Russians, and has become one of the most beloved offices for Russian piety, and the best attended {service} of Holy Week. Curiously enough, while this office of the "Twelve Gospels" also has its importance {for the Greeks}, albeit less than for the Russians, the moment which focuses popular attention is the procession with the Cross with the chanting of "This day is suspended on the Tree," (Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου). (Among the Russians, this procession does not exist, it would seem to be a later innovation; the words *Dnes visit na dreve* are said, but they are not distinguished as such during the course of the Office.) For the vast majority of Russians the most popular and beloved moment is the singing of the Dismissal Hymn (Exapostolarion): "The Good-thief" (*Razboynika blagorasumnago*) when the soloists have the opportunity to show off their voices. This is one example among others of the influence musical execution can have on the importance of a liturgical moment in popular piety.⁵⁰

These cultural differences in emphasis do not only apply to the range of services within Holy Week but even within a particular day.

As to Holy Friday itself, the principal office of this day for the Russians, as of all of Holy Week, is not as among the Greeks the Burial of Christ on Friday evening, even if this office does attract a big crowd and if it is very moving (there are no long processions, but just around the Church). Rather {the primary focus is on} the service of the Descent from the Cross (*Vynos plaschanicy*) during vespers on {Friday} afternoon. It is the most participated in by the faithful and the the most characteristic expression of the spirituality of Holy Week. The Saturday Liturgy of Saint Basil with its 15 Old Testament readings (reduced to 3 among the Greeks except at Mount Athos, by the Constantinopolitan Typikon of 1838) is relatively

⁵⁰ Krivocheine, "Particularités," 224-5. I have retained the author's French transliterations of the Slavonic *incipits*.

unobserved by the people in spite of its theological richness and depth.⁵¹

Great and Holy Thursday

There are three elements associated with Holy Thursday in the received Byzantine tradition. The consecration of the Holy Oil or Myrrh is a service celebrated only in Patriarchal Cathedrals, and thus it is not explicitly mentioned with the Triodion itself. As a liturgical element it would more properly be considered in studies of the *Εὐχολόγιον*, although one area which might relate to elements in our current investigation is in associations with the biblical accounts of the anointing at Bethany.

The remaining two elements are rooted in Holy Thursday as the commemoration of the Last Supper. Following the Synoptic accounts, Vespers with the Liturgy of St. Basil for this day focuses on the institution of the Eucharist, with a composite gospel reading of from Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The Johannine account of the Last Supper does not explicitly speak of the institution of the Eucharist, rather the characteristic action of the Johannine Last Supper is Jesus washing the feet of the disciples. In the current Byzantine Triodion, this service of the Foot-washing is added in after the Ambon Prayer near the completion of the Liturgy of St. Basil with the Notice: ὁ Νιπτήρ, καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ Ἀκολουθία.⁵²

Although primarily concerned with surveying the services associated with the vigil from Holy Thursday to Great Friday, Janeras devoted a chapter to "Complementary

⁵¹ Krivocheine, "Particularités," 225.

⁵² *AT*, 437-8.

questions on the readings," finding it useful to examine the readings of the services which precede the vigil in order to clarify the differences between ancient practice in Jerusalem and Constantinople. In the process he clarified the development of these two elements in the Byzantine rite. Looking first at Jerusalem, he observes that in the oldest witness to Jerusalem practice, Egeria 35.1-2, there is mention of two masses. The first is at the Martyrium at the 8th hour *iuxta consuetudine* and lasts until about the 10th hour. Even before this first mass, the archdeacon announces, "We shall all gather at the first hour of the Night in the Church which is in the Eleona." The Armenian lectionary also mentions two masses, the first at the "Great Church," the second "before the cross." There are no readings given for this second mass, however it is followed by a stational procession to Sion i.e., the Cenacle, for which readings are given.

Among the manuscripts used to reconstruct the Georgian lectionary,⁵³ GL-K is mutilated at this point, and GL-L has a larger gap, missing all of Holy Thursday. The remaining three manuscripts have some diversity in details, but all indicate only one Mass the evening of Holy Thursday. This Mass is followed by a reading from Mk 14.12-26 (the Institution of the Eucharist), which in turn is followed by the Rite of the Foot-washing, with the reading from Jn 13.13-30.

The Typikon of the Anastasis adds explicit mention of the consecration of the Myron, changing the order of services and altering the content and purpose of the first celebration. In this document, Vespers is celebrated either "before the Cross" or at Sion.

⁵³ For a description of these manuscripts, see below in Chapter 23.

There are three Old Testament readings given, following the order of the lenten readings: Ex 19.10-19; Job 38.1-42.5; Is 50.4-11. After Vespers, the Patriarch proceeds to the consecration of the Myron, either at Sion or at the "Church of St. Constantine," i.e., the Martyrium. The consecration of the Myron is followed by the Eucharist, always at Sion, the presumed site of the Last Supper.⁵⁴ Apparently at the same time, another Eucharist is celebrated at the little chapel of the Cross, with only the protopriest and other necessary clergy attending. The Foot-washing follows the Eucharist at Sion.

Among the sources which witness to the Constantinopolitan usage, on the other hand, there is only one Eucharist, Vespers with the Liturgy of St. Basil, which includes the consecration of Myron at Patriarchal Churches. The Foot-washing comes in a variety of places in the sources, which is one of the indications that this rite was not native to Constantinople. It comes *before* the readings which mark the transition from Vespers to the Eucharistic Liturgy in 22 manuscripts listed.⁵⁵ The Foot-washing comes *after* the Liturgy in 15 manuscripts listed. The Foot-washing can also be prescribed *before* Vespers, as it is in Pseudo-Kodinos, or it can take place in a totally separate service after Vespers.

Janeras offers a specific example, Venice Mart. 13, an 11th century

⁵⁴ Janeras says that this is the liturgy of St. James, although I don't see that in the Greek excerpt he provides on pp. 142-3.

⁵⁵ Specifics apparently vary - in the one example given as typical (Typikon of the Great Church, HS40, the Foot-washing is in the middle of the split reading from Jn 13, taking place in a pause after verse 11, with the reading continuing after the Foot-washing up to verse 27.

Prophetologion, in fact the only Prophetologion which mentions the Foot-washing. The elements of Holy Thursday according to that manuscript are:

1. After Terco-Sext, the altar is washed.
2. Then the Patriarch assists at Vespers, in the Narthex
 - a. Ps 103
 - b. Pss. of light (140, possibly others)
 - c. Prokeimenon
 - d. Foot-washing
 - Jn 13.3-11
 - rite of washing
 - Jn 13.12-17
 - e. Litany and dismissal
3. Then there is another Vespers, entitled "Vespers for Holy and Great Friday"
 - a. Ps 85
 - b. Ps 140
 - c. Entrance of the Patriarch
 - d. Readings
 - e. Liturgy of St. Basil

Janeras comments that this second Vespers with Liturgy of Basil is proper to Constantinople, while the previous Vespers is clearly imported from Palestine; it is thus very likely that the Foot-washing was imported from the Jerusalem practice also. This hypothesis receives added support from another eleventh-century manuscript, Athos Pantel. 68, which describes the first Vesper service in the narthex after the washing of the altar as "the Hagiopolite Lamplighting"; later it says, "after this the Ecclesiastical Lamplighting is completed."⁵⁶ An intermediate step, with the Foot-washing at the end of the Liturgy before the Ambon Prayer is found in the Typikon of Casole. This is rather substantial evidence that the Rite of the Footwashing was imported to Constantinople

⁵⁶ Janeras notes the same rubrics are found in Crypt. 307 [a.b.5], a purely Constantinopolitan Lectionary.

from Palestine along with the Vesper service with which it was associated there.

Great and Holy Wednesday

One of the distinguishing services of the current Greek practice for Great and Holy Wednesday is the communal celebration of the Mystery of the Holy Oil, described accurately by the terminology in use in the Roman Catholic Church today, the Sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick. Again the service itself is normally found in the *Euchologion*, but in this case it is printed in the current Athens Triodion, after the Three-ode Kanon of Compline, although the rubrics clearly state it is to be taken before Small Compline:

Πρὸ τοῦ μικροῦ ᾿Αποδείπνον ψάλλεται ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἁγίου ἔλαιου κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Μικρῷ Εὐχολογίῳ διάταξιν, ἀναγινώσκονται δὲ αἱ κάτωθι ἀποστολικά καὶ εὐαγγελικά περικοπαί.

Before Small Compline we sing the service of the mystery of the Holy Oil, as it is described in the little *Euchologion*, reading the Epistle and Gospel passages indicated.⁵⁷

The Slav traditions do not have the tradition of celebrating this sacrament on this day, which would suggest it began in the Greek Church only after the Russian Patriarch Nikon had made his reforms which intended to bring the Russian rituals in conformity with contemporary Greek practice.

B. Other systems of division within the Triodion

Careful attention to the rubrics included in the Triodion will often indicate

⁵⁷ AT, 422.

changes for a particular period of time, which may be indications of different ways the Paschal season was understood.

Rubric, *AT*, 11, at the end of Matins for the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee
 "From the following Sunday until the Sunday of All Saints..."
 This notice directs that the Idiomela be sung at Litia of Matins, and that the Catechesis of Theodore the Stoudite be read by the Hegumen or Ecclesiarch. The period indicated would be from what is now the Sunday of the Prodigal Son to the Sunday after Pentecost.

Rubric, *AT*, 17-18,
 Notices concerning the singing of Alleluia and fasting on Wednesday and Friday (until the completion of the Presanctified) during the following week before the Sunday of the Last Judgement.

Rubric, *AT*, 36.
 "It should be noted that we celebrate the lamplighting in the evening in this way from this Sunday {of the Last Judgement} until the Friday of the holy Lazarus... ."

Rubric, *AT*, 70, at beginning of Matins for Cheesefare Sunday
 "It is necessary to note that, from this Sunday until the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Polyeleos is not taken, unless there is a vigil for a Feast of the Lord."

Rubric, *AT*, 77, after Forgiveness Vespers,
 "This is the order that should be followed at every Sunday Vespers, until (through? ἐως) the fifth Sunday of the fast."

Rubric, *AT*, 79, Matins for Monday of First Week of the Fast,
 After explaining the procedure for the Kanons, this notice concludes,
 "Thus we do for all of the Holy Forty-days."

Rubric, *AT*, 143, After the texts for the Liturgy on Saturday of the First Week:
 It is necessary to note that {only} twice during the holy Forty-days do we eat fish, on the Feast of the Annunciation, and on Palm Sunday.

Rubric, *AT*, 167, After texts for Sunday evening Vespers on Sunday of Orthodoxy,
 Note that from this day we sing the Kanon of the Menaion at Compline, while from Lazarus Saturday to the Sunday after Pascha {it is taken} together with that of the Theotokos... .

The Title given in Patmos 266, the only one of the manuscripts of the Typikon of the Great Church with folia surviving with the title, describes the section as:

Κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ἀναγνώσεων πράξεων, ἀποστόλων, εὐαγγελίων καὶ προφητικῶν, καὶ ἐκάστης ἀκολουθίας ἀπὸ τῆς κυριακῆς πρὸ τῆς ἀπόκρεω μέχρι τῆς Ν' ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

The Rule, for the holy Great Church of God, of the readings from the Acts {of the Apostles}, the Apostle, the Gospel and the Prophets, and for every service, from the Sunday before Meat-fare until the descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost.⁵⁸

The Synaxarion notice for Cheesefare Sunday implies that the Triodion period runs from that day to the Sunday after Pentecost.

Our Holy Fathers appointed {the order of - ἐνέταξαν} this commemoration before the Holy Forty Days in order to demonstrate for us how useful a medicine fasting can be for the requirements of human nature, or conversely how shameful gluttony and disobedience can be... .

Thus our God-bearing Fathers wishing to depict all these things {of the paradigm of our dismissal from Paradise because of eating and of our return to worthiness because of the obedience of the Virgin and of Christ (discussed at length in the previous paragraphs)} by means of the entire Triodion; thus they chose to begin first with the events of the Old {Testament}, with the creation and then the expulsion because of food of Adam (which it is thus appropriate to remember at this time) and going on then through Moses and the Prophets and the fulfillment of the words of David, and how through all of these grace was conferred. Then in order we come to the events of the New Testament: first among these within God's unfathomable plan of salvation is the Annunciation, which is always found within the season (σχεδὸν) of Lent, then on to {the raising of} Lazarus, Palm Sunday and Great and Holy Week, on to the reading of the Holy Gospels concerning the saving passion of Christ according to the detailed singing of hymns, and on to the Resurrection, and all the rest up to the Descent of the Spirit, where the proclamation takes place, until {finally we come} to the feast

⁵⁸ Mateos, *Typicon II*, pp. 2-3. In Footnote 1 on p. 3 Mateos observes, "This title does not cover the entire content of this section of the Typicon. It also leaves out the indications of the readings for the Saturdays and Sundays after Pentecost until the Saturday before {the Saturday of} Meatfare" {i.e. the Saturday before the Sunday of the Prodigal Son}.

(συνήγαγεν) of All Saints.⁵⁹

The current Triodion thus preserves evidence of several different systems for dividing the “period of the Triodion,” but the predominant system which it retains is the one we can utilize in providing a practical division of the hymnography of the Lenten Triodion. This would be the three-fold division which begins with the Pre-Lenten period, followed by the “Great and Holy Forty-days,” and culminating in “Great and Holy Week.” What is unclear in this division would be just where our target celebrations of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday would be located, and as we shall see as we proceed through our study, this lack of clarity is reflective of the unique status of Lazarus Saturday and the structural elements which have contributed to its complex history. The next chapter begins our examination of these elements with an investigation of the scriptural readings which provide the basic skeleton around which the Triodion grew.

⁵⁹ *AT*, 72-73; *NZT*, 81-83.

CHAPTER 5

THE READINGS

Having examined the major systems of dividing the Triodion, as well as some evidence that at earlier times there were other organizational schemes being used, the remaining chapters of Part Two of our study will attempt to parse out the most significant structural elements of the Lenten Triodion. We begin by noting what can be called the "basic elements" that make up the object of our study.

Karabinov's Four Basic Elements

Based upon a preliminary analysis, there are four structural units that provide the basic framework of the Lenten Triodion. These elements were already parsed out in Karabinov's *Postnaia Triod*, where he deals with the calendar in Chapter One (pp. 3-53), the readings in Part 1 of Chapter Two (pp. 55-64) before devoting most of his energy to what Cappuyns called "plutôt une histoire générale de la poésie liturgique byzantine"¹ on pp. 65-204. Thus the main elements he considered are:

- * The Cycle of Biblical Readings;
- * The Hymnody, which is related to the Biblical Psalmody and Odes used in the services;
- * The cycle of feasts, which for the Triodia relate to the Mobile cycle of celebrations.

¹ *Étude*, 120, *apud* Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, XXI.

To these we can add a fourth

- * The liturgical *cursus* of each day;

since it clearly provides the framework within which the other elements are arranged, and changes in that framework over time are one of the main reasons for change in the evolving Triodion.

This chapter will consider the readings of the Lenten Triodion, while the following three chapters will each consider another of these basic elements. Chapter 9 will then examine some of the other elements which over time have become associated with the Lenten Triodion.

The Readings

Karabinov emphasized the importance of the readings for an understanding of the Triodion.² Momina noted that,

In the XIth century Greek {Triodion} manuscripts which contain the OT readings {begin to appear}. In Slavonic, examples {are found} from the beginning of the XIIIth century."³

Karabinov clarifies this observation in explaining,

While it is true, the OT Readings became a part of the Triodion only from the 12th century on, before then they were usually placed in special books called "*Pariminika*" i.e., collections of Old Testament Readings for the entire yearly

² *Postnaia Triod*, 54-64.

³ "Origins," 119.

cycle.⁴

Whether included with the hymnographic material or in a separate liturgical book,⁵ the readings clearly provide the basic skeleton or structure around which the hymnographic collections were able to grow. Close examination of these readings will give us some indications of that process of growth.

The very prominence of Old Testament readings during the Lenten services is itself instructive of the spiritual attitude of the season.⁶ Alexander Schmemmann discerned a theological significance in these liturgical directives:

During Great Lent, the biblical dimension of worship is given increased emphasis. One can say that the forty days of Lent are, in a way, the return of the Church into the spiritual situation of the Old Testament - the time *before* Christ, the time of repentance and expectation, the time of the "history of salvation" moving *toward* its fulfillment in Christ. This return is necessary because even though we belong to the time *after* Christ, and know him, and have been "baptized into Him," we constantly fall away from the new life received from Him, and this means lapse again into "old" time. The Church, on the one hand, is

⁴ *Postnaia Triod*, 54.

⁵ Concerning this book of Old Testament Readings see Mateos, *Typicon II*, 310 s.v. <διαθήκη>. The brief notice in Day, *Liturgical Dictionary*, s.v. "Paremii" notes that this Slavonic word is also used for parables. Concerning contemporary practice, Ware notes, "There is no separate book containing the lessons from the Old Testament: these are to be found in the relevant choir book containing the texts for the day in question - the Triodion, Pentekostarion, or Menaia, as the case may be." (*Festal Menaion*, p. 536.)

⁶ Schmemmann (*Great Lent*, 39-40) and Ware (*LT*, 38) draw attention to the Lenten practice among the monks of saying the Psalter *twice* each week during Lent, as opposed to once a week in the rest of the year. While there is no doubt that this doubling is an important variant in the rhythm of the services, it is a rare parish where this difference will be experienced. For the actual distribution of the *kathismata* of the Psalter during Lent (Holy Week has a unique pattern which covers the Psalter once that week, completing it before the extraordinary services of Great Thursday, Friday, and Saturday) see Ware and Mother Mary, *The Festal Menaion*, 533-4.

already "at home" for she *is* the "grace of Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit"; yet on the other hand she is also "on her way" as the pilgrimage - long and difficult - toward the fulfillment of all things in God, the return of Christ and the end of all time.

Great Lent is the season when this second aspect of the Church, her life as expectation and journey, is being actualized.⁷

Table Two summarizes the Constantinopolitan Readings as prescribed by the Typikon of the Great Church, edited by Mateos. These are basically the same as the currently prescribed scriptural readings from the Lenten Triodion⁸. Several patterns are immediately noticeable:

- * The normative pattern on weekdays is *lectio continua* from the books of Genesis, Isaiah, and Proverbs at Vespers and the Sixth Hour.
- * The Weekend Readings form a different cycle (or cycles), focusing on the Letter to the Hebrews and Mark at the Eucharist. (Saturday and Sunday are the only Eucharistic days during Lent in the Byzantine tradition.)
- * To these weekend readings are added others for particular commemorations which were moved from the Menaia to the Lenten Triodion.
- * Holy Week follows a different pattern of readings.
- * The weekday prokeimenon selections follow the Book of Psalms in order from the first day of the Fast to Great and Holy Wednesday.

Each of these observations deserves fuller comment.

⁷ *Great Lent*, 38-39.

⁸ Karabinov notes: "Manuscripts of the Old Testament Readings can not give any kind of answer to the question of where and when the system of the Triodion readings were worked out. The ancient materials from the volumes mentioned above usually already contain those readings which we have in our current services. Differences between them are small, and usually just a few verses are overlooked." *Postmaia Triod*, 55.

First Week of the Fast

	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>	<i>Sunday</i>
Ps	1.6 1 2	5.3 2 ?	9.2 3	13.7 1 ^{a-b}	17.2-3 ^a 3 ^b	63.11 2 ^a	149.5 1
Is	1.1-20	1.19 - 2.3	2.3-11	2.11-21	3.1-14	Hb 1.1-12	Hb 11.24-40*
Ps	2.11;1-2;3-4;5	6.2 3	10.7 1	14.1 2	18.15 ^c 2	Eph 2.4-10	
						91.13	98.6
Ps	3.9;2-3;4-5;6	7.2 ^a 2 ^b	11.8 2	15.7 1-2	19.2 ^a 2 ^b -3		
Gen	1.1-13	1.14-23	1.24 - 2.3	2.14-19	2.20 - 3.20	Mk 2.23-3.5	Jn 1.44-52
Ps	4.4 ^b ;2 ^a ;3-4 ^a	8.2 ^a 2 ^b	12.4 2	16.8 1	20.14 2	32.1	32.1
Prov	1.1-20	1.20-33	2.1-21	3.1-18	3.19-34		
	33.9						

Second Week of the Fast

Ps	21.24 2	25.8 1	29.9 2	33.5 2	37.2 3	32.22 1	63.11 2 ^a
Is	4.2 - 5.6	5.7-16	5.16-25	6.1-12	7.1-14 ^a	Hb 3.12-14	Hb 1.10 - 2.3
Ps	22.4 ^c 1-2 ^a	26.1 ^a 1 ^b	30.2 ^a 2 ^b -3 ^a	34.23 ^a 1	38.13 2	33.2-3 ^a	91.13
Ps	23.8 ^b 1	27.9 1	31.11 1	35.6 2	39.12 ^b 2		
Gen	3.21 - 4.7	4.8-15	4.16-26	5.1-24	5.32 - 6.8	Mk 1.35-44	Mk 2.1-12
Ps	24.16 1-2 ^a	28.11 1	32.22 1	36.34 ^a 1	40.5 2	32.1	
Prov	3.34 - 4.22	5.1-15	5.15-6.3	6.3-20	6.20 - 7.1		

Third Week of the Fast

	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>Saturday</i>	<i>Sunday</i>
Ps	41.9 ^b -10 ^a 2	45.8 2	49.14 1	53.3 4	57.11 2		
Is	8.13 - 9.6	9.8-16	10.12-20	11.10 - 12.2	13.2-13	Hb 10.32-38	Hb 4.14- 5.6
Ps	42.5 ^c 1	46.7 2	50.3 ^a 3 ^b	54.2 3-4 ^a	58.18 ^b 2		
Ps	43.9 2 ^{ab}	47.2 ^a 2 ^b -3 ^a	51.10 ^b 3-4 ^a	55.2 ^a 2 ^b	59.13 3	Mk 7.31-37	Mk 8.34 - 9.1
Gen	6.9-22	7.1-5	7.6-9	7.11- 8.4	8.4-21		
Ps	44.18 2 ^{ab}	48.4 2	52.7 ^{b-c} 2	56.12 2	60.2 ^a 2 ^b -3 ^a		
Prov	8.1-21	8.32 - 9.11	9.12-18	10.1-22	10.31 - 11.2		

Fourth Week of the Fast

Ps	61.8 2	65.20 1 ^b -2	69.2 ^{b-c} 5	73.12 1	77.38 ^{ab} 1		
Is	14.24-32	25.1-9	26.21 - 27.9	28.14-22	29.13-23	Hb 6.9-12	Hb 6.13-20
Ps	62.5 2 ^{ab}	66.7 ^b 2	70.1 ^b 2	74.10 2	78.9 1 ^{ab}		
Ps	63.2 ^a 2 ^b	67.5 ^a 5 ^b	71.18 1	75.12 2	79.2 ^a 2 ^c -3 ^a	Mk 8.27-31	Mk 9.17-31
Gen	8.21 - 9.7	9.8-17	9.18 - 10.1	10.32 - 11.9	12.1-7		
Ps	64.6 2	68.30 ^b 33	72.28 1	76.2 3 ^{a-b}	80.2 3		
Prov	11.19 - 12.6	12.8-22	12.23 - 13.9 ^a	13.19 - 14.6	14.15-26		

Fifth Week of the Fast

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Ps	81.6 1	87.16 ^a 16 ^b -17 ^a	91.2 3	96.1 ^a 1 ^b -2 ^a	100.1 2	@ Hagia Sophia	
Is	37.33 - 38.6	40.18-31	41.4-14	42.5-16	45.11-17		Hb 9.11-14
Ps	82.19 ^b 2	88.16 ^a 16 ^b -17 ^a	92.1 ^a 1 ^b	97.1 ^a 1 ^{b-d}	101.2 3		Mk 2.14-17 Mk 10.32-45
Ps	83.4 ^c	89.1 2 ^{a-b}	93.1 2	98.9 1	102.8 1	@ Blachernae	
Gen	13.12-18	15.1-15	17.1-10	18.20-33	22.1-18		Lk 1.46-7 48
Ps	84.8 2-3 ^a	90.1	95.1 ^a 1 ^b	99.1 2	103.24 1 ^{ab}		Hb 9.1-7
Prov	14.27 - 15.4	15.7-19	15.20-29 ^b	16.17-33	17.17 - 18.5		Hb 2.11-18
							131.8
							Lk 1.39-49;56
							115.4

Sixth Week of the Fast

						Lazarus Saturday	Palm Sunday
Ps	104.3 1	108.26 1-2 ^a	112.1 2	117.20	121.9 1		
Is	48.17 - 49.4	49.6-10	58.1-11	65.8-16	66.10-24	26.1 ^a 1 ^b	117.26 1
Ps	105.48 1	109.4 1	113.23 24 ^a	118.32 33	122.3 1	Hb 12.28-13.8	Phil 4.4-9
						92.1 ^{a-b}	97.1 2
Ps	106.1 2	110.10 ^{a-b} 1	114.9 1	119.1 2	123.8 1	Jn 11.1-45	Jn 12.1-18
Gen	27.1-41	31.3-16	43.26 - 45.16	46.1-7	49.33-50.26	148.1	8.3
Ps	107.6 2	111.4 ^b 1	115.9 1	120.7 1	124.1 ^a 1 ^b	8.3	117.26
Prov	19.16-25	21.3-21	21.23 - 22.4	23.15 - 24.5	31.8-31		115.4

Great and Holy Week

	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>
Ps	125.1 2	129.7 1	133.3 1	82.19 2	69.2 3 ^a 3 ^b
	Ez 1.1-20	Ez 1.21-28	Ez 2.3 - 3.3	Jer 11.18-12.15	Zach 11.10-13
Ps	126.1 ^a 1 ^{c-d}	130.3 1	134.20 ^b 1	75.12 2	11.8 2 3
				<i>Footwashing</i>	
Ps	127.5 1	131.8 1	135.26 1	Jn 12 - 13	Ex 33.11-23
	Ex 1.1-20	2.5-10	2.11-22	Ex 19.10.19	
Ps	128.8 ^b 1	132.1 2	137.8 ^b	139.2 3	34.1 2 3 ^a
Job	1.1-12	1.13-22	2.1-10	38 .21	42.12-17 ^c
Mt	24.3-35	24.36 - 26.2	26.6-16	Ps 58.2 3	21.19 2
				Is 50.4-11	Is 52.13 - 54.1
				2.2 ^b 1-2 3-4 5	87.7 2-3
				1 Cor 11.23-32	1 Cor 1.18 - 2.2
				Ps 40.2 6 10 ^b -11 ^a	68.2-3 21-23 24

1. The Weekday Readings

Ware observes:

The scheme of Old Testament readings in the Triodion was perhaps worked out between the fifth and seventh centuries. The three daily lessons are taken from the three main categories of Old Testament literature - from the historical books, the prophets, and the Wisdom literature...⁹

To be more precise, these selections represent the three traditional categories of the Hebrew Canon of Scriptures, referred to today with the Hebrew acronym *TaNaK* from the Hebrew titles of these three groups of books: *Torah* or Teaching (often rendered in English as Law), *Navi* or Prophets, and *Kettuvim* or writings.¹⁰

Schmemmann offers a slightly different interpretation:

The "continuous reading" of *Genesis*, *Isaiah* and *Proverbs* has its origin at the time when Lent was still the main pre-baptismal season of the Church and lenten services were predominantly *catechetical* in their character, i.e., dedicated to the indoctrination of the catechumen. Each of the three books corresponds to one of the three basic aspects of the Old Testament: the history of God's activity in creation, prophecy, and the ethical or moral teachings.¹¹

⁹ *LT*, 39. The basic structure of this system of readings clearly comes from Jerusalem. The hints offered by Egeria are supported by the evidence of the *Catechetical Lectures* popularly attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, while the development of the system can be traced through various recensions of the Armenian and Georgian "lectionaries." See chapters 22 and 23 below for discussion of these sources.

¹⁰ The Septuagint Canon has traditionally been divided into four groups, with different titles and a different arrangement of books. These are the Pentateuch, Historical Books, Wisdom Literature, and Prophets.

¹¹ *Great Lent*, 40. Recent scholarship is more cautious in extrapolating from the sources which have survived to a presumed norm of Paschal baptism, and none of the sources known so far speaks directly to the origins or motives for the selection of these particular books for the Lenten Readings at Jerusalem. What is clear is that these readings are well documented by the second half of the fourth century and that this Jerusalem usage was very influential on all of the other Churches of Christendom. Talley has suggested that this influence worked both ways, with pilgrims contributing to

Certainly it is legitimate for Orthodox scholars to utilize the Triodion as a "theological source" and to explore the many dimensions of the experience of faithfully utilizing the book in worship. E. Theodorou has devoted an entire monograph to *The Formational Value of the Current Triodion*.¹² The suggestion here is that it is useful to carefully distinguish such *a posteriori* speculations about the rationale for including various elements in the Triodion from historical evidence which documents or demonstrates such a rationale. While we do have insightful suggestions of the former type, so far there is no firm historical evidence concerning the origins or rationale for the selection of Old Testament readings which are at the core of the Lenten Triodion.

A. Genesis

Karabinov's observations about the specific way in which the Genesis readings unfold during the 40 days noticed two different principles for "covering" the book.

Until Friday of the Fourth Week of Lent, the Book of Genesis is read almost without interruption. This day initiates a selection of readings. The {designated passage} for Thursday is taken from the tenth Chapter; Friday's readings {skip to} the twelfth chapter. On Monday of the Fifth Week the reading is taken from the thirteenth Chapter, while Tuesday {skips to} the fifteenth chapter, etc. Furthermore, the gaps become increasingly larger, as if with a purpose, so that by Friday of the Week of the Palms, we arrive at readings from the last chapter of Genesis.¹³

Jerusalem usages those practices they were accustomed to in their home lands, as well as taking hagiopolite customs back with them after their pilgrimages in the Holy Land.

Ware (*loc. cit.*) suggests that, ". . . these books have also been chosen because of their appropriateness to Lent: . . ." See the specific examples given below.

¹² Ἡ μορφωτική ἀξία τοῦ ἰσχύοντος τριωδίου, (Athens, 1958).

¹³ *Postnaia Triod*, 63-64.

The sources do not offer any certain rationale for this difference. Looking at the specific passages chosen in the later, more selective section enables Karabinov to speculate on the reasons these particular pericopes were picked.

Following this {*lectio continua* of the first four weeks}, {the selections} begin a history of the chosen people of God during the important episodes of the lives of its patriarchs; the readings for the call of Abraham, (Friday of the Fourth Week) the appearance of the Lord to Abraham, and the giving of the promise (Monday - Friday of the Fifth Week), on the blessing of Jacob by Isaac on Monday of the Sixth Week, on the giving of the promise to Jacob (Tuesday of the Sixth Week) and finally the history of Joseph and the relocation of the Jews back to Egypt.¹⁴

Karabinov asserts (without evidence) that the practice of having catechetical readings from the *Torah* goes back to the times when the Christian church was preparing Jews for baptism. Whatever the historical reasons for the origins of the practice, it was understood to be very appropriate when used during a period of catechetical preparation for baptism.

This complete cycle of readings was significant for Christians, primarily because of its historical value, since {these readings} speak about the main reasons for the salvation of humanity and important moments of primitive history. In addition to this, the facts and people referred to in the readings had not only an historical value but they also served as prototypes for individuals and events of the New Testament. In this way the symbolic instruction combines itself with the historical instruction.¹⁵

Ware observes,

Genesis describes the fall of man and his expulsion from Paradise, which is a dominant *motif* throughout the Triodion. The later chapters of Genesis tell the story of Joseph, who in his innocent sufferings serves as a 'type' of Christ.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 65.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *LT*, 39. Ware offers a footnote to Schmemann's *Great Lent* pp. 78-85 for details of the expulsion from Paradise motif, however the treatment there is more focused on

These theories about the reasons why these books from the Jewish Scriptures were chosen for reading during Lent do not receive any support from our earliest witnesses to the Lenten readings in Jerusalem. The Catecheses associated with Cyril of Jerusalem near the end of the Fourth Century were part of a thematic series of readings explicitly oriented to the final preparation of catechumens for baptism. With minor variants, the *cursus* of readings that can be reconstructed from Cyril's *Catecheses* is confirmed by the Armenian Lectionary, which has a kanon of nineteen readings clustered together under the title "Kanon of Instruction for those who are going to be baptized." This catechetical *cursus*, however, includes nine passages from the Jewish Scriptures and ten from the Epistles of the Christian Scriptures. The order of readings is clearly not continuous, however, and Cyril's *Catecheses* provide strong evidence that they were understood and presented thematically.

The Armenian Lectionary does have a series of lenten readings for Wednesdays and Fridays which do seem to be based on an underlying system of *lectio continuo*, however this system uses different books from those in the current Byzantine tradition. According to the Armenian Lectionary as reconstructed by Renoux, Wednesday readings during Lent were taken from the Book of Exodus and Joel (although on Wednesday of the Sixth Week the second reading is from Zechariah 9.9ff, a passage firmly tied to Palm Sunday because of its use within the Gospels themselves.) The Friday readings are taken from Deuteronomy, Job, and Isaiah. Clearly when we only have evidence for readings

Lazarus as a type of Christ's encounter with death made present in the liturgical *today*.

once a week, it is a bit of a leap to assume the prior existence of a system of continuous readings, yet it is noteworthy that all of the readings unfold in biblical order across the weeks of Lent.

To complicate matters further, the Armenian Lectionary preserves, for the second week of Lent only, readings for Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday from 1 Samuel, Proverbs, and Jeremiah. The Monday and Tuesday pericopes make clear that this was a system of continuous reading, and Renoux and others have assumed that these readings are the remnants of another, totally distinct, *cursus* of Lenten readings.

Thus the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, coupled with the Kanon of Readings for Baptismal Instruction of the Armenian Lectionary, make it clear that an organized course of pre-baptismal readings did exist at Jerusalem, although these readings were dramatically different in structure and content from the extant Byzantine lenten readings. Similarly the Armenian Lectionary does witness to a tradition of continuous reading of selections from the Jewish Scriptures during Lent, but the fact that the particular books specified are different from those used in the current Byzantine tradition makes very unlikely Karabinov's hypothesis that the Byzantine readings go back to times of preparing converts from Judaism to Christianity.

B. Isaiah

When looking at the prophetic books chosen for the weekday readings of Lent, Orthodox authors expound on the appropriateness of the choice. Ware notes, "The book

of Isaiah begins with an appeal for repentance and fasting."¹⁷ Schmemmann comments,

Isaiah is the greatest of all the prophets and the reading of his book during Lent is meant to reveal once more the great mystery of salvation through the sufferings and sacrifices of Christ.¹⁸

Certainly the book of Isaiah was instrumental in shaping Christian understanding of what God had accomplished in Jesus from a very early stage, indeed it almost surely helped to form the language and perhaps even the structure of the Gospels themselves. Readings from Isaiah are also prominent in the pre-baptismal readings of late Fourth-century Jerusalem, as they are in the Paschal Vigil readings of the Old Jerusalem tradition as well as those of the Constantinopolitan tradition which are found in the received Byzantine tradition. The Armenian Lectionary also tells us that Isaiah was used on Fridays in Jerusalem. Yet all of this evidence is merely suggestive of how often and easily Christians turned to the book of Isaiah - it does not tell us anything specific about how and when or why the readings from Isaiah became part of the Byzantine Lenten discipline.

C. Proverbs

In commenting on the third Old Testament reading, commentators again focus on the appropriateness of the selections, assuming that was the reason for their inclusion.

The Book of Proverbs was selected for the second Reading of the Holy Forty-days undoubtedly for its moral, practical contents, and the Book of Job for

¹⁷ *LT*, p. 40.

¹⁸ Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 40.

its depiction of Job as a proto-type of the suffering Christ.¹⁹

Finally, the book of *Proverbs* is the *epitome* of the ethical teachings of the Old Testament, of the moral law and wisdom - without whose acceptance man cannot understand his alienation from God and is unable therefore even to hear the good news of forgiveness through love and grace.²⁰

The presence of the Book of Proverbs within the Jerusalem lectionaries discussed in Chapter 23 below lend some credence to these speculations, but ultimately none of them is supported by historical sources, rather they are the result of recent attempts to interpret those early sources. Ware addresses another dimension of the contemporary experience of these readings from Proverbs, from a perspective that is unabashedly moralistic:

The ethical instructions in Proverbs remind us that Lent is a time for moral effort; to repent is not merely to experience certain emotions, but on the level of practical conduct, to alter our way of life with the help of God's grace. If we find the readings from Proverbs dull and look for something more 'dramatic' and 'exciting,' this shows that we want to run before we have learnt to walk.²¹

2. The Weekend Readings

The Weekend readings for Lent clearly form a different cycle from those prescribed for weekdays, because on Saturdays and Sundays the Eucharistic Liturgy is celebrated. The one element which is found in both systems, the Psalm selections for Prokeimena, return on weekends to the thematic selection of passages, as opposed to the "numerical order" system used on weekdays. All of the Epistle readings are taken from

¹⁹ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 64.

²⁰ Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 40.

²¹ *LT*, 40.

the book usually known as the Letter to the Hebrews, while during the forty days of Lent, all of the Gospel readings are from Mark except that of the Sunday of Orthodoxy, which is taken from John. Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday also have their Gospel readings from John. While Lazarus Saturday continues with the Epistle reading from Hebrews, that on Palm Sunday comes from Phillippians.

A. The Epistle Readings

Abstracting the weekend Epistle readings from Table Two may help us discern a pattern in their selection.

Table Three: Weekend Epistle Readings

	Saturday	Sunday
1st Week	Hb 1.1-12	Hb 11.24 - 12.2
2nd Week	Hb 3.12-16	Hb 1.10 - 2.3
3rd Week	Hb 10.32-38	Hb 4.14 - 5.6
4th Week	Hb 6.9-12	Hb 6.13-20
5th Week	Hb 9.24-28	Hb 9.11-14
Lazarus Saturday	Hb 12.28 - 13.8	

First some general observations. There is only one instance of overlap in the verses read (1.10-12 are the concluding verses of the first Saturday and the opening verses of the second Sunday.) This is what would be expected if there were an underlying system of *lectio continua* of Hebrews which divided the book into successive pericopes.

The readings of the Fourth Week would support such a hypothesis, for there the Sunday reading is a continuation of that appointed for Saturday. In the current readings, however, three of the other Lenten weeks have a Saturday reading which is taken from

later in Hebrews than the Sunday reading. The first week is the only other situation in which the designated Saturday reading comes from an earlier section of Hebrews than the passage prescribed for Sunday, and in that case there is the large jump from the opening verses of chapter 1 read on Saturday to those from chapter 12 which conclude the Sunday pericope.

Given this diversity within the order of the readings, we can speculate that within a general expectation that the Epistle reading would be from Hebrews, passages from that Epistle were chosen for their thematic relation to the Gospel reading of the day.

If the column of Saturday and Sunday readings is looked at separately, then there is at least a suggestion that the Saturday and Sunday Epistle readings might represent different cycles of readings from Hebrews. Within each column, the general pattern is to move from beginning to end of the book. For Saturdays it is the Third Week which disturbs that pattern; for Sundays it is the First Sunday. Both exceptions could be explained as thematic adaptations made when the Commemoration of the Prophets Moses, Aaron, and Samuel and the Veneration of the Cross were grafted onto a pre-existing Lenten pattern.

Thomas Talley provides a convenient summary of these preliminary observations about the Lenten Weekend readings at Constantinople:

On those lenten Saturdays and Sundays, the epistles represent a course reading of Hebrews, while the season is the principal period for the course reading of the Gospel of Mark. Byzantine tradition is well known for its maintenance of the custom of course reading. Those Marcan readings for the Saturdays and Sundays of Lent are interrupted only on the first Sunday (i.e. the Sunday at the end of the first week). This Sunday is now the feast of Orthodoxy, but in the typika of Mateos it is an independently established feast of the prophets Moses, Aaron, and

Samuel. Beyond that, the appointments in the ninth and tenth century typika reveal some displacement in the Marcan series, especially on the Saturdays. In spite of that, however, it is easy to see behind the present appointments a reading of the epistle to the Hebrews and the gospel of Mark as the scriptural content of the Eucharistic liturgy at Constantinople since, quite possibly, rather early in the history of Lent there.²²

B. The Gospel Readings

The obvious association of Mark with the Lenten Gospel readings is made explicit in a notice about the "gospel cycles" in the Typikon of the Great Church, a notice placed rather curiously at the very end of the directives for Holy Saturday.

It is necessary to note that the Gospels are read in this manner: from Pascha to Pentecost, the {Gospel} according to John; from Pentecost to the New Year {September 23 in this Typikon}, that according to Matthew; from the New Year to the Fast, {the Gospel} according to Luke; from the Fast up to Palm {Sunday}, that according to Mark.²³

Such a cycle implies a system of *lectio currens*, which is generally found within the current Byzantine lectionary cycle, although there are a good number of disruptions, especially for the Sunday readings. Thomas Talley has suggested that there was a tradition of beginning the year with a course reading of the Gospel associated with the particular local Church.²⁴ At Constantinople, the Typikon of the Great Church uses precisely that terminology of "the New Year" for the beginning of the Lukan readings. Talley argues that both Holy Week and Epiphany witness to a primitive Jerusalem

²² Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 184-5.

²³ Mateos, *Typicon II*, 90-91.

²⁴ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 129-134.

lectionary built around a course reading of Matthew,²⁵ while Alexandria had a course reading of Mark beginning on January 6, which "by the Egyptians this is called the feast of the beginning of the year," according to the *Canons of Athanasius* # 16.²⁶

In searching for the origins of such a Constantinopolitan system of readings, most scholars have looked to Jerusalem. There are two pieces of evidence which work against this hypothesis, however. The Armenian Lectionary simply doesn't include any weekend readings among its Lenten directives, and the later Georgian Lectionary has distinctly different readings from those which are eventually found in Constantinople.

A reasonable hypothesis why the Armenian Lectionary does not include readings for the Eucharistic readings on Lenten weekends would be that the Jerusalem Church did not have any such directives. This would mean the Saturday and Sunday readings in fifth-century Jerusalem were freely chosen by the celebrant, rather than being designated according to liturgical tradition.

John Baldovin offers another possibility,

that despite the lack of any evidence for a Saturday-Sunday Lenten lectionary in the fifth-century Armenian Lectionary, that such a prescribed course of readings did indeed exist in the fourth century, indeed from the time of Cyril's lectures to candidates for paschal initiation.²⁷

Baldovin's argument has two main points. The first concerns the suggestions of M.F.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, 44 for Holy Week and 133 for Epiphany.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, 133.

²⁷ Baldovin, "Lenten Lectionary," p. 120.

Lages about the *vorlagen* of the manuscripts of the Armenian Lectionary.²⁸ Noting that the Armenian lectionary actually has three distinct sets of readings for Lent,²⁹ Lages postulates a series of pamphlets or *libelli*, each of which would have had one of these sets of readings. This raises the possibility that

if, Lages had argued, the Lenten portions of the Armenian Lectionary were originally separate *libelli*, a *libellus* with the Saturday-Sunday readings for the Lenten Eucharist was omitted. Why? Perhaps by this time the Armenians had their own tradition of readings for these days, a tradition that Jerusalem practice would not replace and therefore the *libellus* that contained Lenten Eucharistic lections was not included in the fifth-century composition.³⁰

Baldovin argues for the existence of such a *libellus*, based on two allusions in the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem in which the orator refers his listeners back to the previous Sundays' sermons. Baldovin proposes that these allusions of Cyril would be meaningful if the epistle readings were the same as those found in the Constantinopolitan Typikon for the Third and Fourth Sundays of Lent. He acknowledges,

This data does not provide irrefutable proof that the fourth-century Jerusalem liturgy employed a course-reading of the Letter to the Hebrews, but the data strongly suggests that conclusion... I have not found any references that would lead to the conclusion that Mark was read in the fourth-century Hagiopolitan Lenten lectionary. Given the later association of Hebrews and Mark as Lenten readings in the Byzantine tradition, it seems to me that a case could be made for supposing that Mark was read as well.³¹

²⁸ M.F. Lages, "Étapes de l'évolution du carême à Jérusalem avant le V siècle," *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s., 6 (1969): 70-76.

²⁹ These are, first, a series of readings closely related to those of Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures, second a set for the first six weeks of Lent, and third a set for Lazarus Saturday, Palm Sunday, and Holy Week.

³⁰ Baldovin, *loc. cit.*.

³¹ Baldovin, *op. cit.*, 119.

Anton Baumstark had already sought to reconstruct a pre-byzantine Sunday lectionary of Jerusalem.³² Basing himself primarily upon an Arabic lectionary, he noted the similarities between the pericopes listed there and those appointed in the seventh-century "Kanonarion" published by Kekelidze. His sources also had a cyclical reading of the four canonical gospels, in fact the points of transition are remarkably similar to those given above for the Constantinopolitan usage; what is different is the order which determines which gospel is to be read at which season. Matthew is read over fourteen Sundays, beginning with Mt 7.2-11 on the second Sunday after Pentecost and continuing on to Mt 19.16-20.16 on the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost. Mark would begin on the first Sunday after the "Festival of the Cross," arriving at the end of chapter 12 on the sixteenth Sunday of that cycle; The Lukan readings would begin with Lk 3.23ff. on the Sunday after Epiphany, continuing to the eighth week after "Kalendai," a "specifically Palestinian name" for Epiphany.³³

Although they are used at a different time of the year, it is interesting to compare the Markan pericopes specified in Baumstark's reconstruction with those of the Constantinopolitan Lenten weekends.

³² "Die Sonntägliche Evangelienlesung im vorbyzantinischen Jerusalem," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XXX (1929-30): 350-359.

³³ *Op. cit.*, 352.

Table 4: Markan Readings at Constantinople and Jerusalem

Typikon of the Great Church		Baumstark's Markan <i>Cursus</i> ³⁴
1st Sat	Mk 2.23-3.5	4] Mk 2.14-27 {K 2.13-22}
1st Sun	Jn 1.44-52	
2nd Sat	Mk 1.35-45	2] Mk 1.29-45
2nd Sun	Mk 2.1-12	3] Mk 2.1-13
3rd Sat	Mk 7.31-37	11] Mk 7.24-37 {K 7.24-36}
3rd Sun	Mk 8.34 - 9.1	12] Mk 8.1ff
4th Sat	Mk 8.27-31	13] Mk 9.14ff {K 9.14-31?}
4th Sun	Mk 9.17-31	
5th Sat	Mk 2.14-17	4] Mk 2.14-27 {K 2.13-22}
5th Sun	Mk 10.32-45	14] Mk 10.17 ff. {K 10.17-27?}
Laz Sat	Jn 11.1-45	
Palm Sun	Jn 12.1-18	

While there are some suggestive coincidences, this is only to be expected in the division of the Markan Gospel narrative which is largely made up of blocks of text describing Jesus' dramatic actions. There is no hint as to why the Byzantine readings are so far removed from a course reading today.

For the Lenten readings, Baumstark resorted to other sources to reconstruct the following readings:³⁵

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 353. The numbers given before the square brackets indicate the number of Sundays after the "Festival of the Cross" for which the reading is appointed. The *siglum* K here refers to the Georgian Kanonarium published by Kekelidze (now incorporated into Tarchnischvili's edition of the Georgian Lectionary.) Baumstark's Arabic lectionaries often indicate only the *incipit* of a reading, leaving some question if the pericope so designated ran all the way to the next *incipit* given or not.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, 353-4.

1. {Sun}day of the "Flesh"	Lk 7.36ff.
2. Sunday {Georgian Kanonarion}	Lk 15.1-10
3. Sunday	Lk 15.11ff.
4. Sunday	Lk 18.9-14
5. Sunday	Lk 10.25-37
6. Sunday	Lk 16.19ff

Baumstark's reconstruction fits well with the readings given in manuscript Sinai 210, a Gospel lectionary from the ninth-tenth centuries cited by Karabinov.³⁶

Table 5: The Readings of Sinai 210 according to Karabinov

	<i>At Matins</i>	<i>At the Liturgy</i>
Meatfare Sunday	Mt 5.17-48	Lk 7.36-50
Cheesefare Sunday	Lk 12.32-40	Mt 6.16-33
1st Sunday of the Fast	Mt 7.13-29	Mt 6.1-15
2nd Sunday of the Fast	Mt 22.2-14	Lk 15.11-32
3rd Sunday of the Fast	Mt 20.1-16	Lk 18.9-14
4th Sunday of the Fast	Mt 21.33-46	Lk 10.25-37
5th Sunday of the Fast	Four readings are listed by Karabinov:	
	1. Mt 23.1-39 2. Jn 9.1-38 3. Lk 16.19-31 4. Jn 11.55-57	

Karabinov also cites Sinai 211, a Gospel lectionary from the tenth century, as confirming this "ancient Jerusalem {lectionary} system," but he does not give the particular readings

³⁶ *Postnaia Triod*, 25-6. The first reading given for each day is the gospel read at Matins, the second is that read at the Liturgy. There would seem to be an underlying pattern of the Matins gospels being taken from Matthew while the gospel at the Liturgy comes from Luke, although on Cheesefare Sunday this is reversed, and on the First Sunday of the Fast both pericopes come from Matthew. Of the four pericopes given for the Fifth Sunday, Karabinov gives no indication if the manuscript gave any further specifications for their use. It seems reasonable to assume that readings 1 and 3 were the original Matins and Liturgy gospels, since they follow the "pattern" of the previous weeks. Passages 2 and 4 would then seem to be a distinct set of readings, presumably from a system of readings based on the Fourth Gospel.

as recorded in that manuscript.³⁷ It is noteworthy that, as shall be presented below (pp. 144 and ff.), the existing kanons of hymns in the Triodion for the Second, Third, and Fifth Sundays in Lent were based on precisely these Lukan readings.

The similarities among these sources are certainly striking. There can be little doubt that the Byzantine lenten hymnography developed around this set of Lukan readings, a system found in Jerusalem at least since the seventh century. One key question is what is the relationship between this Lukan Lenten cycle and the Markan Lenten Cycle which eventually becomes normative in the Byzantine tradition. Only after some type of conclusion is reached on this question can the issue of origins of the Johannine Readings for Lazarus Saturday be addressed.

Baldovin's suggestion is that the Markan cycle was the primitive Jerusalem tradition, which then made its way to Constantinople. Two items of collaborative evidence emerge from the researches of Sebastia Janeras, who suggests that there are at least two other cases where the Constantinopolitan lectionary adapted a pre-existent Jerusalem practice.

The series of the 11 εὐαγγέλια ἐωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα, proper to the Byzantine rite, is constructed on the basis of a system of Jerusalem readings, but {developed} outside of this tradition, something which also happened for Holy Friday.³⁸

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Sebastia Janeras, "I vangeli domenicali della resurrezione," in G. Farnedi, ed., *Paschale mysterium. Studi in memoria dell'Abate Prof. Salvatore Marsili (1910-1983) = Analecta Liturgica 10 = Studia Anselmiana 91* (Rome: Pontificio Ataneo S. Anselmo, 1986): 55-69, here p. 68. Specifics on the readings for Holy Friday can be found in Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 139-154. I have not yet seen *Idem*, "Les vespres del Divendres

Baldovin's theory that the Hebrews/Mark cycle of readings was present in fourth-century Jerusalem is consistent with the fact that all of the witnesses for the Lukan readings are from the seventh century or later. One remaining problem for those who accept this theory is explaining when and why the Lukan series came to predominate at Jerusalem.

Thomas Talley, noting the traditional association of the Gospel of Mark with Alexandria, has suggested that the course reading of Mark was a characteristic of the Alexandrian liturgical tradition that eventually came to influence Constantinopolitan and then Jerusalem usage.³⁹ In working out the details of this theory, Talley uncovers a wide variety of evidence, and the way in which he reconstructs it provides provocative suggestions on the origins of Lazarus Saturday. Before unpacking his theory any further, a brief orientation to the Saturday readings is in order.

Sant en la tradició litúrgica de Jerusalem i de Constantinoble," *Rivista Catalana de Teologia* 7 (1982): 187-234.

³⁹ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 194-214. Baldovin, "Lenten Lectionary," 118, opines, "it seems to me that an equally adequate explanation of the matter would be that Jerusalem derived Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday directly from Alexandria and that Constantinople either did the same or received the tradition *via* Jerusalem. This latter scenario is all the more attractive given the possibility that Jerusalem derived a number of practices, e.g. the earliest of its eucharistic prayers, from Alexandria." In support of this latter connection, Baldovin cites G. J. Cuming, "Egyptian Elements in the Jerusalem Liturgy," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 23 (1971): 117-124.

I would simply observe that inter-relationships along the Jerusalem-Constantinopolitan axis are well documented in both directions, but even such a well-established relationship between these two traditions would not have any force as an argument precluding the influence of another tradition in a specific case. Given the circumstantial nature of all of the evidence known so far, it seems prudent to be very cautious in hypothesizing causal relationships.

3. The Saturday Readings

In examining the Lenten Saturday readings, it is useful to note (see pp. 162 ff.) the unique character of Saturday in the Byzantine tradition (see pp. 162 ff.), a character which derives from and is especially pronounced during the Lenten Season.

During Lent, this meaning of Saturdays acquires a special intensity, for the purpose of Lent is precisely to recover the Christian meaning of time as preparation and pilgrimage and the status of the Christian as "alien" and "exile" in this world (1 Peter 2.11). These Saturdays refer the lenten effort to the future fulfillment and thus give Lent its special rhythm. On the one hand, Saturday in Lent is a "Eucharistic" day marked by celebration of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, and Eucharist always means *feast*. The peculiar character of that feast, however, is that it always refers itself to Lent as journey, patience, and effort and this becomes a "stopover" whose purpose is to make us reflect on the ultimate goal of that journey.⁴⁰

Oliver Strunk has noted that in Vatopedi 1488, the manuscript he and Enrica Folierri edited for the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, "for the Lenten Saturdays there are no provisions, with the notable exceptions of the first (the Saturday of St. Theodore) and the last (the Saturday of Lazarus)."⁴¹ This would seem to suggest that the themes of the All-Souls Saturdays and Akathistos Saturday were a later development than those preserved in this 11th century manuscript. In any case there does not seem to be any direct connection between the Lenten readings for these Saturdays and the commemorations also associated with them in the current Byzantine tradition.

Talley's speculations on the origins of these readings begins with examination of the Saturday readings as specified in the Typikon of the Great Church.

⁴⁰ Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 69-70.

⁴¹ *Triodion Athoum*, 4.

Table 6: Byzantine Lenten Saturday Readings

	<i>Epistle</i>	<i>Gospel</i>
1st Week	Hb 1.1-12	Mk 2.23 - 3.5
2nd Week	Hb 3.12-16	Mk 1.35-44
3rd Week	Hb 10.32-38	Mk 7.31-37
4th Week	Hb 6.9-12	Mk 8.27-31
5th Week	Hb 9.24-28	Mk 2.14-17
Lazarus Saturday	Hb 12.28 - 13.8	Jn 11.1-45

The sudden appearance of a Johannine reading on the Saturday of the Fifth Week stands out, especially when it is noted that the passage from John 11 on the raising of Lazarus has no direct parallel in the three synoptic gospels.

By contrast, at Constantinople the Lent of six weeks is, so far as we can tell, consistently distinct from the six days of the Paschal Fast. There, at the end of a six-week course reading of Mark, the two festal days that lie between the two periods are related to the raising of Lazarus and the entry into Jerusalem, and so, evidently, draw their gospel readings from John, our only source for the Bethany miracle and the only gospel in which the entry into Jerusalem is chronologically related to the passion.⁴²

No one seems to have yet commented on the fact that in the Lucan Lenten readings used at Jerusalem, readings clearly presumed by much of the hymnography currently included in the Byzantine Lenten Triodion, the pericope for the Fifth Sunday of the fast is Luke 16.19ff. This is the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, a passage found only in the Third Gospel and the only other mention of the name "Lazarus" in the canonical scriptures.

Talley, however, did notice that a passage referred to in a Manuscript discovered

⁴² Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 187-8.

by Morton Smith⁴³ and published by him as "the Secret Gospel of Mark" would provide a Marcan parallel for the resurrection of Lazarus. In this "Mar-Saba Clementine Fragment," Clement the author responds to someone named Theodore, who had apparently written to Clement asking for clarification concerning the teachings of the Carpocratians, a gnostic sect known to have been active in Alexandria in the second century. Part of Clement's response includes his account of the composition and use of the Gospel of Mark at Alexandria:

Now of the things they keep saying about the divinely inspired Gospel according to Mark, some are altogether falsifications, and others, even if they do contain some true elements, nevertheless are not reported truly. For the true things being mixed with inventions, are falsified, so that, as the saying goes, even the salt loses its flavor.

As for Mark then, during Peter's stay in Rome he wrote an account of the Lord's doings, not however declaring all of them, nor yet hinting at the secret ones, but selecting what he thought most useful for increasing the faith of those who were being instructed. But when Peter died a martyr, Mark came over to Alexandria, bringing both his own notes and those of Peter, from which he transferred to his former book the things suitable to whatever makes for progress toward knowledge. Thus he composed a more spiritual Gospel for the use of those who were being perfected. Nevertheless he did not yet divulge the things not to be uttered, nor did he write down the hierophantic teaching of the Lord, but to the stories already written he added yet others and, moreover, brought in certain sayings of which he knew the interpretation would, as a mystagogue, lead the hearers into the inner most sanctuary of that truth hidden by the seven veils. Thus in sum he prepared matters, neither grudgingly nor incautiously, in my opinion, and, dying, he left his composition to the Church in Alexandria, where it even yet is most carefully guarded, being read only to those who are being initiated into the great mysteries. But since the foul demons are always devising destruction for the race of men, Carpocrates, instructed by them and using deceitful arts, so enslaved a certain presbyter of the church in Alexandria that he got from him a copy of the secret gospel, which he both interpreted according to his blasphemous and carnal doctrine and, moreover, polluted, mixing with the spotless and holy words utterly

⁴³ A fuller discussion of Smith's publication of this "Secret Gospel of Mark" and the response it received in the academic community is given below in Chapter 20.

shameless lies. From this mixture is drawn off the teaching of the Carpocratians.⁴⁴

It is out of a concern to clarify how the Carpocratians have distorted this "Secret Gospel of Mark" that Clement gives Theodore two specific citations from this "mystical teaching:"

To you, therefore, I shall not hesitate to answer the questions you have asked, refuting the falsifications by the very words of the gospel. For example, after "And they were in the road going up to Jerusalem," and what follows, until "After three days he shall arise," {i.e., Mark 10.32-34} the secret Gospel brings the following material word for word:

"And they came into Bethany. And a certain woman whose brother had died was there. And coming, she prostrated herself before Jesus and says to him, 'son of David, have mercy on me.' But the disciples rebuked her. And Jesus, being angered, went off with her into the garden where the tomb was, and straightaway a great cry was heard from the tomb. And going near, Jesus rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb. And straightaway, going in where the youth was, he stretched forth his hand and raised him, seizing his hand. But the youth, looking upon him, loved him and began to beseech him that he might be with him. And going out of the tomb they came to the house of the youth, for he was rich. And after six days Jesus told him what to do, and in the evening the youth comes to him, wearing a linen cloth over his naked body. And he remained with him that night, for Jesus taught him the mystery of the kingdom of God. And thence, arising, he returned to the other side of the Jordan."

After these words follows the text, "And James and John come to him," and all that section {i.e. Mark 10.35-45}. But "naked man with naked man," and the other things about which you wrote, are not found.

And after the words, "And he comes into Jericho" {Mark 10.46}, the secret Gospel adds only,

"And the sister of the youth whom Jesus loved, and his mother and Salome were there, and Jesus did not receive them."

But the many other things about which you wrote both seem to be and are falsifications.

Now the true explanation and that which accords which true philosophy ...

⁴⁴ Morton Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge MA, 1973), 446ff.

{At this point the fragment ends.}⁴⁵

Talley's citation of this Mar-Saba Clementine Fragment is part of a larger argument which includes evidence that originally at Alexandria the forty-day fast was a pre-baptismal fast in imitation of Jesus culminating in baptism on the sixth day of the sixth week, a liturgical period totally distinct from the pre-paschal fast, which at that time was only the six days before Easter. Out of all of this he offers the "suggestion"

that what Smith calls the "longer text" of Mark provides following Mark 10.34 the origin of the Saturday of Lazarus, the major baptismal day preceding Palm Sunday at Constantinople.⁴⁶

Talley's other arguments for the Alexandrian origin of Lent are summarized and evaluated elsewhere in this study, and only after all the evidence has been considered can conclusions be attempted. This would include examination of Talley's hypothesis that "the Saturday of Lazarus and Palm Sunday come to Jerusalem from Constantinople, and to Constantinople from ante-Nicene Alexandria."⁴⁷ The immediate task, however, is to return to our observations concerning the Byzantine cycle of Lenten Readings.

4. The Readings of Holy Week

Thematic observations about the content of the readings of Holy Week were offered above in the previous chapter. Detailed discussion of the readings prescribed for Holy Week in the Byzantine tradition would take us too far afield from the focus of this

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, 447.

⁴⁶ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 211.

⁴⁷ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 213.

study, but there are several observations that are relevant to the current task of explicating the structural elements of the Triodion as well as to our eventual focus on the elements of Lazarus Saturday.

Karabinov noted that, "The most ancient part of the above mentioned {lectionary} system is that which contains the readings for Holy Week, in particular for Great Friday and Saturday."⁴⁸ The theory that the Paschal Vigil provided the most ancient core of eventual development of a series of pre-paschal preparations is now widely accepted, as it has been supported by a wide assortment of evidence. From Holy Saturday to Great Friday to the commemorations which Egeria tells were called "Great Week" in Jerusalem, the scriptural readings clearly support the suggestion that these remembrances were both distinct from and earlier than the liturgical period of the Forty-day Fast. At the same time, the received Byzantine tradition offers indications that these originally distinct periods are now integrated into one ongoing liturgical season of preparation for Pascha. Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday provide a type of "hinge" in this integration, with some features linking them to the previous Forty-day fast, other features linking them to the commemorations which follow in Great Week, while there are some characteristics unique to these days alone. Thomas Talley summarized the early evidence for such a transitional nature to this weekend in commenting on the testimony of the *Apostolic Constitutions* V.13:

That insistence on the suspension of the fast for those two days, the Sabbath and the Sunday at the end of the sixth week, is instructive. As we have seen, these

⁴⁸ *Postnaia Triod*, 55.

two days were never fasted during Lent, and their explicit exclusion from the fast here can only mean that the fast of forty days has been completed and the paschal fast has not yet begun. Those days fall between the two fasts as a festal interlude. This is the pattern of fourth-century Antioch and will be the pattern of the pre-paschal fasts at Constantinople, at Jerusalem in the fifth century, at Alexandria in the seventh, and eventually throughout the oriental churches. In this system, Lent and Holy Week are totally distinct. Indeed, they are not even continuous, but are separated by two festal days, the otherwise undesignated Sabbath and Sunday in *Apostolic Constitutions* V.13, but known already in some churches as the Saturday of Lazarus and Palm Sunday, days which, we shall be concerned to argue, mark the festal conclusion of Lent itself.⁴⁹

Holy Saturday Vespers

In looking at the scriptural passages prescribed for Holy Saturday Vespers, the long series of readings from the Jewish scriptures stands out as very different from the received Byzantine tradition. Karabinov commented on the distinguishing characteristics of these readings:

The Liturgical readings for Saturday are already related to the Paschal service properly speaking, yet more specifically make up the threshold between the Pascha of the Cross and the Pascha of the Resurrection. They belong to the ancient Christian vigil which is served on Saturday night into Sunday in remembrance of the Resurrection of Christ.⁵⁰

It is interesting to note that eventually this service becomes the "threshold" between the divisions of the Triodion into the Lenten Triodion and the Pentekostarion, as noted above. It was also noted that most liturgical historians take it as a given that an annual Paschal Vigil was the earliest step in the development of liturgical commemorations that we now know as the moveable cycle of annual feasts.

⁴⁹ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 171.

⁵⁰ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 55.

Closer attention to the particular pericopes indicated enabled Karabinov to speculate further about the themes that led to their selection:

Through the examination of each of the Old Testament Readings individually, one cannot help but notice that they all fall into three groups: One of them is as we say "Cyclical"; Others speak of the feast of Pascha, and the Third finally have the appearance of being served before Paschal Vigil/Baptism of Catechumens.⁵¹

Bertonière included consideration of these readings in his study of the Easter Vigil, and documented how a primitive Jerusalem *cursus* of twelve readings (only the length of each pericope varies in the different sources) is eventually replaced even in Palestine by a series of fifteen readings which originated in Constantinopolitan practice. He noted that for the earlier Jerusalem *cursus*,

the twelve Old Testament readings at what appears to be the Easter Vigil represent a pattern both in terms of the number of readings as well as the books used and the order of their occurrence. This pattern is repeated on *all* the great feasts of the lectionary, even on Easter day itself.⁵²

The replacement of this series with the fifteen readings of the Constantinopolitan *cursus* was part of a larger process of standardization within the Byzantine Empire which probably took place in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Following the observations of Mateos,⁵³ Bertonière shows how "*these vigils of Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter had seven readings*, to which others were added according to need in the case

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, 58.

⁵² Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 59-60.

⁵³ *Typicon II*, 87.

of the latter two."⁵⁴ His attempts to show that the Septuagint order of readings is in fact respected underneath a pattern of alternating selections from the Historical and Prophetic books were unconvincing to this reader, since he glosses over a rather significant number of readings which disturb the pattern he discerns, and even this pattern ignores the well-founded understanding of the Pentateuch as the first category of the Septuagint canon.

Great Friday

The only Great Friday service not discussed in the previous chapter was the clustering together of the Hours. Karabinov was of the opinion that,

The Readings of the Hours for Holy Friday and as for this entire service, undoubtedly have their origins in the Jerusalem practice of Constantinople, which brings together the services of the third and sixth hours with readings from Zechariah 11.10-13. One must think that this selection of readings in these hours has very ancient origins. Egeria writes concerning the analogous hours in the services of Jerusalem that they lasted from the 6th to the 9th hours (i.e. from noon until 3 o'clock in the afternoon on Friday).⁵⁵

Karabinov then cites Egeria 37, which is given below in Wilkinson's translation, offering a larger sample of Egeria's repetitious account.

At midday they go Before the Cross - whether it is rain or fine, for the place is out of doors - into the very spacious and beautiful courtyard between the Cross and the Anastasis, and there is not even room to open a door, the place is so crammed with people. They place the bishop's chair Before the Cross, and the whole time between midday and three o'clock is taken up with readings. They are all about the things Jesus suffered: first the psalms on this subject, then the Apostles (the Epistles or Acts) which concern it, then passages from the Gospels. Thus they read the prophecies about what the Lord would suffer, and the Gospels about what he did suffer. And in this way they continue the readings and hymns

⁵⁴ *Easter Vigil*, 129-130, italics are in the original.

⁵⁵ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 60-61.

from midday till three o'clock, demonstrating to all the people by the testimony of the Gospels and the writings of the Apostles that the Lord actually suffered everything that the prophets had foretold. For those three hours, then, they are teaching the people that nothing which took place had not been foretold, and that all that was foretold was completely fulfilled; and between all the readings are prayers, all of them appropriate to the day.⁵⁶

Concerning the time frame within which this system of Lenten Old Testament readings developed, the best we can do with the evidence available is note some of the chronological markers preserved by our sources.

It is much more difficult to define the time period of establishing other more ancient parts of this system. It is accepted knowledge that John Chrysostom, in his discussions at Antioch (388) concerning the Book of Genesis gives witness to the readings of this same book during the Holy 40 days. Leontius of Byzantium (+ 543) in his words on the Holy and Great Friday speaks of the readings from the Book of Job during Holy Week, but these references still say little about where and when the selection of present Triodion readings were established. The particularities of this same selection of readings also gives little information on location and chronology. From this we may conclude only that the selections were taken from the ancient Antiochian methods of calculating the period of the Holy 40 days and of Holy Week, because for these two periods readings were taken from different books of the Holy Scriptures.⁵⁷

Holy Thursday

The dual commemoration of the institution of the Eucharist and the Foot-washing was described above, as well as the fact that the consecration of the Holy Oil or Myron takes place in Patriarchal churches during or after these commemorations. A glance back at Table Two shows that Holy Thursday Matins is the first service in the Triodion which

⁵⁶ Wilkinson, 137-8.

⁵⁷ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 62. Talley, *Liturgical Year*, agrees that Chrysostom's Homily on Psalm 145 was given in Constantinople, but Pauline Allen in "Pre-Paschal Liturgies" argues that the allusions of the homily point to an Antiochian setting.

breaks the "numerical order" pattern for choosing Psalm texts (see above, p. 133), an observation which led Karabinov to conclude:

the arrangement of the {Psalm} excerpts for the Prokeimena at the Lenten Readings were probably made by a different calculation, according to which the first three days of Passion Week are a part of the Holy Forty-days.⁵⁸

This observation supports the characterization, which is much clearer in other liturgical traditions, of a "Sacred Triduum" of Great Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.⁵⁹ Jounel notes that in the Latin tradition,

Holy Thursday belongs to two different liturgical periods: until the hour of Vespers it is the final day of Lent, while the evening Mass *in Coena Domini* (commemorating the Last Supper) opens the Easter Triduum.⁶⁰

The significant structural parallel here is a celebration which forms a "hinge" between the conclusion of the Lenten fast of forty days and an intense period of paschal preparation. In the Latin rite this transition takes place within Holy Thursday itself, and the three days which make up the Triduum will be understood as running from Thursday evening to Sunday evening. In the Byzantine tradition, the shifting patterns of readings point to an understanding of Holy Thursday Matins as the initiation of this "triduum" with Holy Wednesday as the last day of the Forty-day Lenten fast. In the Part Three of this study, it will be noted that in the current form of the Byzantine tradition, such a

⁵⁸ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 132.

⁵⁹ For a succinct summary of the development of the Easter Triduum, focusing on the western traditions but offering pointers to the technical literature which also considers the eastern traditions, see P. Jounel's presentation in *The Church at Prayer* IV:46-56.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, 47-8.

transitional position is precisely the structural role which Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday have in the liturgical texts. This structural parallel adds significance to a series of observations about the readings prescribed for Holy Thursday and Great Wednesday on the one hand, and the themes of Lazarus Saturday on the other.

First of all, the gospel reading associated with the Foot-washing is John, chapters 12 and 13. This is the continuation of the gospel narratives from John 11 and 12 which were characteristic of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

Secondly, there is in the ancient Christian tradition a significant connection between the Foot-washing services and the scriptural passage on which it is based and baptismal themes and services.⁶¹ It is mentioned here as an aspect of the scriptural readings of the Byzantine tradition which is not immediately evident, and which may be relevant to the baptismal tradition associated with Lazarus Saturday which otherwise seems so anomalous.

The anointing at Bethany is the final parallel worth mentioning here. In the

⁶¹ Peter Jeffery, "Mandatum Novum Do Vobis: Toward a Renewal of the Holy Thursday Footwashing Rite," *Worship* 64 (1990): 107-141. The connections of the footwashing to Christian Initiation are presented on pp. 112-114. Jeffery makes extensive use of the information already collected in Thomas Schäfer, *Die Fusswaschung im monastische Brauchtum und in der lateinischen Liturgie: Liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung = Texte und Arbeiten* I. Abteilung, Heft 47 (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1956) and Pier Franco Beatrice, *La lavanda dei piedi: Contributo alla storia delle antiche liturgie cristiane = Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia* 28 (Rome: Edizione Liturgiche, 1983). In Footnote 6 on p. 110, Jeffery observes, "Schäfer's book, as the title promises, focuses almost exclusively on Western and monastic developments. Beatrice's book attempts to treat Eastern and Western evidence equally, but it is largely limited to the patristic period. Thus there is still room for further study of the later medieval and postmedieval practices in both East and West."

Fourth Gospel, it is closely connected with the raising of Lazarus on the one hand, and the climactic events associated with Pascha on the other. Only the Gospel of John specifies the event as taking place "six days before the Pascha," a theme which has a significant place in the hymnography for both Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. It is the account of this anointing which is read at the Divine Liturgy on Palm Sunday, another choice which seems anomalous given how much of the commemoration is focused on the triumphant entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, a theme which leads the preceeding week and even its individual days to often be described in Byzantine liturgical books as "of the Palms."

On the surface, there would seem to be no connection between the reading of John 12.1-8 on Palm Sunday and the reading of Mt 26.6-16 at the Liturgy of St. Basil with Vespers on Holy Thursday, apart from the fact that these passages represent two redactional traditions which reflect different understandings and remembrances of an anointing of Jesus at Bethany. Given, however, the structural parallels underlying this lectionary systems, the possibility that both represent a common tradition associated with the end of the Forty-day Lenten Fast deserves closer consideration.

5. The Prokeimena Cycles

We have already had occasion to refer to the evidence of the Prokeimena cycles for the Lenten Triodion; this section will collect those observations in one place.

The first observation supports several others related to the lectionary cycles and ascetical practices of the Lenten Triodion, noting that the weekday Prokeimena cycle is

clearly distinct from that used on the Eucharistic days of Saturday and Sunday. Within the Weekend readings, the specification of a Great Prokeimenon for Sunday Evening Vespers deserves more careful examination. Finally the other Weekend Prokeimena can be looked at for any evidence of the principle that determined their selection.

5a. Weekday Prokeimena

As examination of Table Two above makes clear, the source texts for these Prokeimena form a clear pattern of working through the Psalter, beginning with Psalm 1 at the Sixth Hour on the First day of Lent and continuing in order to Psalm 137 (skipping Psalm 136) at Vespers for Great and Holy Wednesday.

The order found amongst their Prokeimena which are taken from the psalms in continuous order in which they are arranged in the Psalter. In the readings for the Sixth hour on Monday of the First Week, the Prokeimenon comes from the 1st Psalm, and in the last selection for Holy Wednesday, the Prokeimenon is taken from the 137th Psalm. Undoubtedly this order of Prokeimena was accepted after the entire system of readings for the Holy Forty-days and the first half of Holy Week was defined. As was already mentioned, the contents of the Prokeimena in a majority of instances differs in character as do the contents of the Troparia of the prophecies, and they have the characteristics of the {time of} Heraclius and the Persian wars.⁶²

5b. Sunday Evening Vespers

Beginning with the evening of Cheese-fare Sunday, and continuing throughout the Lenten Forty-days, Sunday Evening Vespers has a Great Prokeimenon (Sunday Evening Vespers on Palm Sunday uses the customary Sunday Evening Prokeimenon.) This is from Psalm 68 at Forgiveness Vespers and on Sunday Evening Vespers on the Second

⁶² Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 61.

and Fourth Sundays of Lent; the First, Third, and Fifth Sundays use Psalm 60. (See below p. 162 for more on the transitional nature of Sunday Evening Vespers in Lent.)

5c. Weekend Prokeimena

Mateos' edition of the Typikon of the Great Church does not always give Prokeimena readings for all of the Weekend services. This itself might suggest that these Prokeimena were not an integral part of the specifically lenten practices which the Typika were describing. We could imagine that they were simply not included in the earlier sources, or that the scribes (and the liturgical communities they were serving) were sufficiently familiar with the "normal procedure" that they felt no need to repeat them in the Typika. Thus the Prokeimenon at Saturday Evening Vespers in the Byzantine Tradition is always Ps 92.1 with the refrains taken from verses of the same Psalm (and always sung in Tone 6.)

6. Communion Verses

At the Saturday and Sunday Divine Liturgies, the "normal pattern" of the Oktoechos would lead one to expect specifications for a Prokeimenon, Epistle Reading, Alleluia Verse, Gospel reading, and Communion Verse at every Liturgy. The manuscripts utilized by Mateos in his edition of the Typikon of the Great Church do not always give a passage for the Communion Verse, but those which they do provide suggest that there was one passage normally used as a communion verse at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, and another which was the normal communion verse on Saturday and Sunday liturgies during the Great and Holy Forty Days.

Ps 33.9, {34.9} "Taste and see that the Lord is good," is given as the Communion Verse on the Wednesday of Cheesefare Week and on the Monday of the First Week of the Fast in Mateos' Typikon.

Ps 32.1 is the only Communion Verse specified for Weekend liturgies during the 40 days.⁶³

7. Alleluia Verses

When passages are specified, there is some evidence which suggests that a perceived thematic connection to the Epistle and Gospel pericopes was the principle which led to their selection, at least it is clear that there is no continuous pattern to the selection of the extant readings. It is possible to speculate on the thematic connection which associated a particular psalm verse with the Gospel readings, but we have no historical witnesses which describe the process of selection for us.

⁶³ In Mateos' edition it is explicitly mentioned on the Sundays of Cheesefare, and at the conclusion of the First and Second weeks of the Fast. No Communion Verse is specified for either Liturgy at the end of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth weeks, nor for the Saturday Liturgy of the Second Week. It does seem reasonable to assume that *Hagia Sophia* reflected in current practice in that this Communion Verse was always Ps 32.1.

On the Fifth Saturday, an additional series of readings is given for the special service at the Church in the Blachernae section of Constantinople. These "Marian readings" are clearly associated with the celebration of the Akathistos which eventually becomes the characteristic emphasis of this day.

Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday have their own proper Communion Verses, as does the Liturgy of Basil with Vespers on Great Thursday and Holy Saturday.

CHAPTER 6

HYMNOGRAPHY

By far the greatest bulk of the Triodion is devoted to hymnographic texts, and it would be hard to overstress the importance of these hymns for any understanding of the Triodion. Karabinov noted:

The printed Triodion contains more than 500 hymns which differ greatly among themselves in form, size, and classification. In addition, a huge collection of such hymns were no longer used and simply remain in manuscripts.¹

As was noted in Chapter 1, there are many problems inherent in the study of the collections of Byzantine hymns, all of which apply to the study of the Triodion. This section will simply call attention to a few of the issues which will be central to our later examination of the hymns associated with Lazarus Saturday.

1. Terminology

The many terminological problems associated with identifying the hymns included in the Byzantine anthologies all stem from one pervasive fact: there is no

¹ *Postnaia Triod*, 65. Momina's estimate is "about 600 hymns;" See Momina, "Origins," 112.

consistent use of terms for referring to our texts. There are several factors which contribute to this inconsistency. One is that the same text may be used in different liturgical contexts, and thus when a hymn is identified in terms of its liturgical function, the same hymn might be referred to with different terms. Even where a given text has a single liturgical function, however, it may well be identified with a variety of terms. We are dealing with texts which were composed, preserved, and utilized over a long period of time, in many different geographic, cultural, ecclesiastical and liturgical contexts. The people involved in collecting and using these texts attended to them because they were felt to be "living texts of the community;" their value and authority came from a perceived relationship with the formative experiences of that community. As was true in many other situations in pre-Gutenberg societies, a written text was a witness to the performative reality of the words in a specific oral context, and scribes had no qualms about adapting the written text to make it conform more closely to their understanding of this experiential reality. A few generalizations about these complex processes are all that can be offered here; this is a topic that is certainly worthy of more systematic treatment.

The earliest hymns seem to have been composed as a paraphrase of, or response to, specific biblical verses.

Regardless of the variations in form and size and classification, all the hymns {contained in} the Triodion have one general source, they all originated in the chants which ancient Christians sang, hymns of biblical psalms and songs.²

Thus it is not surprising that they were identified with the Greek term used for verses of

² *Ibid.*

the Bible, στίχοι [stichoi]. The oldest collections of such hymns were identified as Sticheraria. The Triodion preserves many examples of this early stage where hymns were deeply rooted in biblical language.

A noteworthy feature of the Triodion is that a considerable part of its contents consists of stichera paraphrasing or even quoting literally from the Gospel lectionary.³

The Troparia of the Prophecy, found in current Triodia for weekdays at the Third/Sixth Hour, have several characteristics which justify Karabinov's conclusion:

The so-called Troparia of the Prophecy are among the most ancient hymns of the Lenten Triodion, but they were not composed especially for the services of Great Lent. It is likely that most of them were used in Lent starting in the seventh century, {even though} two facts serve as evidence of their {greater} antiquity. First of all, we know with certainty the name of the author of one of these Troparia, ... the righteous Auxentios (+ 470) who lived not far from Constantinople. Secondly, the very method of assembling the Troparia of the Prophecy demonstrates the {process of} formation of the earliest hymnographic period: most of them relate strongly to the Scripture Readings of the early selections.⁴

It is not certain when and why such poetic compositions came to be called Troparia,⁵ but when they were collected into anthologies these collections were called Tropologia. Manuscripts which retain the title *Sticherarion* were still being copied as late

³ *Triodion Athoum*, 4.

⁴ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 77-78.

⁵ See *ODB*, 3:2124, s.v. "Troparion;" also L. Clugnet, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques* (1895), 153-5; *Festal Menaion*, 561, s.v. "Troparion;" for a description of the earliest extant examples of hymns bearing that name see Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 171-179.

as the twelfth-fourteenth centuries and were still being used in the fifteenth century.⁶

The underlying musical melodies provided one of the first criteria for distinguishing among these hymns or troparia. Hymns which had a distinctive melody were called *Idiomela*; those which were based on a previous model were known as *Prosomia*. To this day the liturgical books usually give the *incipit* of the *Idiomelon* on which a *Prosomoion* is based, and hymns are often labeled *Idiomela* or *Prosomia*. It is striking that almost all of the proper hymns at Friday Evening Vespers before Lazarus Saturday are identified as *Idiomela* (the only exception is the *Martyrikon*), even though the identifying terms reflect three distinct groupings: the "*Idiomelon* of the day," the *Idiomela* attributed to the Emperor Leo the Wise, and the *Idiomelon* attributed to Andrew the Blind.

As the liturgical order came to be standardized, hymns came to fulfill specific functions within that *cursus*. The terms which identify that function could emerge from the content of the hymn or its liturgical role, and as the liturgical *cursus* developed from over time and from place to place, the identifying terminology changed also.

Theotokia (Hymns to the Theotokos or Mother of God) are the largest and most clearly identified group of hymns classified by content, in fact there is even a significant

⁶ St. Mark's Venice, manuscript Gr II 118, a Sticherarion of the 14th century, cf. E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti* (Rome, 1967), I:341. Possibly also University of Messina Library, manuscript Gr 127 should be included, as it is a Sticherarion dated to the 12th-14th centuries. See Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, xiv for the list of manuscripts, or Appendix 10 for an expanded list which is re-arranged chronologically. See also *ODB* 3:1956 s.v. "Sticherarion," and Wellesz, *Byzantine Music* 142-3; 244-5. A facsimile edition of manuscript Vienna Codex th gr 181 (dated to 1221) was published to inaugurate the *MMB* 1 (Copenhagen, 1935).

sub-group of hymns known as Staurotheotokia which deal with the two themes of the Cross and the Mother of God. Oliver Strunk notes

Theotokia, as a class, are by their very nature unstable. Troparia in praise of the Virgin or asking Her intercession, sung in connection with a doxology or, when this is divided into two clauses, in connection with its second clause, they adapt themselves as readily to one context as to another, provided only that they maintain the mode of the preceding troparia, or at least that of the last troparion to precede.⁷

Other categories based on content given hymns in the Triodion include *Triadika* (hymns to the Trinity), *Martyrika* (hymns for the Martyrs), and *Nekrosima* (hymns for the Dead).

Within the received tradition, liturgical function is the most common way to identify hymns. The hymns at Ps. 140 are an important part of each Vesper service, while the propers for Matins will always begin by giving a series of "Sessional Hymns" which were interspersed between the Kathismata of the Psalter. Similar terms are Aposticha, Apolytikia, Hymns of Light, or Hymns at the Praises. The exact same textual unit can be identified in different ways when it has a different liturgical function,⁸ and tracing the ways in which a given textual unit was utilized in a variety of liturgical functions can provide important insights into the evolution of the Byzantine hymnographic tradition. This task is one where the method of structural analysis being advocated in this paper can be very helpful.

Literary genre is an important category in understanding a poetic composition.

⁷ *Triodion Athoum*, 40.

⁸ See *Triodion Athoum*, Table 1 on p. 6, for examples of how the same hymn can be used in different services or in different ways in different places.

Unfortunately in the received tradition of the Byzantine Churches, those terms which reflect literary genre are no longer limited to elements which reflect the characteristics of that genre. Historically the Kontakion had a special role in the development of Byzantine hymnography, but the hymns called Kontakia in the modern liturgical books are but a tiny remnant of the original Kontakia compositions, fragments which no longer convey the literary characteristics of the classical Kontakion form. Egon Wellesz illustrates the terminological problems involved in using the sources for the Kontakia.

No evidence is available to determine the date at which the Kontakion was received into the Byzantine liturgy. No reference to it is to be found in the Byzantine documents or writings during the time it was in use. Even the name Kontakion only occurs for the first time in the ninth century; the monk who composed a hymn of that kind called it a Hymn (ὕμνος), Psalm (ψαλμός), Poem (ποίημα or ἔπος), Song (ὠδή or ᾠσμα), Laud (αἶνος), or Prayer (προσευχή or δέησις).⁹

Originally composed as a homiletic or catechetical element to be used in conjunction with the Constantinopolitan All-night Vigil, the eventual influence of the Palestinian monastic Typikon on Byzantine usage deprived this genre of hymn of its *Sitz im Gottesdienst*. The Kanon genre which originated in Palestinian monastic circles eventually came to predominate as the genre of choice for later Byzantine hymnographers.¹⁰ Over time, however, all sorts of hymnographic material was used and re-used in the Kanon form, thus the simple fact that a hymn occurs within a liturgical unit which is today called a

⁹ Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 179.

¹⁰ A still useful summary of this process is found in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 171-245, although a more sophisticated history and analysis is offered in Grosdidiers de Matons, *Poésie*.

Kanon is not necessarily an indication that the hymn was originally composed respecting the norms of the classical Kanon genre.

2. Attributions to Particular Hymnographers

It is not uncommon for the liturgical books to attribute a particular hymn or block of hymns to a specific name, thus the Oktoechos is widely attributed to John of Damascus, while a large number of the Kanons within the Lenten Triodion are attributed to Joseph and Theodore the Stoudites.

As a general rule, manuscript choir-books contain no attributions to individual poet-composers. But where these are found, even sporadically as they are in Vatopedi 1488, they may be highly significant.¹¹

Such information can be very useful, unfortunately it can never be simply taken at face value, and as was noted in Chapter 2 above, one of the biggest shortcomings of the existing research on the Triodion is the extent to which classifications have been based on these attributions. The process of formation of the manuscripts, not to mention of the printed liturgical books, was so complex that there are several known mechanisms to explain errors in attribution, not to mention the ever-present danger of scribal error. Thus the attribution of a particular poetic work to a particular figure in any given source tells us no more than that such an attribution is found in that specific source. Only with the addition of other evidence can the connection between a given composition and a known hymnographer become gradually more certain. The availability of the *Initia Hymnorum*

¹¹ *Trioudium Athoum*, 27.

Ecclesiae Graecae along with its various indices is a tremendous boost to such research,¹² and the prospect of an increasing number of editions being made available electronically should enable a scope and depth of research on such issues which previously could only have come after a lifetime of study. It remains to be seen if such possibilities will be actualized.

Quinlan provides some appropriate cautions on how much information these attributions can be expected to provide:

... so far identification of the poetic material found in the Triodion draws heavily on the named hymns. The Palestinian contribution is identified with works that bear the name of Andrew of Crete (c. 680 - c. 740), John of Damascus (c. 680 - c. 749), Kosmas of Maiuma (c. 685 - c. 750) and Stephen the Sabbite (725 - 807). The western or Constantinopolitan contribution is identified by the works of the Studites Theodore and Joseph. Leaving aside the problem of the trustworthiness of some attributions, it is clear that a great deal of material found in the Triodion remains anonymous, and therefore cannot be fitted into either category. As much of the hymnographic output has disappeared from the Triodion, it has received little attention.¹³

3. Scriptural Images in the Hymnography

Attending to the scriptural images referred to or at least assumed by the hymnography of the propers provides another level of information about the celebrations. Thus during the first three days of Holy Week, the theme of expectation of the Bridegroom as developed from the Matthean parable of the wise and foolish virgins, permeates all of the services. Another example relevant to our eventual focus is the Fifth

¹² See Follieri, "Problemi," where most of the article is devoted to discussion of specific examples of homonymy in these attributions.

¹³ Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, VII - VIII.

Sunday in Lent, where the main commemoration in the current Triodion is of Mary of Egypt.

The Fifth Sunday ... corresponds closely to the preceding Sunday: just as the fourth Sunday is dedicated to St. John Climacus, the model of ascetics, so the fifth celebrates *St. Mary of Egypt*, the model of penitents. Like that of St. John Climacus, her feast has been transferred from the fixed calendar, where she is commemorated on 1 April.

On this Sunday, the first Canon at Mattins is based on the story of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16.19-31): Like the parable of the Good Samaritan on the previous Sunday, this is applied symbolically to the repentant Christian.¹⁴

Lectionary evidence supports the fact that is suggested by the Matins Kanon, that at one time the Reading for the Fifth Sunday of Lent was Luke 16.19-31.¹⁵ If we look carefully at the hymnography for some of the Sundays where the current Byzantine usage employs different readings, we find that often the hymnography is based on those earlier readings.

Yet during the six weeks of Lent, although the Sunday lessons of the definitive lectionary are drawn largely from Mark, the stichera assigned to the last four weeks bear once again on lessons from Luke, returning for the third and fourth weeks to the parables of the Prodigal Son and of the Publican and Pharisee and continuing for the fifth and sixth week with those of the Good Samaritan (10.25-37) and of the Rich Man and Lazarus (16.1-31). Only too obviously, this part of the Triodion must have taken shape at a time prior to the introduction of the definitive Gospel lectionary, in a place where a wholly different arrangement of the lessons was followed.¹⁶

Even when not specifically based on a particular scriptural passage, Byzantine hymnography is deeply saturated with biblical images. Thus the Great Kanon of Andrew

¹⁴ *LT*, 56.

¹⁵ See Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 25-26 for the readings of the IX-Xth century Jerusalem Lectionary Sinai 210, given above on p. 117.

¹⁶ *Triodion Athoum*, 5.

of Krete can be thought of as a mosaic of scriptural images of repentance, with a large number of the images being taken from the Jewish Scriptures. The poetic imagery of the psalms is another element which is so pervasive in Byzantine Hymnography that it is easy to take it for granted. It is very likely that the hymnographers themselves often used language which would echo the biblical connotations, sometimes consciously, but often unconsciously, simply because they themselves were living a liturgical routine in which this biblical language played a large role in their daily thought processes.¹⁷

4. Literary Images within the Hymnography

Finally the texts themselves will often have clear themes that suggest an understanding of the particular service. The overwhelming majority of such images come from the scriptures. The previous section noted examples where such imagery flows out of the readings appointed for a particular day, as well as examples of where biblical language and imagery is used rather freely by the hymnographer to help convey a particular idea. This section would like to draw attention to examples of imagery being used to develop a particular theme which is not directly related to the readings appointed for a specific service.

The most pervasive example is the theme of fasting, which is addressed in almost all of the Lenten weekday propers, in the compositions attributed to Joseph and Theodore. Another prominent example within the Triodion is the theme of repentance.

¹⁷ Chapter 18 of this study will examine specific examples of this process relevant to the theme of the Destruction of Hades.

The theme of tears might almost be considered a subset of the repentance theme. It recurs throughout the Weekday services, especially in the hymns attributed to Joseph and Theodore the Stoudites. Andrew Quinlan's work on Sinai Greek 734-5 has shown that this theme is prominent in other poetic compositions not preserved in our printed Triodia.

As far as Klement is concerned, his work would seem to recall more that of Andrew of Krete's Great Kanon than the triodia of Joseph or Theodore. While the Great Kanon is at times a list of examples of repentance, the triodia of Klement are a continual listing of examples of fasting. Much more than in the case of the two better known contributors of triodia, Theodore and Joseph, Klement's interest lies in giving examples of the benefits of fasting. This theme of exempla mala and bona of fasting links the stichera of Klement to the triodia. Many of these are simply paraphrases of each other.¹⁸

A thematic orientation to the Lenten Triodion could go a long way towards fostering appreciation of the book among contemporary worshipers, few of whom will have the opportunity to experience anything beyond a small subset of the Triodion texts in a liturgical setting.

The understanding of these liturgical hymns will be shaped by the role they play within the liturgical services, roles which are determined by the schedule and structure of the liturgical services for each day. It is to a consideration of this liturgical *cursus* that we now turn.

¹⁸ Quinlan, *Sinai Gr. 734-5*, XXXII - XXXIII.

CHAPTER 7

THE LITURGICAL *CURSUS*

This chapter will first look at the characteristic calculations of the Week before turning to a consideration of the different reckonings of the liturgical day which are preserved within the Byzantine liturgical books. Finally we will examine each of the services found within the daily *cursus* of the Byzantine Lenten tradition.

1. The Week

The "normal practice" of the Byzantine tradition reflects the Biblical "basis" of Jewish reckoning in Genesis 1 in which a week begins with the first day of the week (what we call Sunday) and ends with the Sabbath on the seventh day (what we call Saturday). Thus in the Oktoechos, the texts for each Tone begin with Saturday Evening Vespers, which represent the liturgical beginning of the Sunday celebration. This may well represent the Palestinian practice which eventually became normative for the Byzantine Churches through the Stoudite/Sabaite synthesis.

The Lenten Triodion provides a striking contrast with the rest of the liturgical year, in that each week begins at Sunday Evening Vespers and continues on through the following Sunday's Eucharistic Liturgy. The Sunday celebration which is characteristic of a given week is thus the one that comes at the **end** of the week, rather than at the

beginning.¹ The basic nature of the Lenten period as a time of preparation is underscored by this calculation. At Vespers on Sunday evening, the transition to the "new week" of the fast is made explicit in hymns at Psalm 140 attributed to Joseph and Theodore, evidence which supports the tradition that it was they who compiled the Triodion in its current form.

Sunday of Forgiveness

... as we set out upon the God-given course of the holy Fast ... (Joseph, *LT*, 180-181;)

Let us set out with joy upon the season of the Fast, ... (Theodore, *LT*, 181;)

Sunday of Orthodoxy

Let us now set out with joy upon the Second Week of the Fast ...
(Theodore, *LT*, 312;)

Second Sunday in Lent

As we start upon the Third Week of the Fast ... (Theodore, *LT*, 332;)

Third Sunday in Lent

... and count me worthy with a pure soul to behold and kiss Thy Cross
during the present week of abstinence ... (Joseph, *LT*, 351;)

Fourth Sunday in Lent

Now that we have passed beyond the middle point in the time of the Fast ...
(Joseph, *LT*, 368;)

Having passed beyond the middle point in this holy season of the Fast ...
(Theodore, *LT*, 368;)

Fifth Sunday in Lent

As we begin with eagerness, O ye faithful, the Sixth Week of the holy Fast
... (Theodore, *LT*, 462;)

Palm Sunday

Passing from one divine Feast to another, from palms and branches let us
now make haste, ye faithful, to the solemn and saving celebration
of Christ's Passion... . (Unattributed verse at the Aposticha, *LT*,
505.)

Perhaps a precursor of the Lenten practice can be found in Constantinopolitan usages reflected in the 10th century *Typikon of the Great Church*. In the Glossary

¹ See the comments below on the special nature of Sunday Evening Vespers during Lent, pp. 162 and ff.

included as an appendix to Volume II of Mateos' edition, in the entry for the Greek word for week, ἑβδομάς (*hebdomada*, semaine [week]), we find:

1. Week: the week begins on Monday and is completed on Sunday, except for Pascha and Pentecost, where it begins on Sunday and is completed on Saturday. This is due to the special character of Easter Sunday, which at the same time is both the conclusion of Great Week and the beginning of the Week of Renewal. Beginning with Pentecost, which closes the Paschal season in remaining outside of every week, the week begins anew on Monday.²

This reckoning by which the week goes from Monday to Sunday is also reflected in the Lectionary of the Byzantine Church, where the post-Pentecostal readings are given in this way. Thus the day after All-Saints Sunday begins the Second Week after Pentecost, which runs from that Monday through the following Sunday. The evidence from the Typikon of the Great Church would suggest that the "normal" Constantinopolitan computation of the week was from Monday to Sunday.

In any case, the various weeks of the Triodion are always identified with reference to the Sunday which completes them. This can be a simple numerical identifier (The First through Sixth weeks of the Fast), or it can refer to the characteristic celebration of the concluding Sunday (the Week of the Palms and the Week of the Cross are the most prominent examples).

Oliver Strunk provides manuscript evidence that this alternative Lenten reckoning of the week was not universally observed.

And since the divergent numbering of the Sundays in Lent, as found in Vatopedi 1488, derives in all probability from its Coislin *Vorlage*, it may be added that the same divergent numbering is also found in Berlin fol. 49, in Sinai 1243, and in

² Mateos, *Typicon II*, 289.

Ochrida 53. (7)

(7) The Sunday of the Cheese-fast, or Expulsion of Adam, is evidently reckoned as the first Sunday in Lent, for the following weekdays are said to be "of the first week" and Orthodoxy Sunday is specifically referred to (folio 25 verso) as the second Sunday.³

The Weekly Cycle

The most significant distinctions within the Weekly Cycle during Lent revolve around the fact that only Saturday and Sunday are Eucharistic days, a fact which historically was connected with the mitigated fasting which is allowed after reception of the Eucharist. In addition to the inclusion of texts for the Liturgy, the celebration of Matins and Vespers during Lent is distinctive from Friday Evening through Sunday Evening during Lent, or to say it more precisely, several of the distinctive features of the Lenten Offices (e.g. the recitation of the prayer of Ephrem, the "Alleluia" at Matins, the use of the Lenten Troparia) are **not** found during the Weekend services of the Lenten period.

There are only a few reflections of the weekly cycle during the weekdays, but there are enough of them in the hymns attributed to Joseph and Theodore the Stoudites to suggest that the basic structure of the Triodion was arranged after the daily commemorations of the Oktoechos became widespread. The most pervasive characteristic is that Wednesdays and Fridays have Stavrotheotokia while Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays have regular Theotokia, but this is probably a later adaptation in

³ *Triodion Athoum*, 31. "Coislin" here refers to one of the semiographic systems of Byzantine notation.

which Theotokia were added to the existing Triodion texts to conform to a later structure of the office. A similar conclusion could be drawn for the Troparia for each day of the week which are used at the Hours.

2. The Day

Thomas Talley offers a convenient summary of the three most common ways that people of the first century determined the day:

According to standard Jewish reckoning of the day in the first century, the first day of the week would begin with sunset on Saturday and conclude at sunset the following day, such reckoning of the day from sunset to sunset being characteristic of cultures that follow a primarily lunar calendar. Greeks, on the other hand, reckoned the day from dawn to dawn, while the Roman *dies civilis* was, as is our own custom today, reckoned from midnight to midnight.⁴

For Saturdays and Sundays, the Triodion follows the most common convention of Byzantine liturgical reckoning, in which the liturgical day begins with Vespers on the evening before. This convention is the norm in the other liturgical books, e.g. in the Menaion where the first texts given for a feast will be those of Vespers for the preceding evening, or in the Oktoechos where the texts for Vespers are the first ones given for each day. There are also some indications that eventually the Prokeimenon of Vespers becomes the focal point of the transition between celebrations.⁵

This system of beginning a celebration at Vespers is the most common in the received Byzantine Tradition, but it is not the only one. The single most important

⁴ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 14.

⁵ See below, pp. 162 and ff.

exception is at the core of the larger Triodion/Pentekostarion Cycle, where "Resurrection Matins" has emerged as the pivotal celebration initiating the celebration of the "Feast of Feasts." This practice is found throughout Holy Week, where in the listing of services for each day Matins comes first and Compline comes last.⁶ This is the same reckoning used for "Cheesefare Week," where the Sunday of the Last Judgement is the first to have a proper text for Vespers "in the evening of the same Sunday." (*AT*, 36.) The following week includes the first weekday texts in the Triodion, where Monday begins with Matins and is followed by Vespers, a pattern repeated throughout the week until Friday evening, where Vespers are clearly indicated as the liturgical start of Saturday. The same pattern is followed for every week within the Lenten Triodion.

With the exception of those days that have a characteristic celebration, most days are identified simply as 'Day of the week' or 'name of the week', thus Monday of Cheesefare, or Tuesday of the Palms, or Wednesday of the First Week of the Fast. It is noteworthy that the majority of "characteristic celebrations" fall on Saturday or Sunday, the only exception being the Thursday of the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete.

3. The Daily *Cursus*

"The question of the origins of the Triodion is closely linked with the question, 'What are the services of the day of the Triodion cycle?'"⁷ Having looked at the place of

⁶ Both thematically and structurally, however, the Kanons used at Compline during Holy Week pertain to the day which follows rather than the day which precedes it.

⁷ Momina, "Origins," 113.

the day within the liturgical week, as well as the various systems for calculating and designating the liturgical day within the Triodion, we now turn to the actual services of the daily cycle as the texts of the Triodion reveal them.

The basic elements of the daily liturgical *cursus* in the Byzantine tradition are Vespers, Matins, and the Eucharistic Liturgy.⁸ These remain foundational to the Lenten Triodion, although each has some characteristic features unique to the Lenten season. A few of the Lenten feasts will have texts for both "Little" and "Great" Vespers, specifically the Saturday before the First Sunday in Lent and the Saturday before Palm Sunday. The general characteristics of each of these services is given on the first day of "the Great and Holy Forty-days," i.e., Monday of the First Week of the Fast, which has proper texts and rubrics which will not be repeated later. After the rubrics for the celebration of the Ninth Hour the Triodion notes: "In a similar way are sung the same services of Matins, the

⁸ In his work on the Constantinopolitan *Cursus* as reflected in the ancient Byzantine Euchologia, Miguel Arranz S.J. distinguishes the "major" and "minor" hours, simply for practical reasons, with the explicit acknowledgment that this distinction is not found in the sources themselves. See Arranz, "Constantinopolitan Hours," 10. In the Conclusions to that same paper, Arranz gives a useful summary of the broader historical evolution of the *cursus*: "To the two prayers *legitimae* to the beginning of the day and of the night, the inheritance of the Jewish (and Jewish-Christian) tradition, the three hours of Tierce, Sext, and None add the motif of the prayer of the apostles at certain moments of the day: ...

A three-fold system of Dan 6.6 and Ps 54.18 such as that of the *Didache* (c. 8) (and which was {the system} adopted by the Synagogue after the destruction of the Temple) {eventually} gives way to a more complete system of six offices, to which the *Sermo Asceticus* [PG 31, 877; cf. Mateos, "L'office monastique," 71-72.] is already a witness. The number of seven, suggested by Ps 118.164, and {the number} which the same document would like to reach by doubling the prayer of Sext, will be accomplished by adding Prime to the later redactions of the Euchologion. Other traditions found other solutions to reach the same symbolic number of seven offices." (*Op. cit.*, 18-19.)

Hours, and Vespers on the remaining days of Lent."⁹ Before looking at these foundational services, however, it will be useful to consider those elements of the daily services which are referred to in the Triodion, even if today they are rarely celebrated outside of a monastic context.

The Monastic Offices

The Midnight Office

The Midnight Office on weekdays during Lent is usually the same as for the rest of the year, with the addition of the Prayer of Ephrem.¹⁰ Miguel Arranz notes that three "antiphons of the Midnight Office" are only explicitly mentioned once in the *Typikon of the Great Church*, during the Vigil for the new Ecclesiastical Year (September 1).¹¹ The entire Midnight Office is mentioned on the Saturday of the Fifth Week of Lent, with the note that it is celebrated then by the Clergy of the Church of the Blachernae after the "Triadikon." These observations lead him to the assumption

that this office was {taken daily}, since if it was only celebrated occasionally, the Typikon, (which in principle only indicates that which is extra-ordinary and exceptional) would have indicated the days where it was celebrated.¹²

⁹ *AT*, 88, where the text actually says "...on all the days of Vespers," an obvious typographical error.

¹⁰ See *LT*, 70.

¹¹ Arranz, "Constantinopolitan Hours," pp. 10-11.

¹² *Op. cit.*, 11. The notice for September 1 is found in Mateos *Typicon I*, 3-4, while that for the Fifth Saturday of Lent is in Mateos, *Typicon II*, 52-3. More precisely it is only Patmos 266 which explicitly mentions the Midnight Office, and in this manuscript the Patriarch chooses the particular week of Lent on which this Saturday night service

Great Compline

The Triodion includes proper texts for the celebration of Great Compline on Monday through Friday in Lent except for the Thursday and Friday of the Fifth Week, where Thursday is devoted to the Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete and Friday is part of Akathist Saturday.¹³ For the First Week of the Fast the proper texts come from a division of the "Great Kanon" by Andrew of Crete, on the Friday before Lazarus Saturday the Kanon is also by Andrew.¹⁴ Great Compline is also celebrated on the Tuesday and Thursday of Cheesefare Week, i.e., the week before Lent,¹⁵ and on Monday and Tuesday of Great and Holy Week.

Great Compline is a longer service, consisting of three component offices:

- 1) Compline;
- 2) a monastic office of compunction centered on the Prayer of Manasses;
- 3) an abridgment of the morning office with the Small Doxology and Psalm 150.

Great Compline seems to have been penitential, occurring on the Weekdays of the

(which commemorated the liberation of Constantinople from various invasions) would be held, either the week of "Mid-lent" or the following week.

¹³ Current Greek custom uses Small Compline for every Friday of Lent, distributing the Akathist over the first four weeks and taking it in full on the fifth. Friday of the Sixth Week is part of Lazarus Saturday and already celebrates the Forty-days as having been completed.

¹⁴ The norms for Kanons at Compline for other weekdays are abstracted in *LT* on p. 98. A Rubric given after the texts for Sunday evening Vespers on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, (*AT*, 167) tells us, "Note that from this day we sing the Kanon of the Menaion at Compline, while from Lazarus Saturday to the Sunday after Pascha {it is taken} together with that of the Theotokos"

¹⁵ *AT* makes no mention of this, but does note after Friday Vespers that the Kanon of the Dead is sung at Compline.

Great Fast, and on the fasting days before Christmas and Theophany.¹⁶

The overall structure of Lenten Compline is given after the rubrics for Presanctified, on the Monday of the First Week in the current Triodion, which is introduced with an observation that relates this service to Palestinian monastic practice (which is often called the "Sabaite" tradition in the secondary literature.)

The service of Compline is not taken in Church among the monks of the Lavras, but rather each reads it in his own cell. But in the Koinobia of Palestine, Compline is sung in this way: ...¹⁷

At the conclusion of the proper texts for Compline on the Monday of the First Week, the Triodion cautions, "It is necessary for the Ecclesiarch to carefully watch during the dismissal of Compline, it being the acme of the day."¹⁸

Small Compline

Small Compline is celebrated on Sundays, on Wednesday and Friday of the Fifth Week, and on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Holy Week. The only Lenten characteristic is the addition of the Prayer of Ephrem with great and small metania after the Prayer of the Hours.¹⁹

Small Compline is simply a night office before retiring. The ancient distinction

¹⁶ David Petras, personal communication, who also noted that the English text of the current order of Compline can be found in *A Prayerbook* (New Skete, 1976), 231-265. Compline is also examined in Nilo Borgia, *OROLOGION, "diurno" delle Chiese di Rito Bizantino* (Rome: PIOS, 1929), 195-201.

¹⁷ *AT*, 91-92; cf. *LT*, 97-98.

¹⁸ *AT*, 97.

¹⁹ See *LT*, 98.

seems to have been that the Cantic of Isaiah [8:9-10 ... 9:5-6] was sung at Great Compline (the famous "God is with us!"), and Psalm 90[91] was used at Small Compline. Psalm 90 is now in Great Compline, and no longer in Small Compline, but these services have developed greatly.²⁰

The Hours

The procedure for celebrating the First Hour is given on *AT* p. 82, on the Monday of the First Week of the Fast, which concludes with the observation, "This is the order followed for all of the Holy Forty-days at Matins and at the First Hour." *LT* has conveniently abstracted the order of the service on pp. 79-81.²¹ Likewise for the Third Hour (*AT*, 82-83; *LT*, 81-83), the Sixth Hour (*AT*, 83-85; *LT*, 83-85) and the Ninth Hour with Beatitudes (*AT*, 85-88; *LT*, 85-88).

The Third/Sixth Hour

"The Third/Sixth Hour" (Εἰς τὴν Τριθέκτην), the conflation of the Third and Sixth hours into one service, is a distinctive characteristic of the Lenten celebration of the Hours. In the current Triodion, the term first appears in Cheesefare Week, on Wednesday (*AT*, 47) and Friday (*AT*, 57).²² The term is not used in the introductory rubrics for the Third Hour and the Sixth Hour which *AT* gives on the Monday of the First Week of the

²⁰ David Petras, Personal Communication.

²¹ *Festal Menaion*, s.v. "litiya" notes that this term is also used for the Office of the Dead, and that this Office of the Dead is taken every weekday of Lent after the First Hour.

²² This is also the case in the Typikon of the Great Church - see Mateos, *Typicon II*, p. 5, note 1.

Fast, but after the Theotokion of the Lenten Verses we are given this directive:

We then sing the following Troparion of the Prophecy, and after that we read the appointed {passage from} the Prophets; thus we do throughout all the holy Forty-days at the Third/Sixth Hour (ἐν ταῖς Τριθέκταις).²³

Similarly after the dismissal at the Sixth hour the Triodion rubric says, "This is the order and arrangement that should be followed throughout all of the holy Forty-days, at the Third/Sixth hour."²⁴ Subsequently, the Triodion will use the Heading "At the Third/Sixth Hour" in giving the Troparion of the Prophecy, Prokeimena, and Prophetic Reading for each day.

Janeras explains how this office is characteristic of the Constantinopolitan celebration of Lent:

The Τριτοέκτη is a Constantinopolitan Office for the "secular" Lent, replacing the Third and Sixth Hours of the monastic office; it is the only Daily Office, in addition to Matins and Vespers. It replaces the Mass, which didn't exist on the days of the Fast, and had a connection with the Liturgy of the Presanctified {Gifts}.²⁵

Mateos offers more information about the Constantinopolitan origins of this service:

In the rite of Hagia Sophia, the Little Hours did not exist during the year. Only During Lent, on the weekdays when the liturgy was not celebrated, all

²³ AT, 84.

²⁴ AT, 85.

²⁵ Janeras, *Vendredi Saint*, 307. Janeras traces the gradual fusion of Palestinian and Constantinopolitan elements associated with this office for Holy Friday on pp. 228-230, and he gives a schema based on the 15th century description of Symeon of Thessalonica on pp. 307-8. In Footnote 2 on p. 307, Janeras also refers to the following works: M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales de la Tritoekti de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OCP* 43 (1977): 70-93; J. M. Fountoulis, = μ 1, (Thessalonika, 1969).

assembled during the morning for a function called τριτοέκτη (= third-sixth {hours}). The Ninth Hour never existed as a separate service. The evening psalmody of the lamplighting service could be considered as equivalent to the Ninth Hour. The Third/Sixth Hour during Lent took place as follows:

3 antiphonal psalms
 entrance of the Patriarch
 Synapte
 Troparion (3X, plus one more at the Glory to the Father ...)
 Prokeimenon - Reading from the Prophet
 Great Ektene
 Synapte with petitions
 Dismissal²⁶

In a note relating to the first occurrence of this Office in the Typikon of the Great Church, on the Wednesday of Cheesefare, Mateos gives some further information.

The Third/Sixth Hour (Tierce + Sext) was celebrated on the mornings of the days of the Fast, apart from Saturdays and Sundays which were Mass days. Beyond this, it was celebrated on the Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week. Cf. Symeon of Thessalonika, *De Sacra Predicatione*, PG 155, 649D. The manuscript P says that the reading {from the Old Testament which preceded this office} lasted until the Sixth Hour.²⁷

Mateos uses the information from Symeon to clarify that the three antiphonal psalms were Pss 24, 26, and 100, chanted in their entirety; the second antiphon was "O Son of God, save us who sing to you Alleluia!" which was repeated after each verse, including the *Glory be to the Father*; the third antiphon was a double Alleluia, while the entrance was made during the chanting of Ps 100.6 {101.2}, "I will follow a wise and blameless course."²⁸

²⁶ Mateos, *Typicon I*, xxiv.

²⁷ Mateos, *Typicon II*, p. 5, note 1.

²⁸ Mateos, *Typicon II*, p. 5, notes 2, 3, and 4.

The Troparia of the Prophecy which are prescribed for the Third-Sixth Hour were included in the old Constantinopolitan usage as witnessed by the *Typikon of the Great Church*. Karabinov thought them to be the oldest hymnographic elements which are included in the contemporary Triodion, noting not just the attribution and similarities to other work of Auxentios (+ 470), but also the nature of these Troparia as rather direct paraphrases of two or more biblical passages.²⁹ This close association with specific passages of the scriptures can now be traced with the references given in Mateos' edition of the *Typikon of the Great Church*.

Lenten Vespers

The title usually given for the evening service is "at Vespers" εἰς τὸν ἑσπερίνον; occasionally, however the service will be introduced as "at the Lamplighting" εἰς τὸν λύχνικον, (ἡ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Λυχνικοῦ, see AT, 58).

Weekday Vespers without the Presanctified is the service for the first day of Lent, where it is explicitly identified as the pattern for Lenten Weekdays when the Presanctified Liturgy is not celebrated:

This is how the Service of the Lamplighting takes place, when there is no Presanctified. For according to the tradition which we have received from all the Brotherhoods, we do not do Presanctified until Wednesday on account of the fast; those who are able persist in the fast until Friday.³⁰

²⁹ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 77-79.

³⁰ AT, 90.

Fridays of Lent were described earlier in the rubrics of the Triodion, on the Friday of Cheesefare, where after the Third/Sixth Hour and before Friday Evening Vespers for the Saturday of Cheesefare, the Triodion notes:

It is necessary to know that in all of the Forty-days, at the Lamplighting on Fridays, if there will be the Presanctified {Liturgy} we take ten verses at {Psalm 140} ... Entrance with incense; and the remaining order (καθεξῆς) of the Presanctified.³¹

After the proper readings for the Vespers on Friday of the First week, the Triodion notes:

It is necessary to know that on all the Fridays of the Holy and Great Forty-days, at Vespers as well as at Compline, we do not do prostrations, except as is proper to the Presanctified, i.e.,

After the *Keep us this night*, 3;

After the Entrance with the Holy Gifts, 3;

At *In the name of the Lord*, 3.

At Compline we sing the "Ceaseless" Kanon in the appropriate Tone at the Cemetery. We sing the Kanons of the Menaion from the following Saturday and Sunday, as the Ecclesiarch wishes; One might wish us to sing {the Kanon} from Friday Compline, another from Sunday Compline.

Thus we do on all the Friday evenings in the Great and Holy Forty-days.³²

On the Friday of Cheesefare Week, when they gave the general pattern for Presanctified, the compilers also provided the pattern of Vespers without Presanctified for Fridays:

When Presanctified is not held, we take six verses at *O Lord, to you I cry*; then we sing the three {of the Triodion?}; the Martyrika of the Tone, and three of the Menaion; *Glory*, Hymn of the Dead; *Now and ever*, Theotokion of the same Tone; *At the Aposticha* we double the Idiomelon of the day; then the Martyrion; *Glory, Now and Ever*, Theotokion.

Thus is fulfilled the Service of Lamplighting on all Fridays from the Second

³¹ AT, 58.

³² AT, 132.

Week until the Friday of the Fifth Week, when there is no Presanctified.³³

Sunday Evening Vespers are described as part of this same rubric:

Note this also, that on each Sunday Evening at the Lamplighting, beginning from the Sunday of Cheesefare until the Fifth Sunday of the Fast, we take ... the rest as it is served on regular Sundays.

Ware describes the particular characteristics of this form of Vespers:

Vespers on Sunday Evening in Lent is unusual in that it falls into two clearly contrasted parts. The atmosphere of the service changes after the Great Prokimenon. Until then, the normal pattern for Great Vespers on a Saturday Evening is followed; but from *Vouchsafe, O Lord* ... onward, the rules for ordinary Vespers on a Weekday in Lent are applied, except that the prayer of Ephrem is said once and not twice, and then the Dismissal follows immediately. At the moment of transition, during *Vouchsafe O Lord* ..., the priest's vestments and the covers of the ikon-stands are changed from a light to a dark colour; and with the Litany, *Let us complete our evening prayer to the Lord* ..., we begin to sing the penitential chants used on Weekdays in Lent.³⁴

Saturday Evening Vespers for the following Sunday are not provided with any proper texts in *AT* for a *Lite* on the Second, Fourth, and Fifth Weeks of the Fast. This led *LT* to add the texts from Patmos to the translation.³⁵ The Sunday of Orthodoxy simply has a Troparion of the Prophets; the Sunday of the Cross is using the Office of September 14, which leaves Palm Sunday as the only Saturday in the current Athens Triodion with a full set of proper texts for the *Lite* at Vespers.

³³ *AT*, 58. This rubric would seem to be an attempt by the Stoudite compilers of the Triodion to respect the divergent practices of their Palestinian and Constantinopolitan sources.

³⁴ *LT* p. 89, note 30.

³⁵ See *LT*, 315 [Second], 354 [Fourth], and 448 [Fifth].

The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts

This may well be the most characteristic service of the Byzantine Lenten discipline. Detailed rubrics are given after Vespers for the First day of Lent.³⁶

The Liturgy of the Presanctified {Gifts} clearly has the same importance for the Greeks and Russians in their Lenten spirituality. It is a service which is loved and well attended by the people, especially when it is celebrated in the evening, as is appropriate, even if this brazen "innovation" still encounters wide opposition and is still not widely accepted apart from the Orthodox in the west.³⁷

The particular attraction of this unique service in a variety of cultural contexts is striking. It is also interesting to note how each liturgical culture has in its own way maintained a distinctive musical "mood" for this service which contributes so much to how it is experienced by the faithful.

The composite nature of this service as the beginning of Vespers followed by a communion service is clear even to the casual observer, and the historical process of its development has received a good degree of scholarly attention, even if some details of that process are still unclear.³⁸ The difficulty some modern Christians have in understanding the basic rationale of this service is a good example of the concern Alexander Schmemmann often articulated about the divorce of the everyday parish experience from the underlying "model" or rationale, the *τύπος* of the liturgical tradition

³⁶ *AT*, 90, although they were also given in less detail on the Friday before Cheesefare Sunday, *AT*, 58.

³⁷ Krivocheine, "Particularités," 222.

³⁸ J. M. Fountoulis, *Λειτουργία Προηγιασμένων Δώρων = Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς* 8, (Thessalonika, 1971).

itself.³⁹

Little Vespers and Great Vespers

Little Vespers [Ἐν τῷ μικρῷ Ἑσπερινῷ] and Great Vespers [Ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεγάλῳ Ἑσπερινῷ], with proper texts for each, are specified three times in the Lenten Triodion, i.e., on Saturday Evenings before the First and Third Sundays of Lent as well as before Palm Sunday. Juan Mateos explains:

... For the major feasts, one finds in the Byzantine liturgical books an office called "Little Vespers" (τὸ μικρὸν ἑσπερινόν) which today is no longer celebrated except in the largest monasteries. The existence of this office is explained by the fact that in earlier times, on days when the Nocturnal Vigil or *agrypnia* was celebrated, the monks recited a shortened office of Vespers, "Little Vespers" before the evening meal, keeping the celebration of the complete Vespers, solemn or "Great Vespers" (τὸ μέγα ἑσπερινόν) for the All-Night Vigil of which it was the beginning. Here it is sufficient to note that the only way Little Vespers is distinguished from ordinary Vespers is this: they are not "solemn," they only use four verses from the evening psalms and they omit the biblical readings.⁴⁰

The All-Night Vigil ἡ Ἀκολουθία τῆς Ἀγρυπνίας is explicitly mentioned in the current Triodion in the following places:

³⁹ See *Great Lent*, pp. 87-105 for a discussion of this divorce between the liturgical and "secular" experience of modern believers, and pp. 45-55 for the centrality of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts to the lenten "ethos" of the Orthodox tradition. One specific example of the problems which emerge when the tradition is interpreted from a different conceptual framework is discussed in Krivocheine, "Particularités," pp. 222-224, i.e. the controversy over the wine used in the Presanctified Liturgy. It is treated by the Greeks as if it were consecrated, but not so by the Russians, since Moghila's Trebnik explicitly says it is not "transubstantiated."

⁴⁰ Juan Mateos S.J., "La synaxe monastique des vêpres byzantines," *OCP* 36 (1970): 250-251.

Saturday Evening Vespers for Cheesefare Sunday (*AT*, 70):

"... and the remainder of the All-night Vigil."

Rubric at beginning of Matins for Cheesefare Sunday (*AT*, 70):

"It is necessary to note that, from this Sunday until the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Polyeleos is not taken, unless there is a Vigil for a Feast of the Lord."

Saturday Evening, after dismissal of Great Vespers for the Sunday of Orthodoxy (*AT*, 145):

"... and the remainder of the Service of the All-night Vigil."

In the rubrics included near the end of the texts for the First day of Lent (*AT*, 88), specific directions are given for the Funeral Vigil if a brother dies during the Fast:

It is necessary to note that if it happens that a brother departs to the Lord in these holy days, the All-Night {Vigil} on the third day {after his death} is not held in the middle of the week, {it is not held} until Friday evening; then the All-Night {Vigil} is completed, then the Saturday Liturgy; then the following Saturday {the Vigil for the} ninth {day after his death} takes place, if it is appointed or not. Concerning the celebration of the {Vigil for the} Fortieth {day after his death}; after the number of days had been completed, the offering and commemoration will begin on the next Sunday, after the completion of the forty-days.

As was noted above, the three Saturdays on which the Triodion specifies both Little and Great Vespers are also a witness to the role of the All-Night Vigil in the various monastic liturgical orders which underlie the development of the Triodion. Egeria provides evidence for the importance of the All-Night Vigil to Palestinian practice in the late fourth century. The Monastery of the Stoudion at Constantinople, which is probably responsible for the compilation of the Lenten Triodion into the form known by us, had earlier followed a distinctive liturgical *cursus* of continual prayer, which led to the community being known as the "Sleepless Ones."⁴¹ It is generally assumed, however,

⁴¹ See *ODB* 1:46 s.v. "Akoimetoï, Monastery of," for a succinct summary of this history.

that the pre-iconoclastic *ordo* was completely destroyed as a result of the anti-monastic policies of the iconoclastic emperors, and thus that the reconstructed Stoudite liturgical tradition which emerges after the reforming efforts of Theodore the Stoudite has no organic connection with those earlier practices.

Lenten Matins

Morning Prayer was a characteristic of the Jewish prayer tradition which we know to have been included in the earliest extant witnesses to Christian prayer, even if the exact historical relationship of the Jewish and Christian traditions cannot be specified at the present time. Matins as a structured series of elements within the daily *cursus* soon became a universal component of the emerging Christian liturgical traditions. In this as in so many other areas, the Byzantine Office of Matins evolved as a synthesis of the Palestinian Monastic tradition of continuous Psalmody distributed throughout the liturgical week, with the Constantinopolitan "Cathedral" tradition of thematic elements appropriate for the start of the day.⁴²

Ware has provided a convenient synthesis of the distinctive characteristics of Lenten Matins. Within the *Triodion* itself, these Lenten rubrics are given during Matins for the Monday of the First Week of the fast.⁴³ Athas has compared the rubrics of the Greek Triodion and the contemporary Greek Typikon, dealing specifically with the

⁴² The "state of the question" on the historical development of Matins in the Byzantine tradition is presented in Taft, *Hours*, 273 -291.

⁴³ *AT*, 78-9; 81.

Office of Matins on pp. 34-41 .

Kanons

Kanons provide the bulk of the texts of the Triodion, and if the prose sections containing the scripture readings, Synaxaria notices, and rubrics were omitted, the proportion of Triodion texts made up of Kanons would be even greater. This observation suggests that the time when the Triodion was put together in its current form closely followed upon the Golden Age of the composition of Kanons. Kanons are offered for Matins, and occasionally for Compline.⁴⁴

Note that from this day the Kanons from the Menaion are taken at Compline, while from the Saturday of Lazarus until the Sunday after Pascha, these {are taken} with those of the Theotokos {from the Oktoechos?}. At the Third Ode, the Sessional Hymn from the Menaion, and after the Sixth {Ode} the {Sessional Hymn from the Kanon of the} Theotokos. And after the completion of {the Kanon of the} Menaion, {we take?} the *prosomia* from the Menaion, and {those of the Kanon of the} the Theotokos likewise. Thus the Kanons of the Theotokos are taken.⁴⁵

The Kanons included within the Triodion provide much interesting evidence about the development of the Kanon form itself as well as the shifting patterns of use of this particular genre of hymn within the Byzantine tradition. Mateos tells us that the Kanon was "a genre of Byzantine liturgical poetry built upon the schema of the nine

⁴⁴ In addition to the distribution of the Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete at Compline for the First Week of the Fast, Kanons are provided for Complines on Lazarus Saturday, Great Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

⁴⁵ *AT*, 167, rubric after Sunday Vespers and before Monday Matins.

canticles of Palestinian Monastic Orthros, unknown to Constantinopolitan Orthros."⁴⁶

Given the eventual prominence which the Kanon would have within the Triodion, its absence from the lenten discipline reflected by the Typikon of the Great Church is striking. The only explicit reference to a Kanon is found on Cheesefare Sunday,⁴⁷ in a notice full of Palestinian terminology which probably reflects one of the earliest influences of a Sabaite practice into the Constantinopolitan tradition.⁴⁸

It seems clear that the development of the genre of Byzantine liturgical hymn we call the Kanon was rooted in the monastic practice of praying the Nine Biblical Odes or Canticles. The early liturgical use of these scriptural Odes is suggested by their presence in the Fourth Century *Codex Alexandrinus*.⁴⁹ The familiarity inherent in the continual repetition of these constant scriptural elements gradually led to the composition of poetic paraphrases of the canonical hymns, which were chanted in antiphonal form following the chanting of the scriptural Odes.

Originally, Kanons were composed only for Lent; at a later date, for the period between Easter and Pentecost.¹ The new hymns replaced the singing of the canticles, which from now onward were only recited and were followed by the singing of the Kanons. At a later date, when Kanons were composed for all the feastdays of the ecclesiastical year, the custom of reciting the Canticles before the singing of the Kanons was maintained during Lent and between Easter and

⁴⁶ Mateos, *Typicon II*, 299, s.v. kanon κανων {canon}.

⁴⁷ Mateos, *Typicon II*, 10-11.

⁴⁸ See the footnote at *loc. cit.*, which suggests that the notice is probably referring to practice of reciting the penitential Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete during the first week of the Fast.

⁴⁹ See the series of articles by H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden," *Biblica* 30 (1949) 28-65, 239-272, 433-452, 479-500.

Pentecost; on other days the canticles were omitted and replaced by the Kanons.²

¹ Cf. A. Baumstark, 'Psalmenvortrag und Kirchendichtung des Orient', *Gottesminne*, vii 8 (1912-13), p. 551.

² Cf. A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (1939), pp. 28-9.⁵⁰

The rubrics for the Lenten Triodion make clear that the recitation of the Biblical Odes which they provide for is an exception to the "normal" liturgical practice the rest of the year. The practical demands of fulfilling the entire Lenten offices are such that even in strict monastic communities the scriptural odes are rarely used today.

Weekend Kanons in the Triodion typically have eight Odes, skipping the second.

Wellesz claimed:

The second Ode, modeled on the canticle 'Give ear, O ye heavens' (Deut. xxxii. 1-43), was, on account of its mournful character, only used in Lent, and in consequence Kanons destined for other parts of the ecclesiastical year were subsequently composed without the second Ode.⁵¹

Robert Taft offers further clarification:

Originally, the practice of doing all nine canticles daily was customary only in the monastic *agrypnia*, as we saw in the vigil described by the anchorite Abbot Nilus of Sinai Normally the nine canticles were distributed throughout the week, two per day, one variable and one fixed (the ninth: *Magnificat/Benedictus*) with three on Sunday, as follows:

⁵⁰ Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 198.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* I have not yet seen L. Bernhard, "Der Ausfall der 2. Ode im byzantinischen Neunodenkanon," T. Michels, (ed.), *Heurisis. Festschrift für A. Rohrer* (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1969): 91-101. Taft, *Hours* p. 282, footnote 14 provides a reference to pp. 27 ff. of the English translation of Baumstark's *Comparative Liturgy* (Westminster Md.: Newman, 1958) for the principle that more solemn liturgical times tend to be more conservative, a principle this lenten retention of the 2nd ode is alleged to demonstrate. See also the discussion below in chapter 14, pp. 271 ff.

DAY	CANTICLE
Monday	2, 9
Tuesday	3, 9
Wednesday	4, 9
Thursday	5, 9
Friday	6, 9
Saturday	7, 9
Sunday	1 (Cathedral Vigil)
	8, 9 ⁵²

The pattern for Lent, in which three Biblical canticles (and/or their corresponding poetic compositions in the Odes of the Kanon) are taken each day, is given by Kallistos Ware:

These three- or four-canticle Canons each contain every day the eighth and ninth Canticles, while the opening Canticle or Canticles vary according to what day of the week it is:

Monday	1
Tuesday	2
Wednesday	3
Thursday	4
Friday	5
Saturday	6 & 7 ⁵³

The Three-ode Kanons which are normal for weekdays in the Lenten Triodion and Pentekostarion led to the name for this compilation, although two- and four-ode Kanons are also prominent in the current collection of the printed books.

The Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete

This work has a special role in the existing Triodion, and may well have played a

⁵² Taft, *Hours*, 283. Janeras, *Vendredi Saint*, devotes an excursus to "the Place of the Kontakion." Based on an analysis of the differing placements given the Kontakion in his source manuscripts, he concludes that originally the Kontakion was always *outside* of the Kanon, and it is only when the older practice of using Three-oded Kanons is expanded to four or eight odes that the Kontakion comes to be *within* the Kanon.

⁵³ *LT*, 75.

pivotal role in influencing the monastic compilers and hymnographers to place the Kanon in the prominent position among the genres represented by the Triodion texts. "The Eastern Church holds this hymn in the highest esteem and regards it as the 'King of Kanons'."⁵⁴ It is prescribed for the Thursday of the Fifth Week of the Fast, where the energies devoted to its recitation in full demand an adaptation in the weekly lenten pattern for the recitation of the Psalter.⁵⁵ Bishop Krivocheine noted that while this Kanon is "Very popular among the Russians, for whom it makes up one of the principal focal points of the penitential piety of Lent, it passes almost unnoticed among the Greeks."⁵⁶

The scriptural, literary and thematic aspects of the Great Kanon have already received some of the scholarly attention which they deserve, although much more could be done. One structural aspect of the Great Kanon is relevant for us here - it is one of the few remaining examples of a Kanon which has hymnographic texts for all Nine of the Biblical Odes which were characteristic of the "full form" of the Byzantine Kanon.⁵⁷

Acrostics

⁵⁴ Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 204.

⁵⁵ See *The Festal Menaion*, 533 for the specifics for the distribution of the Psalter that week, and *LT*, 377 ff. for the singing of the Great Kanon on the Thursday of the Fifth Week.

⁵⁶ "Particularités," 221. This has not been my personal experience in recent years, where the local "Hellenic Orthodox Church" of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese gives just as much emphasis to the singing of the Great Kanon both in the First and Fifth Weeks of Lent as do the Patriarchal and Synodal Russian parishes of my home area.

⁵⁷ See the quote from Taft, *Hours*, 283 given above, which suggests that the only *Sitz im Gottesdienst* for a Nine-ode Kanon would have been the Palestinian monastic All-Night Vigil or ἀγρύπνια.

Acrostics are an element sometimes preserved within the Kanon form which witness to varying structural patterns among the Kanons included in the Lenten Triodion. An acrostic uses the first letter of each component verse of a poetic composition to spell out a brief message, often one which helps us identify the author.⁵⁸

The Kanon for St. Theodore attributed to John of Damascus is prescribed for Friday night of the First Week of the Fast as part of the commemoration of the Saint on the First Saturday of Lent. It has the acrostic Θεοῦ σε μέλπω δωρεῶν ἐπώνυμε, but only as long as the Theotokia are not included, as a rubric explicitly tells us.⁵⁹

Similarly the Kanon at Matins on the First Saturday, attributed to John, Metropolitan of Euchaites, has the acrostic Ὁ Ἰωάννης formed by taking the first Troparion of each ode, with the acrostic Τήρων ὁ κλεινός, δόξα πρώτῳ Σαββάτῳ formed by the other Troparia. The Theotokia are included in this second acrostic (the Kontakion, Oikos, and Heirmoi are not.)⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See the examples of acrostics found in various kontakia given in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 180-181. Wellesz briefly notes how acrostics in kanons have structural implications on pp. 201-2.

⁵⁹ *AT*, 133. Actually the Kontakion and Heirmoi must also be excluded to get this acrostic. Interestingly enough the only Heirmos given in full is for the Ninth Ode, where it is given at the end where the text of the Heirmos usually functions as a Katavasia, and it is excluded from the acrostic.

⁶⁰ Within the current Triodion, there are two Kanons included for this service, both attributed to Metropolitan John of Euchaites. Heirmoi are indicated by an *incipit* for each Kanon within each Ode; the Heirmos of the first Kanon serves as the Katavasia of the Ode, i.e., it comes after the Theotokion of the second Kanon. For the Eighth and Ninth Odes, the Katavasia text given does not correspond to the *incipit* given for either of the Heirmoi. Another curiosity of these Heirmoi/Katavasia is that those for the First, Sixth, and Ninth Odes explicitly refer to a Feast of the Theotokos, who is also mentioned in the Katavasia for the Second, Fifth, and Eighth Odes.

The Kanon at Matins for the First Sunday (*LT* says it is "by Theophanes," information not given in *AT*) also has an acrostic (*AT*, 145) which includes the Theotokia (but not the Heirmoi/Katavasia or Kontakion and Oikos).

A more systematic study of all of the acrostics explicitly identified in the Lenten Triodion would provide useful information in parsing out elements included in this anthology which reflect different stages in the historical development of the Kanon genre. Egon Wellesz provided the following summary and endorsement of the preliminary work of W. Weyh:⁶¹

W. Weyh dealt with the question of when the Theotokia became integral parts of the Kanons. Though no special investigation has been made into that question, we may accept W. Weyh's preliminary suggestion that Theotokia are found in Kanons in the first part of the ninth century and are integrated into the acrostics of the Kanons of Theophanes and Joseph Studites in the second quarter of the ninth century. At a later date Theotokia were inserted in Kanons of hymnographers who flourished before Theophanes and Joseph.

The Eucharistic Liturgy

The fact that the extant Byzantine tradition limits the Eucharistic Liturgy to Saturdays and Sundays has already been noted.

The Liturgy of St. Basil is specified for the Sunday Eucharist during Lent; outside of the Lenten Triodion, this Liturgy is only celebrated on the Feast of the Saint (January 1), and the vigils of Christmas and Theophany. During Holy Week, the celebration of the Liturgy of Saint Basil with Vespers is prescribed for Holy and Great

⁶¹ W. Weyh, "Dir Akrostichis in der byzantinischer Kanones-dichtung," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17 (1908): 1-69, as summarised in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 370.

Thursday and Saturday. Since the Liturgy of St. Basil is longer than that attributed to St. John Chrysostom it is widely assumed to be an older, fuller version of a liturgical structure which was edited into a shorter redaction in the Chrysostom liturgy. The use of the Liturgy of Basil within Lent and Holy Week is thus seen as an example of Baumstark's principle that the most solemn liturgical seasons are also the most conservative.⁶²

The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is thus celebrated on the preparatory Sundays and on Saturdays during the Great Fast. It is interesting that it is also specified for Palm Sunday, another piece of structural evidence that Holy Week was considered to be a distinct liturgical season from the Forty-day Fast of Lent.

The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts is celebrated on Wednesday and Friday Evenings during the Forty-days of Lent, and on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Great Week. The *Typikon of the Great Church* specified this service for all weekdays in Lent. Technically it is not a Eucharistic Liturgy, rather it is a Vesper service with communion, and thus it is discussed above as a variant of Vespers, which is how it is treated in the rubrics of the Triodion.

⁶² In Chapter 1 of this study we noted the challenge to this principle offered in Knowles, "Renaissance." While the evolution of the Byzantine anaphoras has begun to get scholarly attention, it will be some time before foundational work in this area can influence cognate areas such as the one being discussed here.

CHAPTER 8

HISTORICAL COMMEMORATIONS

Near the beginning of his study of the Lenten Triodion, Karabinov proposed to set out the plan of the Triodion. It was clear to him how such a schema could be addressed.

It is necessary to acquaint ourselves with the history of the calendar of the Lenten Triodion.

Three groups of remembrances are differentiated in this calendar:

1. Paschal Lent or Passion Week, to which is added the "Great 40 Days" Lent, which is preceded by three preparatory weeks.
2. Celebrations of Sundays within the 40 days. These are not present in our current calendar. They are referred to only in the *psalmoglasni* and a few Sunday Kanons corresponding to the content, e.g., the week of the fast on which is remembered the Prodigal Son, the Publican and Pharisee, and so forth.
3. Finally, that group of celebrations which were originally found in the Menaia, and were then transferred to the Moveable Cycle from the Fixed Cycle, e.g. the celebration of Theodore of Tyre (commemorated on the Saturday of the First Week of Lent) and the commemoration of St. Mary of Egypt on the Fifth Sunday.¹

It is this third category which we are concerned with here. In his study of Sinai Greek 734-5, Andrew Quinlan observed:

... there exist points of contact between the Triodion, even as it is found today, and the Menaion. This relationship is expressed in {the manuscripts Sinai 734-5} on the Saturday of St. Theodore, ... the First Sunday of Lent, ... and the Sunday of the Cross An examination of these days reveals that in differing quantities, material from the printed Menaion is to be found. It would seem to be indicated that a search of the manuscript tradition of the Menaion may reveal the presence

¹ *Postnaia Triod*, 3.

of even further of these elements.²

At the beginning of the Synaxarion listing for Fourth Sunday of the Fast, we are given an unusual rubrical introduction.

It is necessary to note that if the current Sunday falls on March 30, since we commemorate the same saint on that day, only the Synaxarion of the Menaion is read, and the following {notice} which is the same, is omitted.

The Synaxarion notice for John, "author of the Ladder" follows, introduced with these words: "The same day, the Fourth Sunday of the Fast, we keep the memory of our holy father John, author of 'The Ladder.'" The last paragraph of this notice tells us:

This same commemoration is completed on March 30; we celebrate it also on this day since from the origins of the Holy Forty-days his book of "The Ladder {of Paradise}" is customarily read in the holy monasteries, beginning from this day.³

Similarly the Synaxarion notice for Mary of Egypt on the Fifth Sunday of Lent refers us to her feast in the Menaion on April 1.⁴

In addition to these explicit references to the Menaion, another cue that a commemoration was moved to the Triodion and super-imposed on a previously existing structure, is when there are two sets of readings given for the Eucharistic Liturgy. The fact that only on Weekends during Lent was the Eucharistic Liturgy celebrated may have contributed to a tendency for commemorations to be displaced there. To this day the Armenian liturgical calendar illustrates this principle of displacing all sanctoral

² Quinlan, *Sinai Gr.* 734-5, V.

³ *AT*, 275. Cf. *NZT*, 299, which does not translate the opening rubric.

⁴ *AT*, 323; *NZT*, 373; see below, p. 190.

commemorations to Saturdays during the Great Fast. The Council of Laodicea in 364 gives early witness to this concern, as in its Canon 49 it decreed that the Eucharistic Liturgy should only be celebrated on Saturdays and Sundays in Lent, while in Canon 52 it decreed that the anniversaries of the *dies natalis* of the Saints should not be celebrated when they fell on a Weekday during Lent, but rather should be displaced to the following Saturday.

Canon 49: During Lent, the bread shall not be offered except on Saturday and Sunday.

Canon 50: The fast shall not be relaxed on the Thursday of the last Week of Lent, thus dishonouring the whole season, but the fast shall be kept throughout the whole period.

Canon 51: During Lent, no feasts of the martyrs shall be celebrated, but the holy martyrs shall be commemorated on the Saturdays and Sundays of Lent.⁵

Canon 49 of Laodicea will be repeated at the Synod *In Trullo* in its Canon 52.

In the context of our current study, no more can be done than to call attention to this phenomenon. It raises the possibility that the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus was originally independent from the cycle of pre-paschal preparations, however in the absence of specific evidence that prospect can be no more than a hypothetical possibility.

The Typikon of the Great Church shows us that there were other commemorations on Saturday in the older Constantinopolitan usage that were not retained after the

⁵ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 31-2. The canons of the Council have been preserved in the original Greek and in Latin translation; see Mansi 2:563ff. For a brief introduction to the Council and its work see K. J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church, from the original Documents*, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896 English Translation of 1855 German original) 2:295-325. The translation of Canons 49-51 is found on p. 320. Canon 50 is relevant to our structural analysis of Lazarus Saturday, but it seemed appropriate to include it here so that it could be seen in context.

Palestinian influence of the Saba Typikon created the synthesis which underlies contemporary Byzantine practice. Among these are the commemoration on Cheese-fare Sunday of Flavianos of Constantinople and Leo of Rome, both of whom are remembered on February 18 in the cycle of fixed feasts. Similarly on the Second Sunday of Lent, Polycarp of Smyrna is commemorated in this old Constantinopolitan usage, while his *dies natalis* is celebrated on February 23 in the Menaion.⁶ St. Domitios is remembered on the Fourth Sunday, Τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς μέσης ἐβδομάδος, while the Holy Martyr Zenobios is commemorated on the Fifth Sunday.⁷

This chapter will provide a brief overview of the commemorative elements found in the current Triodion. Where previous studies are known, they will be mentioned, otherwise a simple articulation of some potential avenues for future research will be offered.

Theodore of Tyre

Karabinov called this the most ancient historical commemoration of the Triodion, and called attention to the work of Nektarios, Archbishop of Constantinople from 381-394, preserved under the title, "Why the memory of St. Theodore the Great-martyr is

⁶ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 32 noticed these two examples in Dmitrievski, *Opisanie*, 1:142 & 118; now see Mateos, *Typicon I*, for the notices in the fixed cycle and Mateos, *Typicon II*, for those in the lenten cycle. The edition of Mateos notes that the Emperors Marcian and Pulcheria were also commemorated on the First Sunday of the Fast.

⁷ Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy*, p. 192, note 152 comes up with basically the same list, although he adds the commemoration of the holy ascetics, bishops and martyrs on Cheese-fare Saturday. Interestingly enough, his list was based on those days when a different *synax* is mentioned.

celebrated on the First Saturday of the Fast."⁸ This work attributes the establishment of the feast to an event that took place in 361 under the Emperor Julian, usually called the Apostate in Christian sources. The final proper hymn for Vespers on Friday of the First Week refers to this event.

Using as his tool the Apostate Emperor, the enemy devised a cruel plot: with food polluted by unclean sacrifices he sought to defile the people of God as they purified themselves through fasting. But thou hast defeated his design by a more skillful plan: appearing in a dream to the Archbishop, thou hast revealed to him the evil plot. Therefore we offer thee a sacrifice of thanksgiving, honouring thee as our protector and keeping the yearly memorial of what then was done. May we be kept safe, we pray, from the designs of the enemy at thine intercessions, O martyr Theodore.⁹

The Synaxarion notice introduces the commemoration with these words:

On the same day, the Saturday of the First Week of the Fast, we celebrate the wondrous miracle {accomplished by} the holy and blessed Great-martyr Theodore the Recruit through the Kolyva.

The Synaxarion then summarizes the account these sources give for the origin of the Feast.¹⁰ Technically, then, the commemoration is not of the Martyrdom of Theodore, but of the miracle of the Kolyva which was attributed to Theodore, although in the hymnography of the day events from the life and death of the saint are mentioned along with the miracle of the Kolyva. The commemoration of Theodore the Recruit on

⁸ Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 32. The work of Nektarios is found in Migne, *PG* 39: Karabinov gives the columns as 1822-39, while on *LT*, 50, Ware cites them as 1825a-1832D, and says sections 4-13 are especially relevant for the history of the feast.

⁹ *AT*, ; *LT*, 274-5.

¹⁰ *AT*, 139; cf. *NZT*, 105.

February 17 is found in a variety of Byzantine calendrical works.¹¹

Moses and the Prophets

In the Typikon of the Great Church, the Sunday of the First Week of the Fast is dedicated to the memory of the holy prophets Moses, Aaron, and Samuel. Three Troparia proper to that remembrance are given:

When the Church celebrates your prophets, she becomes a heaven where the angels rejoice together with people. Through their prayers, O Christ God, direct our lives in peace, that we may sing to you, Alleluia!

When you appeared in the fire and when you were manifest in the flesh, you made the face of Moses radiant; you established Aaron in the sacred rites of the law, displaying a prefigurement of your new grace; by their intercession, O Christ God, grant us {great mercy.}

Today the choir of prophets rejoices greatly, along with Moses and Aaron, for the cross by which we were saved shines forth, bringing their prophecies to completion. Through their intercession, O Christ God, {save our souls.}¹²

Ware summarized the issue with these words.

Before the Triumph of Orthodoxy came to be celebrated on the first Sunday, there was on this day a commemoration of Moses, Aaron, Samuel and the Prophets. Traces of this more ancient observance can still be seen in the choice of Epistle readings at the Liturgy (Hebrews 11.24-6, 32-40), and in the Alleluia verse appointed before the Gospel: "Moses and Aaron among his priests,

¹¹ See the following works of Hippolyte Delehaye, all of which are reprinted in *idem*, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977) where they retain their original pagination. "Le Synaxaire du Sirmond," *AB* 14 (1895): 430; "Un Synaxaire Italo-Grec," *AB* 21 (1902): 24; "Les ménologes grecs," *AB* 16 (1897): 321; "Synopsis Metaphrastica," *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, (Bruxelles, 1909), 289. The legends associated with Theodore are discussed in *idem*, *Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), 26 and 32.

¹² Mateos, *Typicon II*, 20-21.

and Samuel among them that call upon His Name."¹³

Talley believes this feast also dictated the choice of the Gospel pericope, disrupting a more ancient course reading of Mark:

Here, as indicated, the first Sunday is a break in the *Bahnlesung*, being a feast of the prophets. Aside from that, the epistles are consistently from Hebrews; the gospels are consistently from Mark throughout Lent.¹⁴

The Synaxarion notice of the current Triodion makes no mention of this commemoration, and one is hard pressed to find allusions to it in the hymnography currently associated with the First Sunday of Lent. At Great Vespers, the first two hymns at *O Lord I have cried to you* may allude to this commemoration of the prophets, although they are part of a set of four hymns in Tone 6 set to a special melody that have as their overarching theme the theology of ikons.

The prophets, inspired by Thy Spirit, O Lord, foretold that Thou, whom nothing can contain or grasp, and who hast shown forth in eternity from the immaterial and bodiless womb of the Father

The divinely-inspired prophets preached Thee in word and honoured Thee in works, and they received as their reward life without end. For they steadfastly refused, O Master, to worship the creation instead of Thee, the Creator; ...¹⁵

Similarly the Oikos of the Kontakion draws the witness of the prophets into the *apologia* for ikons:

Enlightened by this mystery of God's providence, the divinely inspired prophets foretold it of old; and this they did for our sakes, who see the fulfillment of the ages... . This our salvation we confess in deed and word, and we depict it in

¹³ *LT*, 52.

¹⁴ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 185.

¹⁵ *LT*, 299.

the holy ikons.¹⁶

Since the figures usually credited with giving us the current arrangement of the Triodion, Theodore and Joseph the Stoudites, were actively involved in the restoration of the veneration of ikons which is commemorated by the Sunday of Orthodoxy, it is not surprising that little trace of the early remembrance has survived in the anthology they did so much to shape.

The Sunday of Orthodoxy

The Synaxarion notice for this Sunday, in the midst of a rather elaborate if one-sided account of the Iconoclastic controversy, attributes the origins of this commemoration to the restoration of the veneration of ikons by the Empress Theodora on the first Sunday in Lent, March 11, 843. There is no question that this is the event which is referred to in the hymns and which provides the context for the fuller celebration of the triumph over iconoclasm and by extension the rejection of all heresies which the hymns of the day also allude to. What is more questionable is when and in what way this commemoration became the predominant and eventually exclusive commemoration of the First Sunday in Lent in the Byzantine moveable calendar.

In discussing the dating assigned to the manuscript Patmos 266, Juan Mateos provides a convenient overview of the evidence about the origins of this Feast. Anton Baumstark had made the fact that Patmos 266 does not make any mention of the Sunday of Orthodoxy a cornerstone of his argument that the manuscript must therefore be dated

¹⁶ *LT*, 307.

before the institution of this Feast in 843.¹⁷ It is in responding to that argument that Mateos offers a chronological survey of the documents which allegedly refer to the Sunday of Orthodoxy.¹⁸

The *Life of Methodius by a Contemporary* (Migne, PG 100:1244-61) makes no mention of the Synod of 843 nor of the institution of the Feast.

A Ninth-century collection of homilies published by A. Erhard refers to a homily of Basil of Seleucia for the First Sunday of Lent which is on Moses, reflecting the earlier commemoration on this Sunday.¹⁹

Italo-Greek codices of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries prescribe homilies dealing with the temptation of Christ, obviously following a cycle of readings independent from that used at Constantinople.²⁰ The first mention of the Feast of Orthodoxy in these Italo-Greek manuscripts are in manuscripts dated to the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries.

Holy Cross 40, the primary manuscript on which Mateos based his edition of the Typikon of the Great Church, is dated to the second half of the Tenth Century, and it contains no mention of the Sunday of Orthodoxy.

The oldest witness to a homily on the Sunday of Orthodoxy is in a manuscript dated to the Tenth Century.²¹

¹⁷ A. Baumstark, "Das Typikon der Patmos-Handschrift 266," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 6 (1926): 98-111.

¹⁸ *Typicon I*, x-iv. The following listing is dependent upon Mateos' treatment, but for the sake of clarity and conciseness it is an adaptation rather than a literal translation of his discussion.

¹⁹ A. Erhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche = Texte und Untersuchungen* 51, Band II (Leipzig, 1938), 244.

²⁰ One wonders if these manuscripts could be witnessing to the beginning of the Markan course reading which Talley has hypothesized came from Alexandria to Constantinople in the pre-Nicene period.

²¹ *Vindob. theol. gr* 5, cf. Erhard, *op. cit.*, 278.

Only in the Eleventh Century does mention of the Sunday of Orthodoxy become the norm.

[Joseph] Genesios, in the *Fourth Book of Kings*, provides a description of the celebration of the Sunday of Orthodoxy as instituted by Patriarch Methodius. This description will be very influential in shaping the accounts found in later documents.²²

Theophanes Continuatus is dependent upon Genesios, adding that the procession concluded in Hagia Sophia.²³

The *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the same procession, adding that it has been celebrated for a long time.²⁴

The *Additions to the Life of Methodius* explicitly attribute the institution of the Feast to Methodius. No date has yet been discerned for these additions.²⁵

V. Grumel published three documents relating to this celebration in his *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (1936). No. 418 is dependent on Genesios; no. 421 is of dubious authenticity, and no. 425 is the Synodikon, to which the oldest extant witness is dated to the Eleventh Century.

²² The work of Genesios is published in Migne *PG* 109:173-76. K. Krumbacher dates this work to between 945 and 959 in his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*,² (München, 1897), 264. A succinct overview of what is known of his life and work see *ODB* 2:828-9, s.v. "Genesios."

²³ Migne, *PG* 109:173-6. For more on this Theophanes, see *ODB* 3:2061-2, s.v. "Theophanes Continuatus." In this article as well as that cited in the previous footnote on Genesios, Alexander Kazhdan suggests that both of these authors probably used the same sources, although in the Genesios article he opines that it is more likely that Genesios used Theophanes than the opposite direction of influence which postulated by earlier scholarship.

²⁴ A convenient introduction to the *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae* as a liturgical source is found in Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy*, 197-202. Although Baldovin makes very focused use of his sources, he provides many references to the relevant literature, the absence of which is the principle weakness of the paragraph given this source in Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 117.

²⁵ Migne, *PG* 100:1267D.

Since Mateos' purpose is simply to refute Baumstark's early dating of Patmos 266 he does not analyze this list of documents any further, but he does cite the article by A. Michel which argues that there was an Eleventh Century celebration of the restoration of the Veneration of Ikons which was projected backwards in the accounts to portray the institution of the Feast in 843.²⁶

The Synodikon

A unique element within the Triodion is the Synodikon read on the Sunday of Orthodoxy along with the Kanon of Theodore the Stoudite, after Matins but before the Liturgy.²⁷ Byzantine historian George Ostrogorsky points out:

With the restoration of the use of icons in 843, a *Synodicon* was read out in the Greek Orthodox Church each year on the first Sunday in Lent. The oldest part of this document deals with the final rulings on the question of icons and is to some extent compensation for the lost *acta* of the Council of 843. As other religious disputes arose in later centuries, further definitions of orthodoxy were added to the *Synodicon* from time to time, and it is therefore an important document for the history of Byzantine spiritual life from the ninth to fourteenth centuries.²⁸

²⁶ A. Michel, "Die jährliche Eucharistie nach der Bildersturm," *Oriens Christianus* n.s. 12-14 (1922-24): 151-61.

²⁷ *AT*, 155-166; *LT* does not translate this text, but does discuss it in the introductory section, p. 52.

²⁸ George Ostrogorsky, *A History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969 revised edition), translation by Joan Hussey of *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*³ (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1963), 212. [Hereafter cited as Ostrogorsky, *History*.] Ostrogorsky cites the following specialized studies on the Synodikon (*Ibid*, Note 3): "ed. F. I. Uspenskij, *Sinodik v nedilju pravoslavija* [*Synodicon for Orthodoxy Sunday*], (Odessa, 1893). Also F. I. Uspenskij, *Očerki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti* [*Studies in the history of Byzantine civilization*] (St. Petersburg, 1891), i ff. Cf. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios* Vol. II (Paderborn, 1930) i ff., and *Oriens Christianus* n.s. 12 (1925), 151 ff. Cf. also V. A. Mosin, 'Serbskaja redakcija Sinodika v nedilju pravoslavija' [A Serbian redaction of the

This practice would seem to originate at Constantinople, where it is paralleled to the reading of the Decrees of the Councils on the days which commemorate their teachings.²⁹ Mateos' edition of the *Typikon of the Great Church* calls for the reading of the Decrees of the Councils at the Liturgy, after the Trisagion. Those of the Sixth Council were read on September 15,³⁰ those of the Fourth Council were read on July 16,³¹ and the Decrees of the Council against Severus were read on the Sunday after July 16.³² On the Sunday before Pentecost, the Decrees of all of the Councils were read before the Liturgy.³³

Ware comments on the diversity in practice with regard to the reading of the

Synodicon for Orthodoxy Sunday], *Vizantijskij Vremennik* n.s. 16 (1959), 317-94; 17 (1960), 278-353 and 18 (1961), 359 ff. This comprehensive article studies in detail not only the Greek but also the Slavonic (Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian) redactions of the *Synodicon*, and gives an edition of the text of the Serbian recension with a parallel text in Greek."

Ware (*LT*, 51-2) cites J. Gouillard, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: Edition et commentaire* (Travaux et Mémoires 2: Paris, 1967) and an English translation of the service "as celebrated by the Russian Church in the Eighteenth century" in J. G. King, *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia* (London, 1772), 399-407. A more recent, yet still quite awkward, English translation is found in *NZT*.

Alexander Kazhdan's brief notice in *ODB* 3:1994 s.v. "Synodikon of Orthodoxy," adds nothing to these sources beyond the citation of J. Gouillard, "Nouveaux témoins du Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie," *AB* 100 (1982): 459-62.

²⁹ See Mateos, *Typicon II*, s.v. μ , , and

³⁰ Mateos, *Typicon I*, 36.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, 342.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Mateos, *Typicon II*, 132. The "proclamation" here is called

Synodikon while lamenting the fact that it is not taken more seriously.³⁴ Schmemmann included it among the historical developments which are "independent from Lent as such and thus we can leave them outside the scope of this essay."³⁵ In contemporary North America, there is a trend to utilize the "Sunday of Orthodoxy" for celebrations which bring together the different Orthodox jurisdictions of a particular geographic area. All of these observations suggest that this relatively late addition to the Triodion is an element whose role with the evolving ethos of Orthodoxy is not yet firmly fixed.

Gregory of Palamas

This is almost certainly the last commemoration to be added to the Lenten cycle, as we have extant the account of its institution in 1368, a mere decade after the death of Gregory, who lived from 1296-1359. The Synaxarion notice for this day chronicles Gregory's defense of Hesychasm against Barlaam of Calabria and Akindynos, culminating in the decisions of a Synod of the Church of Constantinople in 1352, which vindicated Gregory's defense of the monastic traditions of the East. The Synaxarion notice tells us that he served as shepherd of the Church of Thessalonika for 13 years.³⁶

Exaltation of the Cross

In the *Typikon of the Great Church*, the only special notice for this day is an

³⁴ *LT*, 52; 311.

³⁵ *Great Lent*, 73.

³⁶ *AT*, 197-199; *NZT*, 210-11.

announcement after the Gospel that the veneration of the precious Cross will take place as is customary (συνήθως) on Tuesday and Wednesday for men and Thursday and Friday for women.³⁷ The *Typikon* gives us little further information on the form that veneration took on these days, although most of the hymnic elements given are retained in the much more developed services of the current Triodion. Baldovin's examination of the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus shows that in the Tenth Century the Emperor would attend Hagia Sophia on 9 major feasts when there was no ecclesiastical procession through the city; the Third Sunday in Lent is one of these, as is the similar ritual for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14.

Ware offers the following observations about the ceremonies associated with this Feast:

On this day the service of Mattins concludes with the solemn veneration of the Precious and Life-Giving Cross; the ceremonies are closely parallel to those at the feasts of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) and the Procession of the Cross (1 August)... In the Canon at Mattins, the irmoi are the same as at Easter Midnight, "This is the day of Resurrection...", and the Troparia are in part a paraphrase of the Paschal Canon by St. John of Damascus.³⁸

John of the Ladder

We have already cited the witness of the Synaxarion notice for the Fourth Sunday of Lent, which refers us to the commemoration of this saint in the Menaion on March 30 and attributes its inclusion within the Lenten *cursus* to the popularity of John's *Ladder of*

³⁷ Mateos, *Typicon II*, 38.

³⁸ *LT*, 53.

Paradise to the monastic discipline of patristic reading.³⁹ Also referred to as John Scholastikos or John of Sinai, his encomiast Daniel of Raithou tells us that he took monastic vows as an anchorite at Mt. Sinai at the age of 16, eventually becoming the Hegumen of the Monastery there which we now call St. Catherine's.⁴⁰ His *Ladder of Paradise* "was extremely popular; the text was commented on by scholars including Photios (G. Hofmann, *OCP* 7 [1941] 461-79) and translated in the West and in Slav countries."⁴¹ Kallistos Ware emphasizes the influence of the work in the Orthodox East.

With the exception of the Bible and the service books, there is no work in Eastern Christendom that has been studied, copied, and translated more than *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* by St. John Climacus. Every Lent in Orthodox monasteries it is appointed to be read aloud in church or in the refectory, so that some monks will have listened to it as much as fifty or sixty times in the course of their life. Outside of the monasteries it has also been the favorite reading of countless lay people in Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia, and throughout the Orthodox world.⁴²

Beyond the obvious appeal of this compendium of practical ascetical advice for

³⁹ On this practice, see below in Chapter 9.

⁴⁰ Alexander Kazhdan, *ODB* 2:1060-1, s.v. "John Klimax."

⁴¹ *Ibid.* The work is conveniently available in the English translation of Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell, John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982). The Greek text can be found in Migne, *PG* 88:632-1208. In a Bibliographic Note appended to the Introduction to the Paulist translation, Kallistos Ware notes that Migne reprinted the 1633 Paris edition of Matthew Rader, an edition published with minor corrections by P. Trevisan in the *Corona Patrum Salesiana* series graeca 8 & 9 (Turin, 1941). Ware refers to an edition by the Hermit Sophronius of the Holy Mountain (Constantinople, 1883) as "often superior to the text of Rader-Migne." *Op. cit.*, 69, where a select bibliography can also be found. Luibheid (*op. cit.*, ix) recommends the "useful and wide-ranging bibliography" of Guerric Couilleau, "Jean Climaque," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris, 1972).

⁴² Kallistos Ware, "Introduction," in John Climacus, *op. cit.*, 1.

the ascetical disciplines of Lent, more specific research into when and by whom the commemoration of John of the Ladder made its way from the fixed to moveable annual cycles would clarify another chapter in the complex history of the formation of the Triodion.

Mary of Egypt

The commemoration of this Saintess is ordinarily celebrated on 1st April (see April's Menaion). But it is also repeated here, as we reach the end of Lent, that every slothful sinner may take into account her example of penitence, and act likewise.⁴³

As the Synaxarion tells us, this commemoration on the Fifth Sunday of Lent is transferred from the Menaion; it is also an element of the unique collection of elements now assembled on Thursday of the Fifth Week, when along with the Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete, a Kanon of Mary of Egypt is taken at Matins, and her life is prescribed to be read.⁴⁴ How each of these elements came to its current place within the Triodion is another area worthy of further research. It is interesting that in many early Byzantine works based on the liturgical calendar, Mary of Egypt is commemorated on April 1. In none of the following sources is John of the Ladder commemorated on March 30.⁴⁵

⁴³ NZT, 373; cf. AT, 323.

⁴⁴ See the translated rubrics in LT, 377-8, while the texts themselves are found on the following pages.

⁴⁵ See the following works of Hippolyte Delehaye, all of which are reprinted in *idem*, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977) where they retain their original pagination. "Un Synaxaire Italo-Grec," *AB* 21 (1902): 25; "Les ménologes grecs," *AB* 16 (1897): 322; "Synopsis Metaphrastica," *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, (Bruxelles, 1909), 290.

Benedicta Ward referred to Mary of Egypt as "the Liturgical Icon of Repentance,," noting the parallels between her commemoration in the lenten discipline of the Christian East with that of Mary Magdalene in the Western Christian lenten tradition.

During Lent, the great season of penance in the Christian Church, the Western liturgy uses the biblical figures of repentance, including Mary Magdalene, to illustrate the theme of the weeks that lead to Easter; in the East, the Fifth Sunday of Lent also celebrates St Mary of Egypt as the model of repentance. Her life is read on Thursday of that week at Matins and is presented as an icon in words of the theological truths about repentance.⁴⁶

The Akathist Hymn

... among the Greeks... it is the Office of the Akathist of the Mother of God which is the most popular, the most beloved, the best attended of all of the Lenten services (apart from Holy Week). The Greeks are not content to celebrate it only on the Saturday of the Fifth week of Lent, as is prescribed in all of the ancient Typika, but they also celebrate it, divided into four parts, on the Fridays of the first four weeks of the Fast at Complines.⁴⁷

The work which we refer to as Akathist hymn is

an anonymous Kontakion sung in honor of the Theotokos while the congregation stands (i.e., *a-kathistos*, "not seated"; a recollection of the all-night vigil during which, according to tradition, the Akathistos Hymn was first sung in thanksgiving for the lifting of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626.) Despite the liturgical developments of the 8th C., when the performance of *kontakia* in their entirety

⁴⁶ Benedicta Ward, *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources = Cistercian Studies* 106 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 26. Ward provides an English translation of the Life of Mary of Egypt (*op. cit.*, 35-56), translated from Paul the Deacon's Latin translation of the Greek original attributed to Sophronius of Jerusalem (see *op. cit.*, 34-5). She also offers an insightful study of the various versions of this story and some of the different ways it relates to the other stories of repentant sinners which were popular in monastic circles. Alexander Kazhdan, *ODB* 2:1310 s.v. "Mary of Egypt," offers a brief overview of the development of her legend with useful pointers to some of the source documents and studies.

⁴⁷ Krivocheine, "Particularités," 221-2.

was abandoned, the Akathistos Hymn continued in use, at first at the Feast of the Annunciation, (25 March) and subsequently during Lent.⁴⁸

In spite of a fair amount of scholarly attention, the origins and authorship of the work remain uncertain. The Synaxarion attributes one prooimion, and thus presumably the entire work, to Patriarch Sergios I on the occasion of the Avar seige of Constantinople in 626. A Latin translation of the eighth or ninth century attributes the composition of the work to Patriarch Germanos I in 717/718. Internal considerations of the poetic meter and theological preoccupations favor composition in the early sixth century. This time frame makes it tempting to associate the work with the master and probable originator of the Kontakion form, Romanos the Melodist, an attribution which was made within the Byzantine liturgical tradition itself. Most recent scholarship, however, finds such an identification doubtful.

Within the Triodion itself, the text of the Akathist Hymn is given on the Fifth Saturday at Matins. The clear thematic connections of the Hymn to the Feast of the Annunciation suggest that its presence within the Lenten calendar may be related to the ambivalence of the monastic compilers of the Triodion with how to integrate this important annual feast into the moveable cycle.⁴⁹ In attempting to compile a list of primitive commemorations which made up the pre-Metaphrast model Menologion of the Byzantine tradition, H. Delehaye listed various elements month by month as found in the most ancient manuscripts. He then observed,

⁴⁸ E. M. Jeffreys and R. S. Nelson, *ODB* 1:44, s.v. "Akathistos Hymn."

⁴⁹ See the discussion of the Annunciation in the next chapter.

Perhaps one should add, between March and April, the Διήγησις ὠφέλιμος ... εἰς τὴν ἀκάθιστον, (= *Maria Deipara*, *Bibliographia hagiographica graeca*, 59) which is found in many manuscripts.

The manuscript Vatican 1245, which in other areas complies exactly with the list given above, also includes this piece.

Prof. Erhard gives several reasons to exclude it.⁵⁰

Ivan Gardner reminds us,

This Akathistos Hymn was viewed as the classical model. Later, especially in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the Russians composed numerous other Akathistos hymns in honor of various icons of the Mother of God and various saints in imitation of this model. These later Akathistos hymns, some of which are of rather low literary quality, may be included in the private prayer services and, on occasion, into Vespers and Matins at the discretion of the rector. The Typikon prescribes only the original Akathistos hymn.⁵¹

Conclusion

While the broad outlines of the processes through which various commemorations of the fixed annual cycle came to be integrated into the Lenten Triodion is clear, further research into this area might clarify the history of both the Triodion and the particular commemorations involved. Of special interest would be the circumstances within which particular commemorations first came to be associated with the Lenten cycle, and examples of commemorations which did not make it into the Lenten rituals might clarify the reasons for including those which were incorporated.

⁵⁰ H. Delehaye, "Les Ménologues Grecs," *AB* 16 (1897): 321. He is responding here, as in much of this article, to the publications of A. Erhard, specifically here *Forschungen zur Hagiographie der griechischen Kirche, vohrnehmlich auf Grund der hagiographischen Handschriften von Mailand, München, Moskau* (Rome, 1897), 21.

⁵¹ Gardner, *Russian Church Singing*, p. 47, note 43.

CHAPTER 9

OTHER STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

To close off our survey of the structural elements of the Triodion, it is necessary to call attention to an assortment of features which for one reason or another were not included in the categories which have so far been examined. While the following list does not pretend to be all-inclusive, it does attempt to be representative of the rich repertoire of elements which the Byzantine tradition associates with the liturgical season addressed by the Lenten Triodion.

Rubrics

To be precise, the "Rubrics" would also be a distinct structural element,¹ and for much of the last 900 years they have been collected in the distinct genre of liturgical books usually identified as "Typika."²

¹ See Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 54-55, who also decided not to examine them as a separate element in his study. "Aside from the changeable parts of the Triodion, there is still a third element of a different character, - items from the Church *ordo*. They begin to appear there starting in the 11th and 12th centuries. Research of this element belongs to the history of the Church *ordo* or the history of the Great Lenten Divine Services."

² It is important to note that the Greek word *Typikon* is a generic word for a book of norms or models, and thus it is applied to "a variety of documents, not all of which were even ecclesiastical." [Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 45 (1987): 77-138, here p. 77.] Typika for the foundation of a monastery (these are the "Ktetorika" Typika studied by Galatariotou) are important for liturgical studies, but within this study the term will always refer to the

The earliest "typica" were contained in the books of liturgical texts themselves. A simple set of books containing integral offices obviously could also contain the directions for the celebration of these offices. With the development of the Triodia (the Lenten and Paschal cycles) ... the directives for the celebration of the Divine Office became more complicated.³

Thus we have another area where a significant development in the history of the Byzantine liturgical tradition is integrally connected with the Triodion.

The Triodion not only furnished all the necessary texts for Lent and the Paschal season, but it is also the first Typicon which exists. The texts, especially at the beginning of Lent, are accompanied by precise and abundant rubrics in which we find precise information on the general outline of the office.⁴

These Typika have already been the object of historical study,⁵ although much more remains to be done. Moreover since they regulate the interaction of the four elements which are distinguished above, insights from the study of these Typika can be utilized in the reconstruction of the histories of those elements.

Patristic Readings

Occasionally the rubrics will mention a practice which was clearly an important part of the lenten discipline even though it is not reflected in the hymnographic texts

ecclesiastical books which contain rules for the performance of the services.

³ David Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136* (Cleveland, 1991), 2. Hereafter cited as Petras, *Typicon of Alexis*.

⁴ Miguel Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine - Byzance - Russie. Essai d'aperçu historique," in *Liturgie de l'Église Particulière et Liturgie de l'Église Universelle* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976): 43-72, here pp. 56-7. Cited in Petras *loc. cit.*, from which the English translation given here was adapted.

⁵ See e.g., M. Lisitsyn, *Pervonachal'nyj slavjano-russkij tipikon* (St. Petersburg: Tipografia Smirnov, 1911); and Miguel Arranz, *История Типикона-Опыт. [History of the Typikon. An Essay.]* (Leningrad: Ленинградская Духовная Академия, 1978).

collected in the Triodion. The most pervasive example would be the monastic readings from the Fathers. We have already noted that the reading of the Life of Mary of Egypt is given a prominent role at Matins on the Thursday of the Great Kanon during the Fifth Week of Lent, and that the reading of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* in monasteries probably resulted in the author of that work having his commemoration associated with the Fourth Sunday of the Fast.

In the English translation of the Lenten Triodion by Kallistos Ware and Mother Mary,

The rubrics referring to the Patristic readings at the Lenten offices are likewise omitted. As given in the Greek and Slavonic Triodia, the directions are too general to be of use to the Western reader, and in any case the actual practice of contemporary Orthodox monasteries varies widely.⁶

The reasons given for omitting reference to the Patristic readings are sound, yet further research on these readings is desirable for several reasons. It would seem obvious that these patristic reading in the monasteries served as one of the most consistent elements of spiritual formation in one of the most pervasive institutions of Byzantine society. A clearer understanding of what was read where and when would open doors to a fuller appreciation of how "traditional" wisdom was communicated in the Byzantine monasteries. It is also widely observed that the hymns of the Byzantine Churches are often paraphrases of patristic writings. It seems likely that knowledge of what works were being read and heard by the monks will help in identifying more specific channels of the ways patristic inspiration came to be translated into Byzantine hymns. Finally,

⁶ *LT*, 65.

given the current appreciation of how deeply the Byzantine Orthodox ethos is permeated by a patristic mentality, as well as the realization of how much a renewal of interest in patristic sources can contribute to contemporary spiritual and theological renewal, some form of patristic reading may well become a most appropriate form of lenten discipline for contemporary believers. Given the growing popularity of "Audio Books," as well as the academic recognition that hearing a text aurally is a different experience from reading it visually, some form of listening to patristic works on tape might well bring busy believers of the future closer to the experience of their monastic ancestors than has been possible for generations.

Michel Aubineau's efforts to reproduce the Patristic readings included in the tenth-century manuscript of Mount Athos, Koutloumousiou 48, is a good illustration of these potential benefits.⁷ Aubineau first lists the 49 patristic works mentioned in the manuscript along with whatever information about modern editions he could gather. On the surface, two of these works should be relevant for our study.

26. Andrew of Crete, In Lazarum, (Migne, *PG*, 97:960-985; *CPG* 8177; *BHG* 2218).
27. Andrew of Crete, In ramos palmorum, (Migne, *PG*, 97:985-1017; *CPG* 8178).
28. John Chrysostom, De ieiunio, in Psalmum 145, (Migne, *PG*, 55:519-528; *CPG* 4415).

The third of these works was mentioned by Talley as having been preached on Lazarus

⁷ Michel Aubineau, "Un lectionnaire pour les fêtes mobiles - du Dimanche du Publicain au Dimanche de Tous les Saints -: Athos, Koutloumousiou 48," *BBGG* (1985): 175-212.

Saturday, and thus is also relevant to our eventual focus.⁸

Since the initial folia of Koutlounousiou 48 were destroyed in a fire, the table of contents (ὁ πίναξ) which would have specified when each of the readings was to be taken is missing. Aubineau attempts to reconstruct these liturgical appointments, both from the evidence of the manuscript itself, and by comparison with 25 other collections of homilies and 3 Typika. The following reflects his results for these three readings.

Koutlounousiou 48, # 26: Andrew of Crete, In Lazarum: Λάζαρος τὸν παρόντα, assigned to Lazarus Saturday in these witnesses:

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| K, 25 | = Athos, Σκήτη Καυσοκαλυβίων, codex 3 |
| F, 158 ^v | = Athos, Lavra 453 [Δ. 77] |
| K1, 24 | = Athos, Koutlounousiou 40 |
| M2, 13 | = Messine, S. Salv. 2 |
| O, 36 | = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Thomas Roe 28 |
| P1, 34 | = Paris, National Library Gr. 767 |
| Y, 4 | = Athos, Dionysiou 71 |
| E, 20 | = Typikon of the Monastery τῆς Εὐεργέτιδος, Constantinople |
| V, 21 | = Vatican Library Gr. 1587 |
| M1 | = Typikon of Monastery of the Holy Savior at Messina |
| L, 25 | = Oxford, Lincoln College, 1 |
| M, 10 | = Munich, Gr. 24 |

Koutlounousiou 48, # 27: Andrew of Crete, In Ramos: Χθὲς ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ, assigned to Palm Sunday in these witnesses:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| K, 28 | = Athos, Σκήτη Καυσοκαλυβίων, codex 3 |
| K1, 25 | = Athos, Koutlounousiou 40 |
| M2, 16 | = Messine, S. Salv. 2 |
| V2, 2 | = Vatican Library Gr. 564 |
| C, 1 | = Paris, National Library, Coislin 107 |
| Y, 7 | = Athos, Dionysiou 71 |
| E, 21 | = Typikon of the Monastery τῆς Εὐεργέτιδος, Constantinople |
| V, 22 | = Vatican Library Gr. 1587 |
| M1 | = Typikon of Monastery of the Holy Savior at Messina |
| L, 26 | = Oxford, Lincoln College, 1 |

⁸ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 186.

Koutloumousiou 48, # 28: John Chrysostom, *De ieiunio* (In Ps 145):

Δινύσαμεν τῆς νηστείας, assigned to Monday of Great Week in these witnesses:

B, 28	= Thessalonika, Vlatées 6
K, 29	= Athos, Σκήτη Καυσοκαλυβίων, codex 3
V2, 3	= Vatican Library Gr. 564
C, 3	= Paris, National Library, Coislin 107
Y, 9	= Athos, Dionysiou 71
Z, 6	= Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocc. 241 ("In Great Week")
E, 22	= Typikon of the Monastery τῆς Εὐεργέτιδος, Constantinople
V, 23	= Vatican Library Gr. 1587
M1	= Typikon of Monastery of the Holy Savior at Messina
G, 28	= Athens National Library 226

While remembering that none of these witnesses has exactly the same *cursus* of readings, nevertheless there is an impressive consensus that links these readings with our target feasts.

The Prayer of Ephrem

Beginning from the Wednesday of Cheese-fare week, the Triodion introduces a proper element into all of the weekday Lenten services, which it calls "The prayer of Ephrem."⁹ Alexander Schmemmann said it "can be considered *the* lenten prayer."¹⁰ Curiously enough it has not always had the same significance in the Greek Orthodox

⁹ The text is given when it is first introduced at the end of Matins that day (*AT*, 47). The text is given again at the end of the Sunday evening Vespers which begin the liturgical season of Lent (*AT*, 77). For the specifics of where the prayer is prescribed during the weekday services see the brief overview given in *LT*, 69-70, or the following schemata of the "Structure of the Lenten Offices" for specifics for each service. The omission of the Prayer of Ephrem from the weekend services from Friday to Sunday Vespers during the Fast is one of the characteristics which clearly distinguishes these "Eucharistic days" of Lent.

¹⁰ Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 34. He then addresses the spiritual significance of the prayer on pp. 34-38.

tradition.

If we take the first six weeks of the Fast ... it can be said that among the Russians the most characteristic and striking expression of the spirituality of the Fast is the Prayer "O Lord and Master of my Life" (Κύριε καὶ Δέσποτα τῆς ζωῆς μου, *Gospodi i Vladyko jivota moego*). Every Russian, even one who rarely goes to Church, knows this prayer well; it marks for him the beginning and end of the period of the Fast, it is that which distinguishes the services of Lent from those of the other periods of the year... . This is why a Russian will be extremely surprised (even to the point of disbelief) on learning that this prayer is practically unknown among the vast majority of pious Greeks, who never hear it during Lent in the Greek churches... . Obviously this prayer exists in the Greek liturgical books as among the Russian; it is not omitted, {indeed} the clergy and liturgists know it well. Nevertheless, according to the prescriptions of the ancient Typika, it is said by the priest quietly, "secretly"; the people have forgotten it completely, retaining only the prostrations which have {thus} become characteristic of Lent. The Greek manner of saying the prayer "O Lord and Master" "secretly" is certainly the most ancient. All of the Typika, including the Russian {ones} prescribe it The Russian manner of saying this prayer aloud is an innovation probably dating to the XVth to XVIth centuries, but it has {thus} preserved in the religious awareness of the people one of the most beautiful orthodox prayers which otherwise was in danger of being forgotten.¹¹

In the North American communities with which I am familiar, an increased appreciation of the prayer of Ephrem among the faithful has been one of the most powerful indications of renewed interest in the lenten disciplines in particular and of orthodox spirituality more generally. For many it has become a central element in their own experience of Lent.

The attribution of this prayer to Ephrem has not yet been systematically studied.¹²

¹¹ Krivocheine, "Particularités," 220.

¹² In what follows I am using the work of Prof. Edward G. Mathews in his 1996 Doctoral Dissertation at Columbia University, *The Armenian Commentary on the Book of Genesis attributed to Ephrem*, 18-19. A slightly edited version of that work will be published in the *CSCO* series.

Prayers attributed to Ephrem are found in his native Syriac tradition,¹³ however these prayers are found only in late manuscripts,¹⁴ and those which have been edited would seem to be based on Greek originals.¹⁵ Only one of the Greek prayers attributed to Ephrem has received scholarly attention.¹⁶ Prayers attributed to Ephrem are also common in the Armenian tradition.¹⁷ At the present time, it is impossible to specify how the prayers attributed to Ephrem in these different linguistic traditions relate to each other, much less what connection if any each might have to the historical Ephrem of Syria.

The Lenten "Alleluia"

One of the peculiarities of the Lenten Services is that at Matins on Weekdays, the exclamation "God is the Lord, and He has appeared to us," is replaced by the singing of Alleluia. Orthodox writers occasionally refer to this as an indication of the "joyful

¹³ Some of them can be found in T. J. Lamy, ed., *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones* (4 vols; Mechliniae, 1882-1902), III:211-230. Other unedited prayers are listed in A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), 51 n. 6.

¹⁴ See I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*² (Rome, 1965), 75.

¹⁵ See M. Geerard, "Ephraem Graecus," *CPG*, 2:438-444.

¹⁶ J. Noret, "La vie de Marie l'Égyptienne (BHG 1042) source partielle d'une prière pseudo-Éphremienne," *AB* 96 (1978): 385-387. Noret traces the connections during the VI-VII centuries between a Greek prayer attributed to Ephrem and the *Life of Mary the Egyptian* which is read on Thursday of the Fifth Week of Lent in the received Byzantine tradition.

¹⁷ <Armenian> [*Works of St. Ephrem*], (Venice, 1834) IV.227-276. An identical edition is published as <Armenian> [*The Book of Prayers Said by St. Ephrem of Coele-Syria*] (Jerusalem, 1933). For other editions of this popular collection see M. Djanachian, "Les Arménistes et les Mékhitaristes," in *Armeniaca: Mélanges d'études arméniennes* (Venice, 1969) 404 n. 62.

sorrow" or "bright sadness" of the Lenten season. Since this is the opposite of the Roman Catholic practice, which suppresses the Alleluia during Lent, it has often caught the attention of western liturgists, who presented these contrasting Lenten traditions as a caricature of the differences of the Christian East and West.

Fasting Practices in the Triodion

The rubrics of the Triodion occasionally address fasting practices, e.g. the note that oil and meat are permitted on the Wednesday and Friday of Meatfare.¹⁸ Another example, rather curiously placed at the end of the texts for the First Saturday of the Fast, tells us, "It is necessary to note that it is permitted to eat fish twice during the holy Forty-days, on the Feast of the Annunciation and on Palm Sunday."¹⁹ This exception is confirmed with a rubric on Palm Sunday itself, after the Liturgy: "The comforting of the brothers takes place in the Refectory, for we eat fish." [Εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν γίνεται παράκλησις τοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς, ἐσθίομεν γὰρ ἰχθύας.]²⁰ On Monday of the First Week we are told:

This is how the Service of the Lamplighting takes place, when there is no Presanctified. For according to the tradition which we have received from all the Brotherhoods, we do not do Presanctified until Wednesday on account of the fast;

¹⁸ *AT*, 17-18, clarified on p. 42.

¹⁹ *AT*, 143. This is one of the few places where Palm Sunday is explicitly spoken of as being included , but we may be dealing here with the term "the Forty-days" being used as a simple matter of scribal or editorial convenience to mean "the time of the Fast" or "the time of the Lenten Triodion," rather than with the technical precision of a 40-day period which ends with the Friday before Lazarus Saturday.

²⁰ *AT*, 388.

those who are able persist in the fast until Friday.²¹

After the Kanon of Theodore, on Friday evening of the First Week we are told,

We then exit to the refectory, receiving wine and oil because of the commemoration of the Saint. This we have received from the Lavra of our Holy Father Sabbas, and from the Community of St. Euthymios the Great; but we no longer do this, because of the considerations τὸ αἰδέσιμον of these days.²²

Fasting is also a major theme of the hymnography proper to the Triodion. Two broad themes persist throughout: exhortations to undertake and persist in the discipline of fasting, and reminders of the spiritual goal of this physical *askesis*. A systematic examination of these hymns, along with attention to the range of poetic images used to discuss the fast, might go far towards energizing those Christians in our day who are struggling to incorporate traditional fasting practices into their contemporary lifestyles.

The Synaxaria Listings

The "synaxarion" listing after the Sixth Ode of the Kanon of Matins will occasionally provide another level of interpretation. Robert Taft offers a succinct summary of three distinct uses of the term "synaxarion" in Byzantine Greek:

... a church calendar of fixed feasts with appropriate lections indicated for each one, but no further text. The *synaxarion* is often appended to a *praxapostolos* or *evangelion*...

The term synaxarion is also used in Byz. Greek for a specific collection of brief notices, usually hagiographical, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*...

These texts were incorporated into the *Menaion* and *Triodion* and usually read

²¹ AT, 90.

²² AT, 135.

after the sixth ode of the *kanon* at *Orthros*.²³

It is the third meaning of the term which is being addressed here. *RT* does not include these notices, while *AT* does. During Holy Week different terminology is used, as each of these notices is called τὸ ὑπόμνημα τοῦ Τριωδίου which comes after τὸ Μηνολόγιον. The Triodion notices are limited to a brief listing of the commemorations of that day. The only English translation of these notices that I am aware of is in *NZT*. Besides the awkward English, these translations often seem to omit portions of the Greek given in *AT*, although for Holy Week they provide a much fuller notice than what is given in *AT*. It is possible they were working from a different Greek original than that given in *AT*.

Hippolyte Delehaye specifies the type of information usually found in the Synaxarion notices of the Menaia, always after the Sixth Ode of the Kanon.

1. The date of the month.
2. The announcement of the feast of the saint.
3. An epigram in iambic verses (usually two) on the feast. Whenever possible this will contain a play on words, more or less successful.
4. A hexameter {verse} including the date and the name of the saint.
5. An historical notice of variable length, usually beginning with the words οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος, οὗτος ἦν, ὁ ὅσιος πατήρ ἡμῶν, or something similar.
6. The indication of the place, if there is one, where the feast is celebrated

²³ *ODB*, 3:1991, s.v. "synaxarion." Taft offers the following additional bibliography on the Synaxarion: H. Delehaye, ed., *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum, Novembris* (Brussels, 1902); J. Noret, "Ménologes, synaxaires, menées," *AB* 86 (1968): 21-24; Idem., "Le synaxaire Leningrad gr. 240," *Antičnaja drevnost'i srednie veka* 10 (1973): 124-30; W. Van der Meiren, "Précisions nouvelles sur la généalogie des synaxaires byzantins," *AB* 102 (1984): 297-301; P. Mijović, *Menelogs* (Belgrad, 1973); H. Delehaye, *Synaxaires byzantins, menologes, typica* (London, 1977).

solemnly. This indication ends the notice.

7. One or more {additional} commemorations are simply announced, either accompanied by the epigram or the notice or both at the same time.²⁴

Within the Kanon at Matins for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee (the first included in the Triodion), the Athens Triodion includes a "Prologue based on that of the Synaxarion of Xanthopoulos for the Synaxarion of the Triodion" which tells us:

Nikephoros Kallistos of Xanthopoulos compiled the synaxaria for the most important feasts of the Triodion, giving for each of them the origins, how and why it began, and how it is now celebrated, as well as how it was ordered by our holy and God-bearing Fathers [according to the prescriptions of each part], beginning from the Publican and the Pharisee and continuing until {the Sunday of} All Saints. Indeed it is dependent upon the Synaxarion of the Menaion, in the first week, as is customary, it is read, afterwards the following. Thus after that reading {from the Synaxarion of the Menaion} comes this one.²⁵

Vittorio Peri suggests that the title preserved by the Triodion was originally a distinct work, from which the passages corresponding to each day were abstracted and inserted into the appropriate place within the Triodion.²⁶ He notes that these Synaxaria notices were included in the 1574 printed Venetian edition of the Triodion, and were also included in the 1604 Venetian edition. Between 1639 and 1650, Matthew Cigalas published a complete printed edition of this Synaxarion in a contemporary "translation":

²⁴ Hippolyte Delehay, "Le Synaxaire du Sirmond," *AB* 14 (1895): 399, reprinted in *idem, Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977) with the same pagination.

²⁵ *AT*, 8; cf. *NZT*, 4. See *ODB* s.v. "Xanthopoulos, Nikephoros Kallistos," where Alice-Mary Talbot emphasizes his *Ecclesiastical History*, hagiographic works, and poetic compositions, but does not mention this association with the Synaxarion. She gives the approximate dates of 1256? - ca.1335? for his life.

²⁶ Peri, "Quaresima," p. 58, note 125.

ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΞΑΝΘΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Συναξάρια εἰς τὰς ἐπισήμους
 ἑορτὰς τοῦ Τριωδίου... μεταφρασθέντα εἰς κοινὴν γλῶσσαν.²⁷ Momina tells us that
 Greek Triodia which include the Synaxaria notices begin to appear in the XIV century,²⁸
 relatively quickly given that the literary activity of Nikephoros Kallistos of Xanthopoulos
 is dated to the end of the 13th, beginning of the 14th century.²⁹

The Athens Triodion gives a Synaxarion reading for all of the Sundays of the
 Lenten Triodion, i.e.,

Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee

Sunday of the Prodigal Son

Meatfare Sunday

*... the commemoration of the second and impartial Coming-Again of our
 Lord Jesus Christ. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 32.)*

Cheesefare Sunday

*... the commemoration of the expulsion from paradise because of food of
 the first-created Adam. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 72.)*

The First Sunday of Lent, the Sunday of Orthodoxy

*... the First Sunday of the fast, commemoration is made of the restoration
 of the holy and pure icons, which took place under the ever-memorable
 Autocrat of Constantinople Michael and his mother Theodora, during the
 Patriarchate of the holy confessor Methodius. (Synaxarion listing, AT
 147.)*

The Second Sunday of Lent

*... the Second Sunday of the Fast, commemoration is made of our holy
 Father Gregory, Archbishop of Palamas in Thessalonika. (Synaxarion
 listing, AT, 197.)*

The Third Sunday of Lent

... the Third Sunday of the Fast, we celebrate the feast of the Veneration of

²⁷ Peri *loc. cit.* says this edition is still extant, and also mentions the more recent
 edition of . . . ,
 , 1896.

²⁸ "Origins," 119.

²⁹ Peri, *loc. cit.*

*the worthy and life-giving Cross. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 233.)*³⁰

The Fourth Sunday of Lent

... the Fourth Sunday of the Fast, we keep the memory of our venerable Father John, author of 'The Ladder'. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 275.)

The Fifth Sunday of Lent

... the Fifth Sunday of the Fast, we celebrate in honor the memory of our holy mother Mary of Egypt. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 332.)

Palm Sunday

On the same day, Palm Sunday, we celebrate the bright and glorious feast of the entrance of our Lord Jesus Christ into Jerusalem. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 385.)

In addition to these Sundays, there is a notice given for the following Saturdays:

The Saturday before Meatfare

The commemoration is held for all those who over the ages have fallen asleep, Orthodox Christians, fathers, and brothers. (Subheading to "The Saturday before Meatfare," AT, 18.)

... the remembrance of all those who over the ages have piously fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life, the divinely-favored [ἐθεόσπισαν] fathers. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 22.)

The Saturday before Cheesefare

... the commemoration of all the radiant men and women ascetics. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 65.)

Saturday of the First week of the Fast

... we celebrate the wondrous miracle of the Kolluba of the holy and praise-worthy Great-martyr Theodore the Recruit. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 139.)

Akathistos Saturday

On the same day, Saturday of the Fifth Week in Lent, we sing the Akathist Hymn in honor of the Most-holy Lady Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary. (Synaxarion listing, AT, 298.)

Lazarus Saturday

On the same day, the Saturday before Palm Sunday, we celebrate the rising from the tomb of the holy and righteous Lazarus, Christ's friend, who {had been dead for} four days. (Synaxarion listing, AT 376.)

Each day of Holy Week has a notice referred to as τὸ ὑπόμνημα τοῦ Τριωδίου

³⁰ An English translation of excerpts from this notice is given in Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 77.

which comes after τὸ Μηνολόγιον. As noted above, further research into the relationship of these various notices to the similar notices found in the Menaia, as well as to notices of varying lengths found in codices labeled Menologia and Synaxaria, would clarify the history of this intriguing element of the Triodion.

Texts from the Oktoechos

In addition to these texts proper to the Lenten Calendar, the rubrics of the Triodion require four blocks of texts which provide an adaptation of the *Oktoechos* cycle specific to the "Great and Holy Forty Days". One of these blocks is found at the very end of the current Lenten Triodion. This is the "Hymns to the Trinity and Hymns of Light at Matins in the Eight Tones from the Oktoechos" (*AT*, 501-503; *LT*, 662-667.)

The remaining three units are not found in the Triodion itself, although Ware and Mother Mary included them in *LT* for convenience. The "Stichera to the Martyrs and for the Dead Sung at Vespers on Friday Evening in the Eight Tones from the Oktoechos" are inserted after the Saturday of the Dead and before those for the Sunday of the Last Judgement (see *LT*, 142-149.) Concerning these Stichera, "There are differences here between the Greek and Slav practice, and the rules also vary in different editions of the Greek Typikon."³¹

Similarly the "Stichera of Repentance sung at Vespers on Sunday Evening in the Eight Tones" are inserted after the texts for Sunday Vespers on the Sunday of Forgiveness and before the texts for Monday of the First Week of the fast (*LT*, 184-188.)

³¹ *LT*, p. 142, footnote 1.

Finally the "Sessional Hymns at Matins in the Eight Tones from the Oktoechos" were added to the end of their translation (*LT*, 668-699.)

From Lazarus Saturday through the Sunday of All Saints (i.e. for the entire duration of the period which was often included in the "Flowering Triodion" (Lazarus Saturday, Palm Sunday, Holy Week, and our current Pentekostarion) the Oktoechos is not used. When texts from the Oktoechos are prescribed they are included in the Triodion/Pentekostarion itself.

During Lent, the Oktoechos is used only on Friday evening, Saturday, and Sunday. It is not used at all from Lazarus Saturday (the day before Palm Sunday) until the Sunday of All Saints (the first after Pentecost): any material in the weekly cycle of eight tones that is used during the period of the Pentekostarion is provided in full in the Pentekostarion itself.³²

³² *Festal Menaion*, 539.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION TO PART TWO

For all of the detail offered in the preceding chapters, it is clear that an enormous amount of work remains to be done before the Triodion and its historical development can be more clearly understood. The elements identified in this chapter can provide a useful starting point for many specific studies that would contribute to that fuller comprehension. As we turn to a more detailed consideration of the elements of Lazarus Saturday, it is important to remember that there is a great deal of material important to the larger understanding of the Triodion that is not included in the current printed books.

Nevertheless, thanks to the work he {Karabinov} did on numerous Triodia manuscripts, it becomes clear that the text in use today is the result of a process of gradual simplification. It can therefore be seen that the sacrosanct dictum that Lent is the most conservative period in the Church calendar is open to revision. The amount of material that has been deleted from the Triodion leads to the much larger question of the nature and method of liturgical reform at work in the Byzantine liturgy, even before the advent of the printing press. Who decided what was to be left out or what retained, and at what period and in what manner was the present uniformity achieved? It would seem clear that a great deal of detailed examination and classification of the sources will be needed before any valid hypothesis can be formed.¹

At the conclusion of our survey of the structural elements of the Lenten Triodion, it is useful to list some of the more obvious areas where additional work would be desirable.

¹ Knowles, "Renaissance," p. 237.

Clarification of the Existing Traditions

In our study we have taken *AT* as the base text, although in Part Three of this study we will refer to *RT*. A simple comparison of the most widely used Greek editions of the Triodion with the Roman edition, which tends to be the one cited most often in academic publications, would go a long way towards providing a common base text to which all future scholarship could refer. Perhaps even more important would be a catalog of the common and distinctive elements between these Greek editions and the printed Slavonic Triodia. A history of printed Triodia in each of these linguistic traditions seems like a workable project, similarly a catalog of the relevant prescriptions of the printed Typika could be undertaken.

At this point, it seems that the goal of such surveys should be more to clarify which elements are common to all versions and which elements change from time to time and from place to place. An attempt to develop a "critical edition" would probably obscure these differences and would result in a text that never existed anywhere. Rather than multiply the individual judgments which filter what is considered to be important and what is not, editions which make available the full diversity of the sources will allow them to be analyzed from perspectives which editors of the near future might not even imagine.

Clarification of the Existing Structure of the Triodion

Attention to the details of the current editions raises a large number of questions which could be addressed in future studies. Is there a normative pattern to the differing

forms of the Kanon found in the Triodion? Obviously three-ode Kanons predominate on weekdays, while four- and eight-ode Kanons are most common on weekends, but there are enough exceptions to these generalizations to warrant further study. Which heirmoi are used most often? What is the significance of a change of Tone within a service?

It would not be difficult to expand the list of questions which emerges as one studies the Triodion. Hopefully as more people have the opportunity to become more familiar with this book and to study it more carefully, these types of questions can begin to be addressed.

Publication of More Manuscript Sources

The observation that there are so many unpublished sources for the Byzantine liturgy has been made repeatedly by almost everyone who has undertaken to examine them. Clearly only with the availability of more sources will historical reconstructions begin to have more confidence that they are accurately summarizing what is a very complex series of historical processes.

The emergence of computer-based technologies holds out a great deal of promise in this area; it remains to be seen to what extent it will be realized.

Studies of Individual Elements

Repeatedly in our survey of structural elements of the Triodion attention was drawn to the benefits that could be expected from further study of individual elements. The Synaxarion notices are one such element where such research would be fruitful, for it is an element that is easily identified, with clear connections to elements outside of the

Triodion, and it functions as an interpretation of the existing elements which often utilizes earlier sources. Simply publishing these notices in a readable translation would give people access to an important fourteenth-century interpretation of the Triodion. Tracing some of the more important sources for these notices would go a long way towards beginning a history of the interpretation of the Triodion. Clarifying the relationship of these notices to those found in the Menaia or in various Menologia or Synaxaria would also help our understanding of the interrelationships among these various types of liturgical sources.

Any of the commemorations surveyed in chapter 8 would likewise be a fitting topic for further study, as would any of the additional elements covered in chapter 9. The Troparia of the Prophecies given for each weekday of Lent are an example of an individual structural element which deserves more research.

Studies on Individual Hymnographers

One of the many areas where progress in research would inevitably be in dialectic relationship with progress in understanding the Triodion would be studies devoted to individual hymnographers. The work of Joseph and Theodore the Stoudites is especially important in this area, since they clearly played an important role in shaping the Triodion as we know it.

Studies of Factors which Influenced the History of the Triodion

Chapter 7 surveyed various elements of the Liturgical *cursus*. Even the most basic categories of the day and the week were seen to have differing patterns within the

Triodion itself. Services such as the Third/Sixth Hour and the Pre-sanctified Liturgy are found only in the Lenten Triodion, as are smaller elements such as the Lenten Troparia or the Prayer of Ephrem.

Clearly as the specific requirements of each service evolved over time, the hymnographic elements which the Triodion would include had to change to meet those requirements.

Concluding Remarks

The chapters of Part Two of this study have attempted to survey the structural elements which can be easily discerned in the Lenten Triodion. While a large part of this work might seem to be making unclear what seemed to be clear, it is hopefully clarifying a complexity which is actually found in the texts themselves. The methodology of structural analysis seems to be especially well suited to a work like the Triodion, which is clearly the product of a long and complex history which involved many different elements.

Clearly "the Triodion ... did not take shape in isolation, and therefore must share a common history with the other manifestations of the Byzantine liturgy."² As this study begins to focus on ever smaller elements within the Triodion, these reminders of what is not included within this more narrow view can help keep the larger context in mind. In Part Three of this dissertation, therefore, we turn to an examination of the elements discernable in Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

² Quinlan, *Sinai Gr. 734-735*, ii.

PART THREE
STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS
OF
LAZARUS SATURDAY
AND
PALM SUNDAY

CHAPTER 11

A PRELIMINARY LIST OF ELEMENTS

Part Three is the heart of this dissertation, for it is here that the method of Structural Analysis is applied to a more limited section of the Lenten Triodion, a limitation that conversely allows a more detailed and substantive analysis of the constitutive elements. The first step is to make explicit just what texts will be the object of our analysis.

Texts which are the focus of this study

This chapter will focus on the texts proper to Lazarus Saturday, which would include texts from the Triodion for the following services:¹

- A. Texts Proper to Lazarus Saturday
 - 1. The Friday before Palm Sunday, Vespers
 - 2. Friday Evening Compline
 - 3. Saturday Morning Matins
 - 4. At the Liturgy

There are other texts associated with Palm Sunday where Lazarus is referred to which should be taken account of in a structural analysis. These are so fully integrated within the hymnography of Palm Sunday that all of the Services associated with that day

¹ The Greek text of these services is given in Appendix 1, while a new English translation is included as Appendix 3.

were examined, although not every aspect of them was pursued.²

B. Texts proper to Palm Sunday

1. Little Vespers on Saturday Evening
2. Great Vespers on Saturday Evening
3. Matins on Sunday Morning
4. At the Liturgy
5. Sunday Evening Vespers
6. Small Compline on Sunday Night

Taken together, these first two groups of texts constitute the core texts which will be the focus of this study. They are collected in Appendices 1 and 3, where they can be consulted when considering the analysis of this chapter.

Texts earlier in the Sixth Week of the Fast also turn out to persistently mention Lazarus, who is mentioned at every Matins and Vesper service that week. The Kanon at Matins for the Fifth Sunday of Lent is based on the story of the Rich Man and Lazarus from Luke 16.19-31, and references to this "Lukan Lazarus" are found throughout the hymns for the Sixth Week of the Fast. In chapter 21 various theories on the relationship between the figure of Lazarus in Luke and John will be examined, and chapter 24 will examine how they were understood in Patristic homilies and commentaries. Only after all of this data has been examined will it be possible to decide if the Lukan Lazarus and related hymnographic texts are connected with the development of Lazarus Saturday. In chapter 17, this third group of texts will be examined in relation to the structural elements associated with our focus texts.

² These are also included in Appendix 3, this time in the translation of *LT*, except for the texts of Little Vespers on Saturday Evening and Small Compline on Palm Sunday Evening, which are taken from *LTSup*.

C. Texts of the Sixth Week of the Fast

1. Monday of the Sixth Week

Matins

Vespers

2. Tuesday of the Sixth Week

Matins

Vespers

3. Wednesday of the Sixth Week

Matins

Vespers

4. Thursday of the Sixth Week

Matins

Vespers

5. Friday of the Sixth Week

Matins

A final group of texts can be considered as "isolated references" to our primary themes of the raising of Lazarus, the completion of the Fast, the Lukan Lazarus, or pre-paschal baptism. Within this study, these texts will be considered only in relation to our core texts, and this task will be undertaken in chapter 17.

In chapter 20, the theme of the Destruction of Hades will be explored as it is reflected in these core texts. Other hymns from the Triodion and Oktoechos which illustrate this theme will be examined in chapter 19, as this can provide both the context and a control for our understanding of those hymns which speak of the Destruction of Hades with regard to the raising of Lazarus. These hymns are collected in Appendix 7.

Appendix 4 is an English translation of the regulations of the current Greek Typikon which was done by Athas, and Appendix 5 is his compilation of the differences in the directions offered by the Typikon and those given in the Triodion itself for Lazarus Saturday. As was noted in chapter 9, these rubrics can themselves be considered an element of the Triodion, and they often preserve cues to the history of the elements and how their interaction was understood in different times and places.

The next task, then, is to abstract from our core texts a description of the structural elements which seem to be associated with the celebration of Lazarus Saturday. Briefly describing that list of elements will be the main task of this chapter, and it will be followed by a more detailed analysis in the chapters that follow in Part Three. These descriptions will make it possible to research connections with elements found in earlier sources, which will be done in the chapters which follow in Part Four. Finally in Part Five, all of these pieces will be brought together into a synthetic commentary.

Structural Elements associated with the celebration of Lazarus Saturday

Based upon a survey of these target texts, a preliminary listing of significant structural elements associated with the liturgical celebration of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition can be developed. This listing is given in Table 7, and it includes some categories only hinted at in our core texts and others whose relevance can only be demonstrated from supportive texts or earlier sources.

Table 7: Structural Elements associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday

1. Descriptive Titles and Chronological Markers
 - "On the Friday before {the Sunday} of the Palms"
 - "On the Friday Evening, at Compline"
 - "On the Saturday before {the Sunday} of the Palms, at Matins"
 - "Sunday of the Palms, on Saturday Evening, at {the} Little Vespers"
 - "At Great Vespers"
 - "On the Sunday of the Palms, in the morning, at Matins"
 - "Six days before the Passover"
2. Object of celebration
 - Conclusion of the "forty days" of the Fast
 - The Raising of Lazarus
 - Jesus' Triumphal Entry in Jerusalem
 - Anticipation of the Paschal Mystery
 - (The Anointing at Bethany)
 - Baptism
 - Bethany/Bethphage
3. Elements of Liturgical Structure
 - For Lazarus Saturday
 - For Palm Sunday
4. Literary Forms/Hymnographic descriptors
 - Direct Discourse
5. Attributed Sources
 - (Gospel of John, chapters 11 & 12)
 - Emperor Leo (the Wise)
 - Andrew the Blind
 - Andrew of Crete
 - (Sophronius of Jerusalem)
 - Theophanes
 - Kosmas the Monk
 - John the Monk
6. Literary Themes
 - The Raising of Lazarus
 - The Destruction of Hades
 - Polemic against "the Hebrews"
 - Strikingly Idiosyncratic Themes

1. Descriptive Titles

There is no need to comment on the specific titles given in the current Triodion as they are rather straightforward, but this category will offer a richer variety of information in other sources. It should be noticed that the categories used are:

day of the week, (Friday, Saturday, Sunday);
 week identified by the following Sunday
 (Of the Palms, Sixth Week of the Fast);
 time of day (evening, morning);
 liturgical service
 (Vespers, Compline, Matins, Liturgy, Little Vespers, Great Vespers).

In the current Triodion the primary referent seems to be Palm Sunday, with only those services proper to Lazarus Saturday having any mention of that commemoration in their title. The most intriguing chronological marker in our target texts, however, comes not from the titles given to the various days and services, but from a whole series of hymns associated with Palm Sunday.

Six Days Before the Passover

In the hymns for Palm Sunday, one theme that recurs is "Six days before the Passover." Closer examination of these texts can offer insights into the hymnographers' understanding of how the raising of Lazarus is related to the celebrations of Palm Sunday and Great Week. This analysis will be undertaken in chapter 12, where it will be related to the discussion of the elements included in the next category.

2. Object of celebration

It seems obvious that the raising of Lazarus and Jesus' triumphal entry in Jerusalem are what is commemorated on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday respectively. Closer

examination of the biblical texts on which these commemorations are based as well as some of the earliest witnesses to the liturgical celebration of these events will reveal that it is by no means self-evident why these events are celebrated at this point in the pre-paschal cycle. Likewise anticipation of the Paschal Mystery is an inevitable part of the current placement of these commemorations and plays a significant role in the hymnography of our target texts. By separating out these themes and examining the different combinations of them which are found in our target texts, we will seek insights into the historical process which led to their current roles in the Byzantine tradition.

The very first proper element associated with Lazarus Saturday itself in the Triodion is the first sticheron at *Lord, to You I cry* from Friday Evening Vespers:

We beseech you, O Lover of us all,
 that having completed the soul-enriching forty days,
 you will grant us to behold the Holy Week of your Passion,
 so that in it we might glorify your mighty deeds,
 and your inscrutable plan of salvation for us,
 singing as with one voice, "O Lord, Glory to You!". (Twice)

As the response to *Now and Ever* at the conclusion of the same block of stichera, the following hymn attributed to Andrew the Blind uses the same expression, and since it is explicitly proper to the Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday, it makes it clear that the completion of the Forty-day fast is one aspect of what is being celebrated on Lazarus Saturday.

Having completed the forty soul-enriching days, let us cry out:
 "Rejoice, town of Bethany, home of Lazarus!
 Rejoice, Martha and Mary his sisters!
 Tomorrow Christ will arrive,
 in order to bring your dead brother to life by his word."
 On hearing his voice, bitter, insatiable Hades
 quivering in fear and groaning mightily
 will set Lazarus free, still wrapped in the shroud of death.

Astonished at seeing this wonder,
 the Hebrews come forth to greet him with palms and branches.
 Although the parents are full of deception,
 the children will praise him without deception, saying,
 "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel!"³

Chapter 12 will examine the evidence and implications of the association of Lazarus Saturday with the end of the Forty-days.

This hymn attributed to Andrew the Blind also illustrates another noteworthy theme in our target texts. The village of Bethany, associated in a few hymns with Bethphage, has a prominence within the celebration of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in the Byzantine tradition which might surprise one who is only familiar with the general outline of the gospel stories which tell of the last week of Jesus' life. Our analysis will examine the different strands that make up that prominence. One of them is the anointing at Bethany, which it turns out is the biblical event explicitly identified in Jn 12.1 as taking place "six days before the Passover." This phrase is prominent in our target texts, as was already noted. Unraveling some of the different ways this biblical event is related to the commemorations of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday will also be undertaken in chapter 12.

Finally, the use of the Baptismal Anthem to replace the Trisagion at Eucharistic Liturgy on Lazarus Saturday is the only explicit cue in the existing Triodion that at one time Baptism was part of what was being celebrated on this day, although there are other historical sources which help us to clarify this intriguing element.

3. Structural Elements

³ *AT*, 366; *RT*, 579.

Chapter 14 of Part Three will examine the structural elements of Lazarus Saturday, while chapter 15 will do the same for those associated with Palm Sunday. While most of this is a rather straight-forward examination of ways these celebrations differ from the parallel services found on other Saturdays and Sundays in the Lenten Triodion, it turns out that the list of such distinctive characteristics is more significant than it might at first appear. Elucidating those elements and demonstrating their importance will be the tasks of these chapters.

4. Literary Elements

Chapter 16 will consider a variety of literary characteristics of our target texts. Beginning with observations about the unusually prevalent use of direct discourse within them, the particular hymnographers who are credited with the composition of the hymns for these two feasts will be examined next. Finally some of the more prominent themes present in our core texts will be explored.

Chapter 17 will consider the elements found in the texts for the Sixth Week of the Fast. The analysis will focus on the way the thematic elements which are found in those hymns clarify or raise new questions about the themes of our core texts. Chapter 18 will do the same thing with the relatively few references to Lazarus found elsewhere in the Triodion.

5. The Destruction of Hades

The final two chapters of Part Three will represent a further focusing of the object of structural analysis, again allowing a demonstration of how the method can be applied to ever smaller structural units with a corresponding increase in depth of analysis. These

chapters will take one of the more puzzling thematic elements associated with the raising of Lazarus, the Destruction of Hades. Chapter 19 will present a representative sampling of the way the theme is represented in other hymns of the Triodion and Oktoechos. Within that context, chapter 20 will analyze the hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday which convey that theme.

The ten chapters of Part Three thus all emerge from a careful reading of the Triodion texts for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. Abstracting a list of structural elements from those texts enables a deeper analysis of these component parts while shedding light on the processes which led to the current configuration of the celebrations.

CHAPTER 12

PRIMARY COMMEMORATIONS OF
LAZARUS SATURDAY AND PALM SUNDAY

This chapter will examine the primary commemorations of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, which not surprisingly are the raising of Lazarus for the former and the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem for the latter. One of the most striking aspects of the current Byzantine celebration of these feasts is the way the two are inter-related. The strategic placement of these feasts at the end of the Lenten Forty-days and at the beginning of Great Week inevitably involves both of these primary commemorations with the theme of the anticipation or preparation for Christ's passion. The first proper element given at Matins for Lazarus Saturday is the Troparion in Tone 1, while at Great Vespers on Saturday Evening this same hymn functions as the *Apolytikion*¹ of the Feast {of Palm Sunday}:

O Christ our God, you raised Lazarus from the dead,
giving us an assurance of the new resurrection even before your passion;
Thus we, like the children, carrying symbols of victory,
cry out to You, the Victor over death: "Hosanna in the highest!

¹ Ware gives the following explanation of *Apolytikion* in *Festal Menaion*, 545: "APOLYTIKION (Gk. , 'dismissal hymn'; Slavonic, *otpusťitelnyĭ*). The principal troparion of the day, occurring at the end of Vespers (hence its name) and celebrating the particular feast or saint commemorated in the calendar. Also known as the 'troparion of the feast' or 'the troparion of the day'."

Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!"²

It is unusual for two feasts, even if adjacent, to utilize the same "theme hymn," and it is equally unusual for one of these Troparia to explicitly address more than one commemoration. In this chapter we will examine the texts which reflect each of these three themes, and then analyze those hymns which address more than one of them.

The Raising of Lazarus

It is noteworthy how often this theme of the main celebration of the day is included into the texts for Lazarus Saturday of the current Triodion. This pervasive presence makes it easier to list those hymns which do **not** make explicit mention of it; every proper hymn associated with Lazarus Saturday refers to the raising of Lazarus except the following:

- 1] *Martyrikon* at Friday Vespers;
- 2] *Heirmoi* and *Katabasia* of the Kanons;
- 3] *Triadika* (Hymns to the Trinity at the *Glory* of each Ode of the Kanons) and *Theotokia* (Hymns to the Mother of God at the *Now and Ever* at the conclusion of each Ode of the Kanons);

1] and 3] are most probably to be explained as the later addition of hymnographic elements which were originally composed in a totally unrelated context and were rather arbitrarily added to another block of pre-existing elements as the development of the structure of the liturgical *cursus* came to demand them. Thus *AT* includes two blocks of texts from the Oktoechos at the end of the compilation. "Hymns to the Trinity and

² *AT*, 372-3; *RT*, 590.

Hymns of Light, sung according to {each} Tone during the holy and great Forty-days" are given on pp. 501-3, while "Stichera and Kathismata: Katanuktika, Theotokia, Staurosima, Staurotheotokia, Apostolika, and Martyrika, sung according to {each} Tone during all of the holy and great Forty-days" are given on pp. 504-536. *LT* included two subsets of this second group. The first is labeled, "Stichera to the Martyrs and for the Dead sung at Vespers on Friday Evening in the Eight Tones from the Octoechos," and is placed as a block after the texts for the Saturday of the Dead and before those for the Sunday of the Last Judgement.³ The second subset, identified as "Stichera of Repentance sung at Vespers on Sunday Evening," is given in *LT*, 184-188. Presumably they were here also translating from the Jordanville *Sbornik*, although this is not specified.

The *Martyrikon* at Friday Vespers for Lazarus Saturday is in fact the same as the second *Stichera to the Martyrs at 'Lord I have cried'* for Friday evening in Tone Eight.⁴ None of the Triadika or Theotokia of the Kanons associated with Lazarus Saturday are the same as those given in *AT* 501-3, but as we shall see below in chapter 14, there are many unusual features about the Kanons of Lazarus Saturday.

The fact that the *Heirmoi* and *Katabasia* of the Kanons do not refer to the raising of Lazarus probably reflects an early origin for these "Linking verses" (which are usually

³ *LT*, 142-149. Footnote 1 on p. 142 tells us, "There are differences here between the Greek and the Slav practice, and the rules also vary in different editions of the Greek Typikon. We have translated the stichera given in the Jordanville edition of the *Velikii Sbornik*, pp. 44-50, except that we have omitted the first sticheron for *Lord I have cried* in each Tone. This first sticheron is not given in the Greek books."

⁴ *AT*, 534. The specific sticheron used at Friday Vespers for Lazarus Saturday is given in *LT*, 148-9, where it is identified as the *Sticheron to the Martyrs at the Aposticha*.

repeated to function as the "Hymns of Descent"), whose original function was to extract themes from the biblical Odes which could then be developed poetically by the hymnographer. *Heirmoi* which were composed later tend to focus more on themes of the particular feast being celebrated and less on the themes from the Biblical Odes, which were no longer being sung at the services and thus were less compelling to the poets and their communities.

This striking pervasiveness of the theme suggests that the events of John 11 were a popular subject of homilies and hymns in the formative period of Byzantine hymnography, and thus when the compilers of the first Triodia perused their sources, they found abundant material which could be included in their collections. One trace of these various sources might be reflected in the wide range of other themes combined with the Raising of Lazarus in the existing hymns. If we consider each theme as a distinct element, then there are three broad configurations of themes within a specific hymn which are structurally suggestive: hymns which focus on only one theme, hymns which utilize imagery related to two themes, and hymns which allude to more than two themes. At this point we want to focus on those hymns which refer only to the raising of Lazarus.

Hymns which focus on only one theme may reflect an early phase in the history of a particular commemoration, even as observation supports the broad generalization that earlier poetic compositions tend to stay closer to their biblical models than hymns by later composers. Such an observation can never be more than suggestive, as such a focus could just as easily result from a conscious decision on the part of a later hymnographer. Examples of such a focus are found in the *Idiomela* in Tone Six attributed to the Emperor

Leo the Wise, currently used at Ps 140 on Friday Evening Vespers for Lazarus Saturday:

O Lord, wishing to see the tomb of Lazarus,
 for shortly you would willingly inhabit a tomb,
 you asked, "Where have you laid him?"
 On being told what you already knew,
 you called out to your friend, "Lazarus, come forth!"
 Then the lifeless one obeyed the Life-giver,
 You who are the Savior of our souls. (twice)

O Lord, you came to the grave of Lazarus,
 to the tomb of one who was four days dead,
 and shedding tears for your friend, O Wheat of Life,
 you raised up the body which had been dead for four days.
 Therefore death was confined by your voice,
 and the shroud of death was set free by your hands.
 Thus the group of your disciples abounded with joy,
 and all acting as one, they offered harmonious service, saying,
 "Blessed are You, O Savior, have mercy on us!" (Twice)

In the Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, currently used at Compline the night before Lazarus Saturday, there are no allusions to Palm Sunday. The clear focus of every element in this Kanon is the Raising of Lazarus, although many of the hymns develop that theme with imagery related to the Destruction of Hades. This same focus is found in the Kanons currently used at Matins on Lazarus Saturday, i.e., the Kanon attributed to Theophanes which is used for the first five Odes (skipping the second),⁵ the Eight-Ode Kanon attributed to Kosmas the Monk,⁶ and the Four-Ode Kanon attributed to John the

⁵ It seems likely this was originally an Eight-ode Kanon, for while *Tetraodia* are common in the current Triodion, they always include hymns for the Eighth and Ninth Odes as the rubrics demand for Saturdays during the Triodion period.

⁶ It is possible that these should be considered as two different *Tetraodia*, which is how they are treated in the rubrics, however there is nothing in the texts to contradict the more natural assumption that they were originally composed as one Eight-ode Kanon.

Monk. Likewise in the *idiomela* currently utilized at the Praises of Matins, there is absolutely no allusion to Palm Sunday, and the focus on the raising of Lazarus is developed through, rather than being added to, the imagery of the Destruction of Hades.

Having seen how the imagery associated with the raising of Lazarus is found throughout the hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, let us turn to the imagery associated with the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Jesus' Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem

In the Services proper to Palm Sunday, there are a large number of hymns which focus on images from that commemoration alone. Many are little more than a paraphrase of the biblical narrative.

With palms in their hands, the people knelt and they rejoiced with the disciples, crying: 'Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our fathers, and praised above all.'⁷

The innocent children sang to Thee a hymn fitting for God, O King of Israel and of the angels: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our fathers, and praised above all.'⁸

A very great multitude spread their garments in the way, O Lord; others cut down branches from the trees and carried them. Walking before and after Thee, they cried: 'Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed art Thou who hast come and shalt come again in the Name of the Lord' (twice).⁹

⁷ Hymn at the Seventh Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 499; *AT*, 386.

⁸ *Ibid.* Every Ode of this Kanon could furnish further examples.

⁹ Hymn at Lauds in Tone Four, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 501; *AT*, 387. See also the next hymn at Lauds, *Ibid.*

In other examples, the hymnographer makes a slight addition to the biblical paraphrase, in some cases simply adapting it through other biblical images appropriate to the particular function of the composition.

Today the Word and coeternal Son of God the Father, whose throne is the heaven and whose footstool is the earth, humbles Himself and comes to Bethany, seated on a dumb beast, on a foal. Then the children of the Hebrews, holding branches in their hands, praise Him saying: 'Hosanna in the highest: blessed is He that comes, the King of Israel ' (twice).¹⁰

The All-Holy Spirit, who taught the apostles to speak in strange and different tongues, now inspires the innocent children of the Hebrews to cry aloud: Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that comes, the King of Israel.¹¹

The Saviour has come today to the city of Jerusalem, to fulfil the Scriptures; and all have taken palms into their hands and spread their garments before Him, knowing that He is our God, to whom the cherubim sing without ceasing: Hosanna in the highest ! Blessed art Thou who showest great compassion; have mercy upon us (twice).¹²

Other hymns expand on the canonical scriptures by adding later, more explicit theological language to the narrative.

O ye people, sing in Zion a hymn fitting for God, and offer prayer to Christ in Jerusalem. For He comes in power and glory: on Him the Church is founded, and she cries aloud: Hosanna, blessed art Thou that comest.¹³

Let us also come today, all the new Israel, the Church of the Gentiles, and let us cry with the Prophet Zechariah: Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem; for behold, thy King comes unto thee: He is meek and

¹⁰ Hymn at Ps 140, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 489; *AT*, 380.

¹¹ Hymn at the Lity, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 490; *AT*, 382.

¹² Hymn at Ps 140, in Tone Eight, Vespers on Sunday Evening, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 505; *AT*, 389.

¹³ Hymn at the Third Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 497; *AT*, 384.

brings salvation, and He rides upon the colt of an ass, the foal of a beast of burden
Keep the feast with the children, and holding branches in your hands sing His
praises: Hosanna to the highest; blessed is He that comes, the King of Israel
(twice).¹⁴

The Son and Word of the Father, like Him without beginning and eternal,
has come today to the city of Jerusalem, seated on a dumb beast, on a foal. From
fear the cherubim dare not gaze upon Him yet the children honour Him with
palms and branches, and mystically they sing a hymn of praise: 'Hosanna in the
highest, Hosanna to the Son of David, who has come to save from error all
mankind'.¹⁵

The Saviour has come today to the city of Jerusalem, to fulfil the
Scriptures; and all have taken palms into their hands and spread their garments
before Him, knowing that He is our God, to whom the cherubim sing without
ceasing: Hosanna in the highest! Blessed art Thou who showest great
compassion: have mercy upon us.¹⁶

Still other examples manifest both processes of expansion.

Seated in heaven upon Thy throne and on earth upon a foal, O Christ our
God, Thou hast accepted the praise of the angels and the songs of the children
who cried out to Thee: Blessed art Thou that comest to call back Adam.¹⁷

Rejoice and be glad, O city of Zion; exult and be exceeding joyful, O
Church of God. For behold, thy King has come in righteousness, seated on a foal,
and the children sing His praises: Hosanna in the highest! Blessed art Thou who
showest great compassion: have mercy upon us (twice).¹⁸

Other examples show the hymnographer being more daring in the extent to which he

¹⁴ Hymn at Ps 140, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 489; *AT*, 380.

¹⁵ Hymn at the Lite, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 490; *AT*, 382.

¹⁶ *Aposticha* Hymn in Tone 8, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 492; *AT*, 382.

¹⁷ Kontakion, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 499; *AT*, 385.

¹⁸ *Aposticha* Hymn in Tone 8, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 491-2; *AT*, 382 =
Hymn at Ps 140, in Tone Eight, Vespers on Sunday Evening, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 505; *AT*,
389.

leaves the biblical narrative behind in making his point.

Give praise with one accord, O peoples and nations: for the King of the angels rides now upon a foal, and He comes to smite His enemies with the Cross in His almighty power. Therefore the children sing to Him with palms in their hands: 'Glory be to Thee who hast come as Conqueror; glory be to Thee, O Christ the Saviour; glory be to Thee, our God, for Thou alone art blessed.'¹⁹

All too often, the point which the hymnographer chooses to extract or impose on the biblical narrative involves the presumed rejection of the Jews by God because of their treatment of Jesus.

O Thou who ridest on the cherubim and art praised by the seraphim, Thou hast sat, O gracious Lord, like David on a foal, and the children honoured Thee with praise fitting for God; but the Jews blasphemed unlawfully against Thee. Thy riding on a foal prefigured how the Gentiles, as yet untamed and uninstructed, were to pass from unbelief to faith. Glory be to Thee, O Christ, who alone art merciful and lovest mankind.²⁰

Such themes are so prominent in the hymns for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday that they have been identified as a distinct element, to be examined below in Chapter 16.

The Raising of Lazarus and Palm Sunday

Elements which allude to the two of the three events described in John 11-12, that is the raising of Lazarus and the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, are quite common in the hymnography proper to Palm Sunday. They can simply express the linkage found in John 11-12.

¹⁹ Sessional Hymn after the second reading from the Psalter, Palm Sunday Matins, *LT*, 494; *AT*, 383.

²⁰ *Aposticha* Hymn in Tone Eight, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 492; *AT*, 382 = Hymn at Ps 140, in Tone Eight, Vespers on Sunday Evening, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 505; *AT*, 389.

O Lord, Thou hast raised from the tomb Lazarus who was four days dead, and then hast taught us all to cry to Thee with palms and branches, Blessed art Thou that comest.²¹

O Christ, mystically Thou hast shed tears over Thy friend, and hast raised from the dead Lazarus who lay without life; and Thou hast shown tender compassion for him in Thy love towards mankind. Learning of Thy coming, O Saviour, a multitude of children went out today, bearing palms in their hands and crying to Thee: 'Hosanna: blessed art Thou, for Thou hast come to save the world.'²²

Even when found together, it is not always clear how the imagery of Lazarus and Palm Sunday relate to each other. In the following hymn, the grammar of the Greek ties the two themes of the raising of Lazarus and Palm Sunday more closely together than it might seem from this translation, where if the first sentence was separated from the second, each could well stand on its own.

Trembling at Thy command, hell yielded up Lazarus who was four days dead. For Thou, O Christ, art the resurrection and the life; on Thee the Church is founded, and she cries aloud: Hosanna, blessed art Thou that comest.

Νεκρὸν τετραήμερον, προστάγματι σω, ἐκ νεκάδων σύντρομος,
Ἰσχυρὸς ἀφῆκε Λάζαρον ἢ ἀνάστασις Χριστέ, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ζωὴ, ἐν ᾧ
ἐστερεώθη, ἢ Ἐκκλησία κράζουσα, Ὡσαννά, εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ
ἐρχόμενος.²³

In the *Exapostilaria* before the *Praises* at Matins, to return to examples from the services proper to Lazarus Saturday, the connection of the Raising of Lazarus with Palm Sunday

²¹ Sessional Hymn after the first reading from the Psalter, Palm Sunday Matins, *LT*, 493; *AT*, 383.

²² Sessional Hymn after the second reading from the Psalter, Palm Sunday Matins, *LT*, 493-4; *AT*, 383.

²³ Hymn at the Third Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 497; *AT*, 384.

is enriched with imagery from the Destruction of Hades, still focused on the death of Jesus, but now beginning to be transferred to the raising of Lazarus:

O Word of God, at your word Lazarus springs forth, coming back to life,
and the people honor you with branches, O Mighty One,
for when all is completed you shall demolish Hades by your death.

O Death, through Lazarus Christ has already plundered you.
O Hades, where is your victory?
The mourning which was in Bethany is now transferred to you.
Let us all wave branches of victory before him!²⁴

Anticipation of the Paschal Mystery

Clearly this theme is conveyed in the *Apolytikion* quoted at the beginning of this chapter, whose Greek incipit is Τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν, *The new resurrection....* As shall be documented below, this is among the more ancient of the hymns of the Triodion. The idea of the "assurance of your new resurrection even before your passion" πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ Πάθους πιστούμενος from this Troparion is paralleled by the "pledge of your" resurrection πιστώσαι ... τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν σου Ἑγερσιν which is described in the fourth Idiomelon attributed to the Emperor Leo at Friday Evening Vespers at Ps. 140:

(The Same Tone) {6}

O Lord, wishing to give your disciples
a pledge of your resurrection from the dead,
You arrived at the tomb of Lazarus;
As you summoned him, Hades was devastated,
and set free the one who had been dead for four days,
who cried out to you, "O Blessed Lord, Glory to You!"²⁵

²⁴ AT, 378; RT, 597.

²⁵ AT, 366; RT, 579.

Similar language is used at Matins on Saturday Morning, in the First Ode of the Kanon attributed to Kosmas the Monk:

O Word, as a confident assurance of your own resurrection,
 you raised your friend as if from sleep
 even though he reeked with the stench of death,
 already dead in the tomb for four days.²⁶

The first Troparion at Psalm 140 also explicitly relates the completion of the Forty-days to the commemoration of the Passion:

Tone 8

We beseech you, O Lover of us all,
 that having completed the soul-enriching Forty-days,
 you will grant us to behold the Holy Week of your Passion,
 so that in it we might glorify your mighty deeds,
 and your inscrutable plan of salvation for us,
 singing as with one voice, "O Lord, Glory to You!"²⁷

It is worth mentioning how a literary analysis of the Fourth Gospel confirms that the Raising of Lazarus functions as the primary motivation for the arrest and thus for the passion in John's narrative. Patristic commentators often picked up on this theme, and so it is not surprising to find it reflected in the hymnographic texts as well. It is mentioned in the Synaxaria notices for both Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. It is possible that it underlies the polemic against "the Hebrews" which is discussed below. Thus in the following example, the raising of Lazarus motivates the betrayal and eventual crucifixion of Christ.

²⁶ *AT* 373; *RT*, 591.

²⁷ *AT*, 365; *RT*, 578.

The Jewish priests and Levites, when they saw the raising of Lazarus conspired together out of envy, and by guile they betrayed Christ to Pilate, that He might be put to death.²⁸

This association of the resurrection of Lazarus with the Passion of Christ can also be expressed with images of the Destruction of Hades theme:

O Beloved One,
Desiring to make known the hidden dimensions of your Passion and Cross,
You ripped open the guts of insatiable Hades,
and as God you raised up the one who was already dead for four days.²⁹

Sessional Hymn. Tone 1 {To the tune of:} "The stone was sealed..."
(O Christ our God,) sympathizing with the tears of Martha and Mary,
you commanded the stone to be rolled away,
calling out and raising the dead one, /shattering the bars of death,/
You who gave life to the Cosmos,
thus strengthening faith in the Resurrection.
Glory to your power, O Savior,
Glory to your authority;
Glory to You who sustains all by your word.³⁰

The events commemorated on Palm Sunday also have an integral connection with the events remembered during Holy Week within the gospel narratives themselves, and thus even while paraphrasing the scriptures, it is easy for the hymns of Palm Sunday to anticipate the Passion.

Entering, O Lord, into the Holy City, seated upon a foal, Thou hast drawn near with haste unto Thy Passion, to fulfil the Law and the Prophets. Then the

²⁸ Hymn at the Eighth Ode in Tone Eight, 3-Ode Kanon, attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline the Evening of Palm Sunday, *LT*, 509; *AT*, 390. Footnote 52 in *LT* gives us the scriptural references to Jn 11.47-53 and Mt 27.18.

²⁹ Friday Night Compline, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, 5th Troparion at the 4th Ode. *AT* pp. 369-70; *RT* p. 585.

³⁰ First Sessional Hymn at Saturday Morning Matins, *AT*, 373; *RT*, 590.

children of the Hebrews, foretelling the victory of the Resurrection, came to meet Thee with palms and branches, saying: 'Blessed art Thou, O Saviour; have mercy upon us.'

Glory be to Thee, O Christ, who art seated in the heights upon Thy throne, and whom we now await with Thy precious Cross. Therefore the daughter of Zion is glad, and the nations of the earth rejoice exceedingly. The children hold branches and the disciples spread their garments in the way; and all the inhabited earth is taught to cry aloud to Thee: 'Blessed art Thou, O Saviour; have mercy upon us.'³¹

This transition, which is integral to the gospel narratives in both the Synoptic and Johannine arrangements of the life of Jesus, becomes a liturgical one for those who follow an organized series of commemorations of the biblical events.

Passing from one divine Feast to another, from palms and branches let us now make haste, ye faithful, to the solemn and saving celebration of Christ's Passion. Let us behold Him undergo voluntary suffering for our sake, and let us sing to Him with thankfulness a fitting hymn: Fountain of tender mercy and haven of salvation, O Lord, glory to Thee!³²

The liturgical worshiper seeks to participate in the biblical events by way of spiritual allegory.

With our souls cleansed and in spirit carrying branches, with faith let us sing Christ's praises like the children, crying with a loud voice to the Master: Blessed art Thou, O Saviour, who hast come into the world to save Adam from the ancient curse; and in Thy love for mankind Thou hast been pleased to become spiritually the new Adam. O Word, who hast ordered all things for our good, glory to Thee.³³

³¹ Hymns at the Lite, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 491; *AT*, 382.

³² Aposticha Hymn in Tone Two, Vespers on Sunday Evening, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 505-6; *AT*, 389.

³³ Sessional Hymn after the first reading from the Psalter, Palm Sunday Matins, *LT*, 493; *AT*, 383.

Through reflection on the biblical texts, theological themes suggested by the scriptural narrative are made more explicit by the hymnographer.

In haste to suffer for the world, Jesus goes up of His own will with His disciples to the city of Jerusalem, where He will undergo His voluntary Passion.³⁴

O Judaea, receive thy King; for behold, He comes willingly to His Passion, that He may suffer and save those who cry without ceasing: Blessed is He that comes to save all things by the Cross.³⁵

One of the characteristic ways the theme of our redemption is expressed in hymnography is by reference to the biblical account of creation and fall.

He who sits upon the throne of the cherubim, for our sake sits upon a foal; and coming to His voluntary Passion, today He hears the children cry 'Hosanna!' while the crowd replies, 'O Son of David, make haste to save those whom Thou hast created, blessed Jesus, since for this cause Thou hast come, that we may know Thy glory.'³⁶

Out of the mouth of Thy servants, the innocent babes and sucklings, Thou hast received praise. Thou hast overthrown the adversary and by Thy Passion on the Cross Thou hast avenged Adam's fall of old; with the Tree Thou hast raised him up, and he sings to Thee, O Lord, a hymn of victory.³⁷

This anticipation of the passion is yet another way in which tendencies present in the scriptures are enhanced by the poetic imagination to result in texts which have had disastrous consequences in later Christian societies.

³⁴ Hymn at the First Ode in Tone Eight, 3-Ode Kanon, attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 507; *AT*, 390.

³⁵ Hymn at the Ninth Ode in Tone Eight, 3-Ode Kanon, attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 510; *AT*, 391.

³⁶ Sessional Hymn after the Polyeleos, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 494; *AT*, 383.

³⁷ Hymn at the First Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 496; *AT*, 384.

First they sang in praise of Christ our God with branches, but then the ungrateful Jews seized Him and crucified Him on the Cross. But with faith unchanging let us ever honour Him as Benefactor, crying always unto Him: Blessed art Thou that comest to call back Adam.³⁸

Having separated out the primary themes presented in our core texts, and having examined some of the particular combinations in which these themes occur, we should finally note that there are examples where a single hymn utilizes imagery reflecting a wide range of themes, such as the *Apolytikion* common to Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday which was quoted above, or the hymn in Tone Eight attributed to Andrew the Blind and sung after the *Now and Ever* after Ps 140 during Friday Evening Vespers, discussed below in chapter 13. One final example comes from Matins on Palm Sunday.

Before Thy voluntary Passion, Christ our God, Thou hast given to all men an assurance of the general resurrection; for at Bethany Thou hast raised by Thine almighty power Lazarus who was four days dead, and as Giver of Light, O Saviour, Thou hast made the blind to see. With the disciples thou has entered the Holy City, seated upon the foal of an ass as though upon the Cherubim, and so Thou hast fulfilled the preaching of the prophets. The children of the Hebrews with palms and branches came to meet Thee. Therefore we also, bearing palms and olive branches, cry aloud to Thee in thanksgiving: Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord.³⁹

In the next chapter we will explore how one thematic element, "six days before the Passover," can in a series of distinct hymns be associated with distinct biblical events being commemorated.

Clearly there are several ways these differing configurations of themes can be

³⁸ Hypakoë after the Third Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 497; *AT*, 384.

³⁹ Hymn at Lauds in Tone Four, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 501-2; *AT*, 387.

explained. The simplest explanation, thus to be preferred in the absence of any specific evidence to the contrary, is that the Byzantine homilists and hymnographers had a rich repertoire of images, (biblical, poetic, and theological), which from the beginning were used in differing combinations to suit the genre, purpose, and tastes of the authors and their audiences. At the other extreme would be the assumption that all of the themes were originally focused on one aspect of the celebration in the earliest sources. As the evolving liturgical year conflated different celebrations from different places, a more complex inter-weaving of themes emerged. If it is then assumed that all of the existing hymns were composed after this synthetic process had taken place, then these "later" hymnographers were free to mix and match the pre-existing themes as they saw fit.

In either of these first two scenarios, structural analysis will not offer any further insight into the development of the celebration of Lazarus Saturday. There is, however, a third possibility, one which could only be affirmed when there is specific evidence to support it. This third possibility would suggest that in some cases a particular configuration of themes does reflect a specific stage in the development of the Byzantine celebration of Lazarus Saturday. Where we do have independent evidence for sources which predate the formation of the liturgical books, and where a particular configuration of themes is sufficiently unambiguous to act as an indicator of a particular author or local celebration, then it may be possible to better understand the complex historical process which leads to the celebration of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition.

CHAPTER 13

**ANCILLARY COMMEMORATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH
LAZARUS SATURDAY AND PALM SUNDAY**

In this chapter we will examine several aspects of what is being commemorated on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday which are not immediately as obvious as were the three themes examined in the previous chapter. Perhaps for that very reason they may prove to be more instructive about the origins of these commemorations. We begin with one of the first themes to be expressed in the hymns for Lazarus Saturday, when at Vespers on Friday evening two hymns are introduced with the idea of "having completed the soul-enriching Forty-days." We will then examine a series of different biblical events which in the hymns for Lazarus Saturday are associated with the same chronological marker, "six days before the Passover." The different texts which focus on Bethany will be the next target of our investigation. The common denominator in these three different elements is the anointing of Jesus at Bethany, and so we will then offer some further observations about the way this event is celebrated in the extant Byzantine tradition. The association of baptism with Lazarus Saturday will then be addressed to close out the chapter.

Conclusion of the "forty days" of the Fast

Especially striking in our target texts is the phrase "having completed the soul-enriching Forty-days" which occurs in the first Sticheron at Psalm 140, and in the hymn which follows the *Now and ever*. Both of these are in Tone Eight (as opposed to Tone Six for the *Idiomela* attributed to Leo the Wise) and the second is explicitly attributed to Andrew the Blind. This latter hymn also makes explicit the connection to Palm Sunday which is so characteristic of the texts for that day, while the first one joins the theme of completing the forty days with preparation for Passion Week.

We beseech you, O Lover of us all,
 that having completed the soul-enriching Forty-days,
 you will grant us to behold the Holy Week of your Passion,
 so that in it we might glorify your mighty deeds,
 and your inscrutable plan of salvation for us,
 singing as with one voice, "O Lord, Glory to You!"

Having completed the soul-enriching Forty-days, let us cry out:
 "Rejoice, town of Bethany, home of Lazarus!
 Rejoice, Martha and Mary his sisters!
 Tomorrow Christ will arrive,
 in order to bring your dead brother to life by his word."
 On hearing his voice, bitter, insatiable Hades
 quivering in fear and groaning mightily
 will set Lazarus free, still wrapped in the shroud of death.
 Astonished at seeing this wonder,
 the Hebrews come forth to greet him with palms and branches.
 Although the parents are full of deception,
 the children will praise him without deception, saying,
 "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel!"¹

This hymn in its current form is also proper to Friday evening, as indicated by the phrase, "Tomorrow Christ will arrive" and thus it forms our most explicit witness to the

¹ AT, 366; RT, 579.

understanding of Lazarus Saturday as standing "outside of" the calculation of the Forty-days.

An element which may relate to the conclusion of the "Great Fast" is the Troparion *Today the Holy Spirit has gathered us together*, which is first prescribed at Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, and then recurs two more times in that service and once again at Matins the next morning.

Today the grace of the Holy Spirit has gathered us together, and we all take up Thy Cross and say: Blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest (twice).²

In his introductory essay to *LT*, Kallistos Ware notes:

Very frequently repeated at this feast is the sticheron beginning, 'Today the grace of the Holy Spirit has gathered us together...'. It is possible to see reflected here the practice of St. Euthymios, St. Sabas, and other Palestinian monks in the fifth and sixth centuries. Shortly after the feast of Epiphany, they left their monasteries to make a Lenten retreat in the wilderness, either singly or with a companion, spending the following weeks in silence and continual prayer, eating nothing but wild roots. Then on Saturday afternoon in the Sixth week of Lent, they all returned to their monasteries for the vigil service of Palm Sunday, in order to celebrate Holy Week together with their brethren.

Unfortunately Ware offers no sources for his observations about this Palestinian monastic practice, because clearly those who were just rejoining their communities on Saturday afternoon could not participate in any communal remembrance of the raising of Lazarus. To the extent that it can be further documented, this practice not only supports a liturgical distinction between the Forty-day fast and the season of Great Week which is introduced

² First *Sticheron* at Psalm 140, (*LT*, 489; *AT*, 380). The same text is used also after the *Glory* and *Now and Ever* at Psalm 140 (*LT*, 490; *AT*, 381) and at the *Aposticha* (*LT*, 492; *AT*, 382). It is used again at Matins at the conclusion of the Blessing of the Palms (*LT*, 496; *AT*, 384).

by Palm Sunday, but it also bolsters the evidence marshaled by Talley to suggest that the commemoration of Lazarus Saturday was not native to the Hagiopolite tradition:

Three hymns currently sung on at Matins on Thursday and Friday of the Sixth Week refer even more clearly to this assembling, and all are explicitly related to Palm Sunday, and only to that remembrance of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Let all who are in the deserts and in caves assemble together and go with songs to meet the Lord of glory, who comes riding upon a foal.³

Monks from your hermitages, sheep in the flock of the Word, assemble now with branches in your hands to meet Christ the Chief Shepherd. The Lord comes willingly as a lamb to slaughter, that He may destroy the tyranny of the wolf.⁴

All who dwell in deserts, in mountains and in caves, draw near and assemble with us, to meet the King and Master with palms in your hands; for He comes to save our souls.⁵

Some awareness of divergent Palestinian practices is reflected in the rubrics still in the printed Triodion. On the Monday of the First Week, after the texts and rubrics for Matins and the Hours we are told:

The Monks of the Lavras do not sing the Compline service in Church, but each reads it in his cell, however the *koinobia* in Palestine sing Compline in this manner:

...

For we have received from Palestine that each should sing the Psalter in their own

³ Troparion of the Fourth Ode at Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *AT*, 358; *LTSup*, 260.

⁴ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, First Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *AT*, 363; *LTSup*, 268.

⁵ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *AT*, 364; *LTSup*, 270.

cell, completing it at night and day as they are able, some {completing it} three times, others twice. Prostrations are taken as each is able according to their own power, as the Presider directs.⁶

Additional corroboration for this Palestinian practice of the monks assembling at Palm Sunday as the conclusion of their individual ascetical efforts during the Forty-days comes to us in a source which according to the rubrics is actually part of the Triodion, although the text itself is not included in the printed Triodia. On the Thursday of the Great Kanon (i.e., of the Fifth Week of the Fast) the Life of Mary of Egypt by Sophronius of Jerusalem is prescribed to be read at Matins. It is read in two parts, before the First and after the Third Odes of the Kanon. Chapter 3 of that work explains to us how it was that the monk Zossima left monastery where he had been since childhood and came to the "monastery near the Jordan" in his search for spiritual progress. Chapter 6 tells us of the custom of that monastery which was to lead Zossima into the desert and his eventual encounter with Mary.

On the Sunday which gave its name to the first week of Lent, the Divine Mysteries were celebrated in Church as usual and everyone received the most pure and life-giving mysteries. And it was also the custom to eat a little food. After this they all met in church and having prayed fervently with prostrations, the old men kissed each other and the abbot, embracing each other and bowing deeply, and each one asked the other to pray for him, and to support him, as they shared the coming conflict. Then last of all the monastery gates were opened and singing in harmony the psalm, "the Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom then shall I be afraid?" and so on, they all went out of the monastery. They left one or two brothers in the

⁶ AT, 91 & 92. The emphasis on practices being completed "as each is able" is reminiscent of Egeria's observations about Palestinian fasting practices in the late 4th century: {28.4} *Nemo autem exigit, quantum debeat facere, sed unusquisque ut potest id facit; nec ille laudatur, qui satis fecerit, nec ille uituperatur, qui minus. Talis est enim hic consuetudo.*

monastery, not to guard their property (there was nothing there to attract thieves) but so as not to leave the church without services. Each one took with him whatever food he could and wanted. One carried a little bread for his bodily needs, another figs, another dates, and another grain steeped in water. The last one at the end had nothing but his own body and its own tattered clothing and when his nature demanded food, he fed on whatever grew in the desert. But for them all there was one rule and command inflexibly observed by all: not to know about each other, or how the others lived and fasted. At once they crossed the Jordan and then parted from each other over the wide expanse of the desert and not one approached another. If one did notice a brother afar off coming towards him, then he turned aside; each lived by himself and with God, singing psalms all the time and hardly touching food. After they had passed all the days of the fast like this, they returned to the monastery the Sunday before the life-giving Resurrection of the Saviour from the dead, when the church has ordained that the feast with palms should be celebrated before the Feast. Each returned with the fruits of his own conscience, knowing how he had laboured and by which labours he had sown seed in the ground. No one asked anyone else how he had succeeded in the trial he had set himself beforehand.⁷

The emphasis on individual accountability for fasting practices is strikingly similar to the notices from Egeria and the current Triodion quoted in the previous footnote, and it is interesting to speculate if the monastic ritual of embracing each other and asking for forgiveness before setting out in the desert is at the root of "Forgiveness Vespers" in the current Byzantine tradition. Our current focus, however, is on the return of the monks at the end of the Fast. This return is explicitly linked to Palm Sunday and Holy Week, and there is no mention of commemorating the raising of Lazarus.

As was noted in chapter 3 above, there are a significant number of Triodion manuscripts which end with Lazarus Saturday, thus providing supportive evidence that at

⁷ English translation by Benedicta Ward, from the Latin translation of Paul the Deacon of the Life of Mary of Egypt by Sophronius of Jerusalem, published in *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources* = *Cistercian Studies Series* 106 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 39-40.

least for a time during the formation of the Triodion, there was an understanding of Lazarus Saturday as the completion of τεσσαρακόστη, the Forty-days. In addition to these textual references, there are some structural indications that Lazarus Saturday and the celebration of Palm Sunday to which it is so closely linked in the received tradition do not follow the Lenten pattern of services which was normative for the previous six weeks. Palm Sunday will utilize the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, not the Liturgy of Basil which was used for Sundays during Lent. Sunday Evening Vespers on Palm Sunday will have the usual Prokeimenon from the Oktoechos, not the Great Prokeimenon which had been used on Sunday Evening Vespers during Lent. The Triodion also includes a notice that fish is allowed on this day.⁸ None of these observations would be that significant in itself, but taken together with the other distinguishing characteristics of Lazarus Saturday mentioned below and the explicit textual witness of the hymns, there can be no doubt that one element associated with the celebration of Lazarus Saturday is the completion of that fast whose forty-day typology was so important to the early church. Perhaps just as significant is the evidence, less conclusive but widely distributed, that in earlier times this conclusion of the Fast was distinct from the commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus.

Six Days Before the Passover

In the hymns for Palm Sunday, one theme that recurs is "Six days before the Passover." Closer examination of these texts offers insights into the hymnographers' understanding of how the raising of Lazarus is related to the celebrations of Palm Sunday

⁸ AT, 388.

and Great Week.

Preparation for the Passover

The first time the expression occurs is at Great Vespers on Saturday Evening, in the last of five stichera given in the Triodion to be used at Psalm 140. The exact same text is used after the *Now and Ever* at the Praises of Matins for Palm Sunday.

Six days before the Passover Jesus entered Bethany, and His disciples came to Him, saying: 'Lord, where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Passover?' Then He sent them, saying 'Go into the village opposite, and ye shall find a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him, and tell the master of the house: The Teacher says, In thy house shall I eat the Passover with My disciples.'⁴

⁴ Matt. 26:17; Mark 14:13-14.⁹

As the Footnote from *LT* suggests, the hymn is a rather straightforward paraphrase of the synoptic account of the preparation for the Passover.¹⁰ It is noteworthy however that all three of the Synoptic Gospels place the event "on the {first} day of Unleavened Bread, [when they sacrificed the Passover lamb.]"¹¹ Within the canonical Christian Scriptures, the phrase "Six days before the Passover" is unique to John 12.1, where it is used to introduce the dinner at Bethany where Jesus is anointed. These are the opening words of the gospel pericope prescribed for the Liturgy on Palm Sunday (Jn 12.1-18). This anointing is identified in Mk 14.1 as taking place "two days before the Passover and the

⁹ *LT*, 490 & 502; *AT*, 380-1 & 387.

¹⁰ I cannot discern any reason why Lk 22.7-13 should not be included in *LT*'s Footnote 4. See the discussion below about the different scriptural accounts of these events.

¹¹ Mt 26.17; Mk 14.12; Lk 22.7. Luke omits the adjective "first" and uses a passive construction for the subordinate clause about the lamb, which is not in Mt.

Feast of the Unleavened bread," while in the parallel passage in Mt 26.1 it is Jesus who says "In two days time it will be the Passover." Luke places the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon the Pharisee at an unspecified time and location during the Galilean ministry (Lk 7.36-50). The extant Byzantine tradition will follow the chronology explicit in Mt and Mk in commemorating this anointing on Great and Holy Wednesday.

The Synaxarion notice for Palm Sunday offers an explanation of the connection between the raising of Lazarus, the anointing at Bethany "six days before the Passover," the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the Jewish plot to kill Jesus and Lazarus, precisely those episodes which in chapters 11 and 12 form the "transitional nucleus" of the Fourth Gospel, in those texts which the current Byzantine Lectionary appoints as the Gospel reading at the Eucharistic Liturgies for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

After the raising of Lazarus from the dead, many of those who observed what happened believed in the Christ. This led to the judgement of the Jews at the synagogue, to kill Christ and Lazarus with him. Jesus thus immediately fled that place because of their evil {intentions}, for the Jews were plotting to kill him at the feast of Pascha. And when the time of flight was over, as it was said six days before the Passover, Jesus came into Bethany, where Lazarus who had died was {living}. And when a meal was taken, Lazarus also ate with him, and his sister Mary {held, grasped?} anointed Jesus' feet with myrrh. And the next day, he sent his disciples to seek a donkey and a colt, and the One who has the heavens as a throne entered Jerusalem seated upon a colt. And the children of the Hebrews spread their coats before him, cutting down branches of victory, while others waived their hands, {all} shouting as they escorted him, "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is the One who comes in the Name of the Lord, the King of Israel." They did this because the All-holy Spirit had energized their tongues to praise and speak well of Christ. They were waving the palms, or branches (for "Palm" is how the Hebrews speak of leafless branches) as a foreshadowing of the victory of Christ over death. For it was customary to celebrate the victors in a contest with the highest honor, bestowing on them the branches of an evergreen, and to be led around in a triumphal procession of honor. The presence of the donkey points towards the people from our nations, for whom Christ would be enthroned as abiding victor and king of all the earth.

Concerning this feast, the Prophet Zecharia spoke: "Rejoice greatly, daughter of Sion, for behold, your king comes to you, meek, and seated upon a colt, the foal of a donkey." Likewise David said of the children, "From the mouths of babes and infants he has fashioned praise."

Nevertheless, at the entrance of Christ, it is said that all of Jerusalem was agitated, and the crowd was provoked into resistance by the High priests, planning to destroy him. For that which is hidden will be illumined and made known, and he spoke to them through parables.¹²

Clearly the hymn for Palm Sunday quoted above is not using this Johannine chronology as explained in the Synaxarion, rather it presumes a conflation of the gospel accounts, which was quite common throughout the Patristic and Byzantine periods. This particular hymn does not give enough information for us to discern more about the motive for this conflation. Perhaps it was simply assuming one of the many schemes for harmonizing the Johannine and synoptic chronologies of the passion, a problem of which the patristic tradition was well aware.

The Raising of Lazarus

At the hymns for the Lite of Great Vespers, however, the chronological marker "Six days before the Passover" is explicitly applied to the raising of Lazarus.

Six days before the Passover, O Lord, Thy voice was heard in the depths of hell, and from it Thou hast raised up Lazarus who was four days dead. Then the children of Hebrews cried aloud: 'Hosanna to our God: glory to Thee!'

Six days before the Passover Jesus came to Bethany, to call back Lazarus who was four days dead, and to proclaim the coming Resurrection. The women Martha and Mary, sisters of Lazarus, came to meet Him, crying: 'Lord, if Thou hadst been here, our brother had not died.' Then He answered them: 'Did I not say to you before: He who believes in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live? Show Me where ye have laid him.' And the Maker of all cried unto him, 'Lazarus, come

¹² AT, 385-6, English translation by PEY.

forth.¹⁸

⁸ John 11:21, 25, 32, 34, 43.¹³

The Synaxarion for Lazarus Saturday examined below (p. 278 and ff.) will witness to a well developed harmonization of the divergent details of these events in the gospel accounts. There are two possible ways to explain this chronology: the hymnographic texts could be reflecting on a tradition which did associate the raising of Lazarus with the sixth day before the Passover, or it may result from a well established tradition of celebrating the raising of Lazarus on that day, a commemoration which the hymnographer (and the popular culture) simply assume to be based on an historical precedent.

Placing the raising of Lazarus six days before the Passover is possible only by ignoring Jesus' sojourn in "a town called Ephraim" as described in Jn 11.54. The Synaxarion notice for Lazarus Saturday explicitly takes account of this detail, although these Synaxaria notices were almost certainly composed after, and as a commentary upon, the hymnographic texts. In the absence of any known precedents which place the raising of Lazarus on the sixth day before the Passover, the assumption that this chronology is based upon the well established celebration of Lazarus Saturday is to be favored; however, such an argument from the lack of evidence is inevitably a weak one. Some corroboration is offered by the fact that a modern commentator can articulate precisely the type of attitude which is being hypothetically attributed to the

¹³ *LT*, 491; *AT*, 382.

hymnographer. In the Introduction to *LT*, Ware makes the following observation about the sixth week of the Fast:

During the services of this week, and to a still greater extent during Holy Week, the Triodion assumes the character of a *historical narrative*. Day by day we accompany Christ: we are with him as He draws near to Jerusalem, as He reaches Bethany to raise Lazarus, as He enters the Holy City on Palm Sunday, as He approaches His Passion. The daily offices are marked by a sense of advancing movement and dramatic realism. Each day we call to mind, as exactly as possible, the things that have occurred on the corresponding day during the last year of Christ's earthly ministry.¹⁴

Alexander Schmemmann also commented on this "shift of perspective" which takes place after the Fifth Sunday of Lent.

The tone of the lenten services changes. If throughout the first part of Lent our effort was aimed at our own purification, we are made to realize now that this purification was not an end in itself, but must lead us to the contemplation and comprehension and appropriation of the mystery of the Cross and Resurrection.¹⁵

Schmemmann explains how the underlying theme of our participation in the death of Christ is developed during the Sixth week of the Fast through the theme of Lazarus.

The Sixth and last week of Lent is called "*the Week of the Palms*." For six days preceding Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, the liturgy of the Church makes us follow Christ as He first announces the death of His friend, and then begins His journey to Bethany and Jerusalem. The theme and tone of the week are given on Sunday night at Vespers:

Beginning with zeal the sixth week of Lent,
we shall bring to the Lord hymns,
announcing the feast of the palms;
to Him who comes in glory and power divine
to Jerusalem to put death to death... .

The center of attention is *Lazarus* - his sickness, his death, the grief of his relatives, and Christ's reaction to all of this.

¹⁴ *LT*, 56-7.

¹⁵ Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 78.

Thus on Monday we hear:

Today the sickness of Lazarus appears to Christ
as he walks on the other side of the Jordan... .

On Tuesday:

Yesterday and today, Lazarus is sick... .

On Wednesday:

Today the dead Lazarus is being buried
and his relatives weep... .

On Thursday:

For two days now Lazarus has been dead... .

Finally on Friday:

On the morrow Christ comes ...
to raise the dead brother [of Martha and Mary]... .

The entire week is thus spent in spiritual contemplation of the forthcoming encounter between Christ and death - first in the person of his friend, Lazarus, then in Christ's own death. It is the approach of that "hour of Christ" of which he so often spoke and toward which all his earthly ministry was oriented.¹⁶

One does not need to understand this attitude within the context of Baumstark's hypothesis of the shift in Christian liturgical celebrations from an original eschatological emphasis to a Post-Constantinian historicization. Both Thomas Talley and Robert Taft have shown that to be an overly simplistic generalization of a tension which is always present in Christian worship.¹⁷

The issue here, however, is the shift in emphasis within the texts of the Triodion itself, a shift that remains within the dynamic tension which Talley and Taft have described. As Ware explains in the Introduction to *LT*:

All this is not to be seen merely as the bare commemoration of occurrences in

¹⁶ Schmemann, *Great Lent*, 79-80.

¹⁷ See the discussion by Thomas J. Talley, "History and Eschatology in the Primitive Pascha," *Worship* 47 (1973): 212-221; also Robert Taft, "Historicism Revisited," *Studia Liturgica* 14 (1982): 97-109, reprinted in *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Washington D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1984), 15-30.

the distant past. On the contrary, through the liturgical celebration we *re-live* these events, participating in them as *contemporaries*. We are raised from the level of secular time, as measured by the clock or calendar, to the level of 'liturgical' or 'sacred' time; we are transferred to the point where the vertical dimension of eternity breaks into linear time. This transposition of past into present, of remembrance into reality, is expressed in the liturgical texts above all by the word *Today*. So we sing on the Saturday of Lazarus, 'Today Bethany proclaims beforehand the Resurrection of Christ.' 'Today Christ enters the Holy City,' we affirm on Palm Sunday. 'Today Christ comes to the house of the Pharisee,' we state on Holy Wednesday, 'and the sinful woman draws near and falls down at His feet ... Today Judas makes a covenant with the chief priests.' 'Today the Master of Creation stands before Pilate,' we say on Great Friday: '... Today He who hung the earth upon the waters is hung upon the Cross.' So also at Easter Midnight we affirm: 'Yesterday I was buried with thee O Christ, and today I rise with thee arising. Yesterday I was crucified with thee...' We shall not understand the meaning of these last two weeks of the Triodion unless we listen to this word *Today* that resounds at each service. It is not a mere metaphor or an instance of poetic licence, but embodies a specific spiritual experience. All that was witnessed by the crowds in Holy Week, all the words addressed to the disciples, all the sufferings undergone by Christ - these are all to be experienced here and now *by me*.¹⁸

In examining the texts of the Sixth Week of the Fast below, this liturgical re-enactment of a chronological scheme abstracted from the Gospel will be unpacked.

The Triumphal Entry

In yet another hymn, the event assumed to take place "six days before the Passover" is the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Prefiguring for us Thy holy Resurrection, loving Lord, by Thy command Thou hast raised up from death Lazarus Thy friend, who was without the breath of life; and after four days in the tomb he had begun to stink. Then, O Saviour, mounted on a foal, and as though riding in a chariot, Thou hast given a sign unto the Gentiles. Therefore also Israel Thy beloved offers Thee praise out of the

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Schmemmann begins an extended discussion of the liturgical "*Today*" immediately after the passage quoted above concerning the centrality of Lazarus to the themes of the Sixth week of Lent, Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 80-84.

mouth of innocent babes and sucklings, as they behold Thee, Christ, enter the Holy City six days before the Passover (twice).¹⁹

I am not aware of any scheme of interpreting the gospel chronologies which could underlie such a specification of the Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem taking place six days before the Passover, therefore the most likely hypothesis would be that the hymnographer is reflecting on his own liturgical experience of biblical events. This liturgical re-enactment offers a series of commemorations in which the raising of Lazarus is directly tied to the remembrance of Palm Sunday, which could be understood as coming six days before the Paschal Vigil.

Bethany/Bethphage

In the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday, Bethany is mentioned a few times in the course of the hymnographic paraphrase of the biblical narrative.

O Lord, taking along your disciples,
you arrived at Bethany in order to raise Lazarus...²⁰

O Source of Wisdom, knowing the future,
when you came to Bethany you asked those around Martha,
"Where have you laid my friend Lazarus?" ...²¹

O Lord, love guided you to Lazarus in Bethany,
and even though he already reeked of decay

¹⁹ Hymn at Ps 140, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 489-90; *AT*, 380.

²⁰ Idiomelon in Tone 6, attributed to the Emperor Leo, at Ps 140, Vespers, Friday before Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 366. *RT*, 579 has a slight variant; there the object of the Lord's resurrecting is "your friend."

²¹ Sessional Hymn in Tone 5, after the *Evlogitaria* of the Resurrection, Matins, Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 373; *RT*, 590.

as God you raised him, rescuing him from the constraints of Hades.²²

O Master, although you exist without any limits,
 in the flesh you were limited in space and time,
 and arriving at Bethany as a human being you wept for Lazarus,
 while as God, simply by willing it,
 you raised the one who was already dead for four days.²³

You raised Lazarus at Bethany
 even though he had been dead for four days, ...²⁴

As the poet expands beyond the biblical narrative, Bethany can become a figure which helps to dramatize his point.

O death, through Lazarus Christ has already plundered you.
 O Hades, where is your victory?
 The mourning which was in Bethany is now transferred to you.
 Let us all wave branches of victory before him!²⁵

A personification of Bethany is present, but not prominent, in the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday.

Having completed the forty soul-enriching days,
 let us cry out: "Rejoice, town of Bethany, home of Lazarus!
 Rejoice, Martha and Mary his sisters!
 Tomorrow Christ will arrive,
 in order to bring your dead brother to life by his word...²⁶

²² Troparion at the Sixth Ode, in Tone 8, Four-ode Kanon, attributed to Kosmas {the Monk}, *AT*, 375; *RT*, 595.

²³ Troparion at the Sixth Ode, in Tone 8, Four-ode Kanon, attributed to John the Monk, *AT*, 375; *RT*, 595.

²⁴ Sticheron at the Praises, in Tone 8, Matins, Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 379; *RT* 599.

²⁵ A second *Exapostellarion*, Matins, Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 378; *RT*, 597.

²⁶ Hymn in Tone 8, attributed to Andrew the Blind, used after *Now and Ever* at Ps 140, Vespers, Friday before Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 366; *RT*, 579.

Let Bethany sing a hymn with us in praise of the wonder,
 for it was there that the Creator wept for Lazarus
 as befits the law of nature and the flesh,
 then bringing Martha's tears to an end, and transforming Mary's grief into joy,
 he raised the dead.²⁷

O Master,
 You provided to all a demonstration of your divinity beyond God
 raising Lazarus from the dead, who was already deceased for four days.
 Today Bethany proclaims the the Resurrection of Christ even before it happens
 rejoicing in the raising of Lazarus.²⁸

There is one hymn which would seem to use Bethany to identify the place where
 Jesus received the word that Lazarus had died, presumably the same place which Jn 10.40
 had described as "beyond the Jordan, at the place where John had earlier baptised." Now
 in Jn 1.28 we were told, "This took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan, the place where
 John was baptizing."

Knowing all things from the beginning,
 as the one who brought them to be,
 you prophesied to your disciples at Bethany,
 "Our friend Lazarus has fallen asleep today." ...²⁹

Given the widespread confusion over these two Bethanys, however, as well as the
 likelihood that the hymnographer had neither the intention nor the ability to precisely
 reflect the geography of Jn 11, this allusion is too vague to ground any serious

²⁷ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Kanon, attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Friday Night before Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 372; *RT*, 588.

²⁸ Hymn at the First Ode, first Kanon attributed to Theophanes, in Tone Eight, Matins, Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 373; *RT*, 591.

²⁹ Second Sessional Hymn after the Third Ode, in Tone Eight, Matins, Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 374; *RT*, 592.

conclusions.

Turning to the hymns proper to Palm Sunday, we find three hymns which explicitly refer to Bethany. Curiously enough, two which have the same *incipit* in fact refer to two different events, neither of them the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Six days before the Passover Jesus entered Bethany, and His disciples came to Him, saying: 'Lord, where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Passover?' Then He sent them, saying 'Go into the village opposite, and ye shall find a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him, and tell the master of the house: The Teacher says, In thy house shall I eat the Passover with My disciples'³⁰

Six days before the Passover Jesus came to Bethany, to call back Lazarus who was four days dead, and to proclaim the coming Resurrection. The women Martha and Mary, sisters of Lazarus, came to meet Him, crying: 'Lord, if Thou hadst been here, our brother had not died.' Then He answered them: 'Did I not say to you before: He who believes in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live? Show Me where ye have laid him.' And the Maker of all cried unto him, 'Lazarus, come forth.'³¹

Before Thy voluntary Passion, Christ our God, Thou hast given to all men an assurance of the general resurrection; for at Bethany Thou hast raised by Thine almighty power Lazarus who was four days dead, and as Giver of Light, O Saviour, Thou hast made the blind to see. With the disciples thou has entered the Holy City, seated upon the foal of an ass as though upon the Cherubim, and so Thou hast fulfilled the preaching of the prophets. The children of the Hebrews with palms and branches came to meet Thee. Therefore we also, bearing palms and olive branches, cry aloud to Thee in thanksgiving: Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord.³²

LT offers a fourth text mentioning Bethany.

Today Christ enters the City of Bethany riding on a foal, and destroys the

³⁰ Sticheron at Ps 140, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 490; *AT*, 381.

³¹ Hymn at the Lite, Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, *LT*, 491; *AT*, 382.

³² Sticheron at Lauds in Tone 4, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 501-2; *AT*, 387.

wicked and barren folly of the Gentiles.³³

LT's Footnote 14 which is associated with this text, however, informs us: "Other texts read 'the Holy City'," which is in fact the reading found in *AT*. It is hard to explain the Bethany reading as anything but scribal error, and it is curious that *LT* would choose it as the primary reading.

Zion

While the City of Bethany is not that prominent in the texts proper to Palm Sunday, the Holy City of Jerusalem is, most often with the biblical synonym, Zion. One need not be a biblical scholar to realize that often Zion and Jerusalem are used interchangeably in biblical texts, and the hymnographic texts follow suit.

O ye people, sing in Zion a hymn fitting for God, and offer prayer to Christ in Jerusalem. For He comes in power and glory: on Him the Church is founded, and she cries aloud: Hosanna, blessed art Thou that comest.³⁴

Go up the mountain, Thou that bringest good tidings to Zion; and Thou that preachest to Jerusalem, lift up Thy voice with strength. Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God: Peace be upon Israel and salvation to the Gentiles.³⁵

The identification is so common that Zion can simply substitute for Jerusalem in paraphrasing the description of the triumphal entry.

³³ Hymn after *Glory be...*, in Tone 2, at the Blessing of the Palms, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 495; *AT*, 384.

³⁴ Troparion at the Third Ode, Kanon in Tone 4, attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 497; *AT*, 384.

³⁵ Heirmos at the Fifth Ode, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 498; *AT*, 385. *LT's* Footnote 23 specifies allusions to: Is 40.9; Ps. 86.3; 127.6.

Riding upon a young foal, Christ thy King is at hand, O Zion. For He has come to destroy the senseless error of idolatry and to restrain the untamed wilfulness of all the Gentiles, teaching them to sing: O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord.³⁶

Greatly rejoice, O Zion, for Christ thy God shall reign for ever. As it is written, He is meek and brings salvation. Our righteous Deliverer has come riding on a foal, that He may destroy the proud arrogance of His enemies who will not cry: O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord.³⁷

Rejoice and be glad, O city of Zion; exult and be exceeding joyful, O Church of God. For behold, thy King has come in righteousness, seated on a foal, and the children sing His praises: Hosanna in the highest! Blessed art Thou who showest great compassion: have mercy upon us (twice).³⁸

This identification becomes a means by which the hymnographer expands on the biblical accounts of Palm Sunday with imagery from other biblical texts speaking of Zion.

King of the ages, the Lord comes clothed in strength. The surpassing splendour of His beauty and His glory is revealed in Zion. Therefore we all cry aloud: Glory to Thy power, O Lord.³⁹

The Lord is here, who measures the heaven with a span and the earth in the hollow of His hand. For He has chosen Zion; there has He been pleased to dwell, ruling over the peoples that cry aloud with faith: Glory to Thy power, O Lord.⁴⁰

³⁶ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon in Tone 4, attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 500; *AT*, 386.

³⁷ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon in Tone 4, attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 500; *AT*, 386.

³⁸ Sticheron at Ps 140, in Tone 8, Vespers on Sunday Evening, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 505; *AT*, 389.

³⁹ Troparion at the Fourth Ode, Kanon in Tone 4, attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 498; *AT*, 385.

⁴⁰ Troparion at the Fourth Ode, Kanon in Tone 4, attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 498; *AT*, 385. *LT*'s Footnote 22 specifies allusions to Is 40.12 & Ps 131.13.

O Zion, holy mountain of God, and Jerusalem, lift up thine eyes round about and behold thy children, gathered in thee. For lo, they have come from afar to worship thy King. Peace be upon Israel and salvation to the Gentiles.⁴¹

Set free thy prisoners, O Zion, and let them go; bring them out of the waterless pit of ignorance; and let the people be renewed through sprinkling with the Blood of God.⁴²

Rejoice, O Jerusalem, and ye that love Zion, keep feast. For He who rules unto all ages, the Lord of Hosts, is come. Let all the earth stand in reverence before His face and cry aloud: O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord.⁴³

Given how prominent this "Zion" motif is among the texts of Palm Sunday, it is tempting to see it reflected in the Prokeimenon taken from Psalm 124 used at Vespers on the Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday.

Those who trust in the Lord shall be as the hill of Zion (Ps 124.1a)
V. Those who dwell in Jerusalem shall never be shaken. (Ps 124.1b)

Since Ps 124 was chosen for that occasion not because of its thematic relevance but as part of a system which uses the psalms in biblical order, it seems more likely the choice was dictated by the theme already present in Ps 124.1.

Consideration of the Biblical evidence concerning this theme of Bethany surfaces some of the same texts which were earlier examined in unpacking the hymnographic references to "Six days before the Passover" above. The town of Bethany, is associated

⁴¹ Troparion at the Fifth Ode, Kanon in Tone 4, attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 498; *AT*, 385. *LT*'s Footnote 25 specifies the following scriptural allusions: Ps 2.6; Is 49.18; 60.4.

⁴² Troparion at the Sixth Ode, Kanon in Tone 4, attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 498-9; *AT*, 385. Allusions specified in *LT*'s Footnote 28 are: Is 42.7 & Zech 9.11.

⁴³ Heirmos at the Eighth Ode, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 500; *AT*, 386.

in John 11 and 12 with the family of Lazarus, Martha and Mary, while in Mark 14.3 = Mt 26.6 it is the location of the house of Simon the Leper where an anointing takes place that may well be the same as that described in John 12.1-8. (Luke's description of this anointing in 7.36-50 places it in the house of a Pharisee [vv. 36-7] later addressed by Jesus as Simon [vv. 40, 43, 44]. Luke offers no specific place for this house of Simon, although redactional analysis can easily explain Luke's suppression of the geographic specificity of the other synoptics, since the third gospel places the event in the context of Jesus' Galilean ministry [cf. Lk 7.1, 11, 17; 8.1] The last location to be named by Luke before the anointing is Naim, but the episodic nature of the narrative discourages any specific localization of the event described in 7.36-50.) This Bethany near the Mount of Olives is also associated with Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem in Mk 11.1ff. and its parallels in Mt and Lk [above]. Lk 24.50 mentions Bethany as being associated with the ascension of Christ, a specificity dropped in the parallel passage of Acts 1.6-11, where Luke has a different redactional geography for the organization of his second volume (cf. Acts 1.7-8).

More problematic is the understanding of the relationship of this Bethany near Jerusalem to the "Bethany beyond the Jordan" which John 1.19-28 associates with the activity of John the Baptist and where John 1.35-51 describes Jesus calling his first disciples from among those attracted to John. It has been argued that the references to Bethany in John 1 and 11 refer to the same place,⁴⁴ although the vast majority of scholars

⁴⁴ P. Parker, "Bethany Beyond Jordan," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955): 257-61.

since Origen have felt confident with the identity of the Bethany near Jerusalem and have struggled to locate Bethany beyond the Jordan.⁴⁵ Christian tradition has often associated the latter location with the baptism of Jesus, although the text of Jn 1.32-34 does not demand such an identification.⁴⁶

(The Anointing at Bethany)

None of the hymnographic texts for Lazarus Saturday explicitly mention the anointing at Bethany, and the extant Byzantine tradition commemorates the anointing on Wednesday of Holy Week, according to the chronology of Mark and Matthew (See above, pp. 250 ff.). Nevertheless the Synaxarion texts explicitly make the connection between this anointing described in John 12.1ff. and the celebrations of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, and in doing so they may well be simply following the cues present in the Fourth Gospel, which repeatedly "cross-references" these three events. At the least the anointing in Bethany is an element that should be looked at in the examination of other sources.

Baptism

In the existing Triodion, the only unequivocal suggestion that Lazarus Saturday was a baptismal feast is found during the Liturgy, where the Trisagion is replaced by the baptismal anthem from Gal 3.27, "All you who have been baptised into Christ have put

⁴⁵ See the treatments in *ABD* I:702-705, s.v. "Bethany" and "Bethany beyond the Jordan."

⁴⁶ See Schnackenburg, I:283.

on Christ, Alleluia!"⁴⁷

One clear reference to baptism is the Troparion which is first mentioned at Little Vespers on Saturday (*AT*, 380), although the full text is only given at Great Vespers for Palm Sunday, where it is described as "Another troparion {of the feast}", i.e., an *Apolytikion*:

Buried with Thee through Baptism, O Christ our God, we have been granted immortal life by Thy Resurrection, and we sing Thy praises, saying: Hosanna in the highest! Blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord (once).⁴⁸

It is easy to hear in this hymn echos of the Easter Kanon attributed to John of Damascus,

Yesterday I was buried with you O Christ, and today I arise with Thine arising.
Yesterday I was crucified with you ...⁴⁹

Both of these hymns *could* be addressed to the newly baptized, expanding on the Pauline theme of baptism as our sharing in the Paschal mystery of Christ. The fact that both Lazarus Saturday and Holy Saturday are known to be baptismal days supports that interpretation. However the content of these hymns could also be understood as a moral exhortation to all Christians, to all those who have joined themselves to the Paschal

⁴⁷ See Mateos, *Typicon II*, 310 s.v. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν for use of this "Troparion" from Gal 3.27 during the baptismal ceremony itself, and at the Liturgy instead of the Trisagion on the feasts when baptism was traditionally celebrated (Jan 6, Christmas, Lazarus Saturday, Holy Saturday, Pentecost Sunday, and all of the Week following Pascha). The Typikon of the Great Church preserves explicit directions for the baptismal ceremony on Lazarus Saturday which will be examined below, however there is no mention of this practice in the current Triodion. For a convenient summary of other places where the Typikon of the Great Church addresses those who are preparing for baptism see Mateos, *Typicon II*, 300 s.v. κατηχούμενος.

⁴⁸ *LT*, 493; *AT* 383.

⁴⁹ *LT*, 57.

mystery through baptism, and who are participating in the liturgical *anamnesis* of Christ's Pascha. Certainly such a moralizing tendency is found throughout the texts included in the current Triodion, and it would have been even more prominent in the monastic communities who first compiled and used the Triodion. Given the fact that this Troparion was already part of the Constantinopolitan usage of the Great Church before the influx of monastic hymnographic compositions into the Office, Mateos may well be correct when he sees in this Troparion "A new allusion to the ceremony of baptism which had taken place that morning."⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Mateos, *Typicon II*, p. 65, footnote 3.

CHAPTER 14

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF LAZARUS SATURDAY

The Liturgical *Cursus* for Lazarus Saturday includes the services of Vespers with Presanctified Liturgy on Friday Evening, Great Compline later that night, Matins on Saturday Morning, followed by the Divine Liturgy. Athas has translated the directions from the Greek Typikon for these services; his translation and transliteration of the Greek text is given in Appendix 4, where the text has been rearranged and bold and italic type have been added to help clarify the elements and their structure. Athas' compilation of the differences between these directions found in the Typikon and those given in the Triodion itself are given in Appendix 5. All of these differences reflect the nineteenth century changes in the Greek celebration of the liturgical offices which were codified in the 1888 edition of the Typikon prepared by Protopsalter George Violakis, changes which are not reflected in the texts and rubrics of the Triodion itself.¹

Appendix 6 contains a "Checklist" of all of these elements which may make them

¹ For a brief history of the Typikon, see *FM*, 541-43, where a negative assessment of the work of Violakis is offered. Volumes 1 and 3 of Dmitrievski's *Opisanie* offer a very useful, if idiosyncratic, sampling of the manuscript Typika. Unfortunately for this study, Dmitrievski was not interested in Lazarus Saturday and so rarely reports what the manuscripts say for this day. Palm Sunday gets better coverage, since holy Week was an area that interested him. I have not yet seen the work of Miguel Agtanz, История Типикона-Опыт. [History of the Typikon. An Essay.] (Leningrad: Ленинградская Духовная Академия, 1978.)

easier to envision, and which will also facilitate comparison of other sources. There are no structural differences between *AT* and *RT* within the specific texts compared, although there are a few textual differences within elements (See Appendix 2).

Friday Evening

Presanctified Liturgy

The service presumed by the Triodion for Friday evening is Vespers with the Presanctified Liturgy, as the Triodion specifies for all the Fridays in Lent.

The Prokeimena at Friday Evening Vespers

These verses are from Psalms 123 and 124, following the systematic distribution of the Psalms which began with Psalms 1 and 2 at the Third/Sixth Hour service on the First day of Lent.² (The First Prokeimenon taken from Ps. 123 is in Tone Six; the Second, taken from Ps. 124, is in Tone Four.) This pattern will continue on Great

² See the Chart of Readings in Table Two above. Karabinov (*Postnaia Triod*, 61-62) offers these specific observations. "The remaining readings {i.e. for Monday through Wednesday of Great Week} have a close relationship with the readings for the Holy Forty Days, therefore it is more convenient to examine them in that context. On the surface, this connection appears in the order among the Prokeimena, which are taken from the Psalms in continuous order as they are arranged in the Psalter. In the readings for the Sixth Hour on Monday of the First Week, the Prokeimenon comes from the First Psalm, and in the last selection for Holy Wednesday, the Prokeimenon is taken from the 137th Psalm. Undoubtedly this order of Prokeimena was accepted after the entire system of readings for the Holy Forty-days and the first half of Holy Week was defined. ... Thus as we have already seen, the arrangement of the {Psalm} excerpts for the Prokeimena at the Lenten Readings probably were made by a different calculation, according to which the first three days of Passion Week are a part of the Holy Forty-days."

Monday with Psalm 125 and 126 at the Sixth hour, concluding at Vespers for Great Wednesday with Psalm 135. Beginning with the First Hour for Holy Thursday the Prokeimena are proper to the readings they introduce.

Saturday Evening Vespers uses the usual Prokeimenon for Saturday evening, Ps 93.1, *The Lord is King*, while Vespers on the evening of Palm Sunday will also use the normal Prokeimenon from the Oktoechos, abandoning the Great Prokeimenon which had been used in one of two forms on all the Sunday evenings in Lent. (See above in chapter 5, pp. 133 ff.)

The Old Testament readings.

The readings on Friday Evening are the conclusion of the *lectio continua* of Genesis and Proverbs which had begun on the first day of Lent, although in both cases (as well as for Isaiah which is prescribed to be read at the Third/Sixth hour) significant gaps were necessary to get from Chapter 13 of Genesis (or 14 of Proverbs) on the Monday of the Fourth Week of Lent to the conclusion of these books by the Friday of the Sixth Week.³

Friday Night - Great Compline

³ See Karabinov, *Postnaia Triod*, 63-64, who finds in the selections from Genesis supplemented by the selections from Exodus at the beginning of Passion Week "a complete understanding of the important moments, the history of the OT 'house-building' beginning from the creation of the world and of humanity and ending with the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt. . . . The Readings from Exodus for Passion Week . . . serve as a direct continuation of the above mentioned readings {from Genesis}."

This service is dominated by the Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, which significantly includes texts for all Nine Odes. In the current anthologies of proper hymns, the Second Ode is almost always omitted.⁴ The only other exceptions I am aware of are the "Great Kanon" of Andrew of Crete, prescribed for the Thursday of the Fifth week of the Fast (and in current usage also distributed over Compline of the First Week of the Fast), the Kanon for the Dead attributed to John of Damascus on the Saturdays of the Dead (given in the Triodion on the Saturday before the Sunday of the Last Judgement), and the Kanon of the Fathers, given in the Triodion on the Saturday before Cheesefare Sunday.⁵ Ware tells us, "In present practice there is no second canticle in the canon, save only on various days in Lent: thus the canon, which theoretically contains nine canticles, has in reality only eight." Momina reports that in the Georgian Manuscript H-2123,

On Sundays and Feastdays, kanons include all 9 odes. Heirmosi are completely absent with these. Each hymn is named by the first word of the corresponding biblical hymn. E.g. the 9th hymn is called "adidebditsa" (Magnify).⁶

In the course of an initial report of his research on the Roman edition of the Greek

⁴ See also the discussion above in chapter 7, pp. 169 ff.

⁵ I have not yet seen Ludgar Bernhard, "Die Ausfall der 2.Ode im byzantinischen Neunodenkanon," in Thomas Michels Ed., *Heuresis: Festschrift für Andreas Rohrer* 25 Jahre Erzbischof von Salzburg (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1969): 91-101.

⁶ Momina, "Origins," 116. This would seem to be one more area where the Georgian terminology reflects an early stage of usages that are continued in the current Byzantine tradition. The Ninth Ode is based on a conflation of Mary's Hymn of Praise and Zechariah's Canticle, both from Luke 1. It is often identified by its first word, μεγαλύνε in Greek, *Величание* in Slavonic, *Magnificat* in Latin, and apparently in Georgian *adidebditsa*, which is my English transliteration of Momina's Russian transliteration *адидебдица*, of the original Georgian term.

Menaia,⁷ Cyril Korolevskij offers a tantalizing "analysis" of an article by Athanasius Papadopoulos-Kerameus.⁸

First Part: Origin of the Menaia. First known editions: Which local tradition do they represent? How the ancient kanons disappeared and were replaced by others. Ancient fragments which are still represented: examples. Other corruptions of the primitive text. Suppression of the second ode of the kanons. Substitutions of troparia with others.

Second Part: Arrangement of the primitive Menaia compared to their current order. The disappearance of complete kontakia and the oikoi. Examples taken from the manuscripts. Different order of various pieces of the same office in the ancient manuscripts. Praise for the first volume of the Roman edition of the Menaia.

Third Part: Importance of the acrostic. How it serves to recover the names of the melodists and to complete kanons with troparia which have disappeared. Examples. Demonstration that in ancient times the second ode was found in all kanons. Concerning this, Papadopoulos-Kerameus affirms he doesn't know why the remark was inserted into the Typikon concerning the plurality of kanons for the same feast. This remark was cited by Allatius in *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Graecorum*, Paris, 1646, pp. 81-81 [sic]; reprinted in Hamburg, 1712, pp. 59-60. (My opinion on this is that the remark indicates that, whenever there are several kanons for one and the same feast, one should give preference to those of Kosmas over those of the others: this leads to the understanding that one should only chant one canon, thus shortening an already very long office.)

⁷ C. Korolevskij, "L'Édition Romaine des Ménées Grecques: 1888-1901," *BBGG*: 30-40; 153-162; 225-247. In a forward written in Italian on p. 30, Korolevskij speaks of his desire to publish his research as a book entitled *Les éditions romaines des livres liturgiques du rite oriental*. I have not yet been able to confirm if this book was ever published or not. One difficulty in searching for it is that Korolevskij's many publications appeared using many different transliterations of his last name. The form used here is the one he uses in the article being quoted.

⁸ Α. Παπαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς, "Σχεδιάσμα περὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν Μηναιῶν," *ΒΙΖΑΝΤΙΥΣΚΥ ΒΡΕΜΕΝΝΙΚΥ* 1 (1894): 341-388. The usual citation of the journal is *ΒΙΖΑΝΤΙΥΣΚΥ ΒΡΕΜΕΝΝΙΚΥ*, and I assume the first form given is a simple typographical error in footnote 3 on p. 230 of Korolevskij's article. The quotation given here is from the continuation of this footnote on p. 231. It was Korolevskij who called this summary "une brève analyse."

Papadopoulos guesses that Metropolitan John of Euchaita could have been the one who suppressed the second ode of the kanons, when in the middle of the 11th century he was associated with a reform of the Menaia. Popular opinion, already witnessed to by Theodore Prodromos, is that the second ode didn't exist, because it would have been intercalated between the verses of the second scriptural ode, which contained only maledictions in contrast with the other {scriptural odes} which are canticles of praise. Papadopoulos challenges this opinion, and proves the contrary in citing numerous kanons where the second ode exists (p. 385): still, the kanons of the same author sometimes have it, other times do not. He ends by concluding that perhaps the kanons including the second ode were those sung at Compline, but he does not offer this as anything more than a possibility.⁹

There are several interesting assertions which Korolevskij here attributes to

Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Those of immediate interest here concern the primitive forms of the Kanons, the inclusion of hymns for the second scriptural Ode in ancient Kanons, and the possibility that it was in kanons destined for use at Compline that the Second Ode would be included. In the absence of a first-hand examination of the evidence used in the Papadopoulos-Kerameus article, the most that can be said here is that the Kanon at Compline on Friday night before Lazarus Saturday would support the guess of Papadopoulos-Kerameus.

The hymns of this Second Ode do show an interesting structural anomaly: there is no *Triadikon* nor *Theotokion* after the *Glory... Now and Ever...* as is expected with Kanons elsewhere in the Triodion and throughout the year. For this Ode only, these acclamations are followed by hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday, with no references to the Trinity or the Theotokos.¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *LT*, 468, *AT*, 369.

The focus of this Kanon is clearly the raising of Lazarus - it contains no allusions to the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The imagery associated with the Destruction of Hades is very prominent in these hymns; also present is the theme that the raising of Lazarus is an anticipation of the resurrection of Christ. The use of the raising of Lazarus to make clear the human and divine natures of Christ also occurs in them repeatedly.

The rubric at the conclusion of this service is suggestive of a structural division of the time of the Triodion, and may be an echo of that earlier division which separated the Lenten and Bright Triodia here.

Note that from this day until the Saturday of Renewal, we sing neither the Okotechos, nor the Martyrion, nor the Theotokion.¹¹

LT gives rubrics for The Midnight Office, but there are no proper texts or rubrics for this service given in the Triodion. (The Troparion specified in *LT* is that which is described below, and the Kontakion is also that used at Matins on Saturday Morning.)

Saturday Morning Matins

In looking at Matins for Lazarus Saturday, some observations about the structural pattern of the service will be made before examining characteristic elements of the service.

A Sunday pattern?

There are several details which suggest that the pattern used for Matins on Lazarus Saturday was that of Sunday Matins rather than the normal usages for Lenten

¹¹ *AT*, 372, not included in *LT*.

Saturdays. There are two Sessional Hymns, separated by the 17th Kathisma of the Psalter and the *Evlogitaria* of the Resurrection "as on Sundays." The Second Sessional Hymn is followed by a Patristic Reading, with the rubrics noting "we do not say the Gospel but only 'Having seen the resurrection of Christ'." (AT, 373.) While the 17th Kathisma of the Psalter is common to both Saturdays and Sundays throughout the year,¹² the *Evlogitaria of the Resurrection*, the use of the hymn *Having Seen the Resurrection of Christ*, and the expectation that there would be a reading from the Gospel,¹³ which is replaced by a Patristic reading from John {Chrysostom?}, all suggest that the Sunday pattern of Matins is behind some level of this service.¹⁴ In spite of the fact that there is no Gospel reading, the Triodion does give an *Exaposteilarion* which is proper to the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus. *A Manual of the Orthodox Church's Divine Services*, a pre-revolutionary Russian manual of liturgics compiled by D. Sokolof, described the particular characteristics of "the Sabbath of Lazarus" with these words:

Because this event manifested the divine might of Christ, and prepared his solemn

¹² See *Festal Menaion*, 532-33. The Greek Typikon, Ware in the *Festal Menaion*, *loc. cit.*, and the Triodion itself all agree in specifying Kathismata 16 and 17 from the Psalter, which is the normal pattern for Saturdays throughout the year. The singular exception is Great Week, where the entire Psalter is recited on Monday through Wednesday, apart from the 17th Kathisma which is kept at Great Saturday Matins.

¹³ There is no mention of a Gospel reading at Matins at any of the other Saturday Matins services in the Triodion, although some of the ancient sources discussed above in Chapter 2 do give Gospel readings for Saturday Matins. Is it possible that there is no Matins Gospel because there is no parallel in the canonical gospels for the account of the raising of Lazarus, which is read at the Divine Liturgy later this morning?

¹⁴ The inclusion of the hymn *Having seen the resurrection of Christ* is even more striking given its explicit omission at Matins on Palm Sunday, as is made clear below.

entrance into Jerusalem, and, on the other hand, gave the assurance that all the dead should rise, therefore at Matins are sung the Sunday Troparia "The angel hosts were amazed," and the hymn "Having beheld the Resurrection of Christ," while the prayers for the souls of the dead, usually sung on Saturdays, are omitted.¹⁵

This "explanation" is little more than a listing of the primary themes which we had examined above in Chapter 12, offered as a reason for the liturgical characteristics which we are discussing here. No particular rationale for this association is given, and more importantly no historical evidence on when, where, and why these changes were prescribed is given. Looking for answers for these latter questions seems like a fruitful direction for future research.

The Kanons of Lazarus Saturday Matins

Rubrics given just before the texts of the Kanons as well as before the Sixth Ode make clear that this is an unusual situation:

After Psalm 50, the {we take the} following two Kanons up to the Sixth Ode, then the Four-ode Kanons up to the 12th verses.¹⁶

...

Up to the end of the Fifth Ode we use the following two Kanons, the first with eight Troparia and the second with six. At the Sixth Ode we begin the two Four-ode Kanons.¹⁷

The structural pattern is actually that used for every Saturday in Lent;¹⁸ what is unusual

¹⁵ D. Sokolof, *A Manual of the Orthodox Church's Divine Services*, (English translation published at Jordanville: Holy Trinity Monastery, 1962), 98.

¹⁶ *AT*, 373; *RT*, 590.

¹⁷ *LT*, 477; *AT*, 375; *RT*, 594.

¹⁸ See *LT*, 78-9.

here is that all four Kanons come from the Triodion. The first two Kanons are attributed to Theophanes and Kosmas the Monk, while of the two *Tetraodia*, one is attributed to "the same Kosmas" and the last to John the Monk.

It seems likely the first two Kanons existed separately at one time, since each has its own set of Heirmoi (although they do share the same Heirmos for the Fifth Ode), all of which show echos of the Biblical Odes. As they are now arranged, the first Heirmos (of the Kanon of Theophanes) opens the section, while the Heirmos for the Kanon of Kosmas is given as the Katabasia closing the section.¹⁹ Similarly, a Theotokion is normally only found before the Katabasia of the second Kanon (of Kosmas), an exception being in the Fourth Ode, where the first Kanon of Theophanes also ends with a Theotokion before the second Kanon of Kosmas begins.

The verses of Theophanes tend to be shorter than those of Kosmas, and there are four in addition to the Heirmos of each Ode. The Kanon of Kosmas has three Troparia in addition to the Heirmos/Katabasia, plus a Theotokion, for each of the eight Odes.

The Synaxarion Reading for Lazarus Saturday

The Synaxarion reading is found in the usual position (between the Sixth and Seventh Odes, after the Kontakion and its Oikos). Much of it is concerned with harmonizing the details of the various Gospel accounts which speak of Lazarus and his family. The legends associated with Lazarus after his resuscitation are found elsewhere, and can easily be understood as the type of midrashic expansions which the popular mind

¹⁹ See the rubrics introducing the Kanons for Matins on Palm Sunday, *AT*, 384.

could work on the Gospel accounts, a process well attested in the apocryphal and hagiographic literature. Because it will be commented on at length, the translation of this Synaxarion notice is reproduced here.

THE SYNAXARION NOTICE FOR LAZARUS SATURDAY²⁰
 {Curly brackets indicate additions made to facilitate understanding of the translation.}

The Synaxarion from the Menaion, then the following:

On the same day, Saturday before Palm Sunday, we celebrate the rising from the tomb of the holy and righteous Lazarus, Christ's friend, who {had been dead for} four days.

Verses:

Jesus, you mourn, as befits your mortality;
 You give life to your friend, as befits your divine power.

Lazarus was of the race of the Hebrews, of the sect of the Pharisees, and the son, as it came to be understood, of Simon the Pharisee from Bethany, the village from which he came. Now {Simon} came to know our Lord Jesus Christ, conversing with him while he was on earth concerning the salvation of our race, thus becoming his friend. Christ would constantly spend time with Simon, discussing even his resurrection from the dead, and even more as he got older he would come forth into his house. Thus it was that Lazarus came even closer to Christ, developing a genuine friendship; and not only him, but also his two sisters, that is, Martha and Mary.

As the time for our saving passion drew near, in order that we might more firmly believe in the mystery of the Resurrection, Jesus withdrew beyond the Jordan, where earlier he had raised from the dead the daughter of Jairus and the {son of} the widow, even as his friend Lazarus, weighed down with the burdens of illness, died. Jesus, even {while absent}, therefore says to the disciples, "Lazarus has fallen asleep," and after waiting a little longer he says, "Lazarus has died."

Thus he comes to Bethany after he left the Jordan, which is where he was

²⁰ Cf. *AT*, 376-7. I am indebted to Prof. Argyrios Varonides of the Department of Physics of the University of Scranton for clarification of my original translation of this element.

notified by {Lazarus'} sisters, for Bethany is about 15 stadia from Jerusalem. And going out to him, the sisters of Lazarus said to the Lord, "If you had been here, our brother would not have died. And even now, if you wish you will raise him, for you are capable of it." Jesus asked the crowd, "Where have you laid him?" and immediately they all went to the tomb. And as the stone was being moved, Martha says, "Lord, already he stinks, for it has been four days." Then Jesus, praying and shedding tears for the one buried, cried out in a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth!" And immediately the dead man came forth, and having been set free, returned to his house.

This strange wonder aroused the malice of the Hebrew people, who became enraged against Christ. Jesus fled again. The High-priests also sought to kill Lazarus, for many on seeing him were drawn to Christ. {Lazarus}, becoming aware of the rumors, escaped to the island of Cyprus where he remained, having been appointed by the Apostles to serve as Archpriest of the city of Kutium. Offering good and pious service, after thirty years of renewed life ἀναβιώσεως, he again died. There he is buried, accomplishing many wonders.

It is said that, after he had been revived, Lazarus would eat only something having sweetness; also that the most-holy Mother of God gave him his own omophorion, which she had made by her own hands. The Emperor Leo the Wise, after having a divine vision, translated his honorable and holy relics to Constantinople, housing {them} in an august and extravagant temple which he had constructed, {placing them} to the right as one enters the New {Church, a Constantinopolitan landmark that had been dedicated in 890}, toward the front walls of the sacred Bema, before the walls. Even now these precious relics remain there, producing an unspeakably fragrant odor.

Our holy and God-bearing Fathers, and even more the Apostles, specified that we commemorate his rising on this particular day, that having been cleansed through the forty-day Fast, we might better arrive at θεῖναι the future Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ; since they found this miracle to be εὔρον the beginning and the source of the Jewish madness against Christ and from that very time they resolved on this supernatural and fearsome τεράστιον {mystery of the crucifixion.}

Now the Evangelist John is the only one to have written that Lazarus lived and was raised, as the other gospel writers are all alike in passing over it. It is said that when he wrote {his} Gospel, seeing that the others said nothing about the eternal begetting of Christ, {John} wanted to strengthen the faith that Christ was the Son of God and {that He was} God, and that {his} rising was a resurrection of the dead. that it might better be believed through Lazarus.

Lazarus never said anything about the things of Hades, either because he could not hold on to see what took place there, or because he was ordered not to pursue what he saw. From this, every man who has just died is called Lazarus, and the shroud is called 'Lazarion,' fittingly using the word which recalls Lazarus' earlier coming forth. For if that word of Christ raised him and restored him to life then, so even now, having died {again}, he will rise {again} when the last trumpet {sounds}, to live forever.

Through the intercession of your friend Lazarus, O Christ our God, have mercy on us. Amen.²¹

²¹ This translation was originally adapted from that found in *NZT*, 417. Eventually the divergent details became so numerous that the adaptations was abandoned in favor of a completely original translation. Since there are several areas where the translation given is less than certain, it may be useful to compare it with that of *NZT*.

Verses: Thou mournest, O Christ,
 as a token of thy human nature;
 and Thou makest thy friend to rise,
 as a sign of Thy divine might's feature.

Lazarus was a hebrew, of the sect of the Pharisees, the son of Simon the Pharisee, dweller of Bethany. He became friend of our Lord Jesus Christ when He, during his conversation upon earth, made close company with his father Simon, talking with him on the subject of the resurrection of the dead (a fundamental belief of the Pharisees). In Simon's house Lazarus cleaved to Christ (his sisters Martha and Mary as well) attracted by his personality.

This miracle of raising up Lazarus was performed by Jesus as a prelude to his passion and as an occasion to give to the faithful people an assurance of his own resurrection, and accordingly and successively, of the resurrection of all those who might believe in Him. Through this miracle, (Jn 11.1-44) the envy of the chief hebrews was increased, and they made haste in planning his death.

Lazarus later learnt that his own murder too had been planned by the hebrews and he left his land and sailed to Cyprus. There he was ordained by the Apostles Archbishop of Citium. He ministered for thirty years as a holy shepherd, and died for a second time. He was buried in the island and his relics became the source of many miracles. Later they were translated to Constantinople by Leo the Emperor of Byzantium (after a vision he had), and a great temple was erected in his honour.

The celebration of Lazarus' rising is made on this day because it had been the cause of

The Gospel of John provides the only account of the Raising of Lazarus in the Canonical Gospels; it is noteworthy that the Synaxarion feels the need to explain this observation, something which modern scholars continue to feel compelled to address.

A harmony of the gospels is nonetheless presupposed in describing Lazarus as the son of Simon the Leper. The narrative focus of this conflation would seem to be the anointing at Bethany, which is described in the Fourth Gospel at the beginning of Chapter 12, and is included in the Gospel reading at the Liturgy on Palm Sunday. It is interesting that Jn 11.2 identifies Mary the sister of Lazarus as the woman who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, even though this event is not described in the Fourth Gospel until 12.1-8. Matthew and Mark agree that this anointing takes place in Bethany at the house of Simon, yet only Luke identifies this Simon as a Pharisee.

the fury of the hebrews which led to our Lord's passion. At the end of the forty day fast, and before Holy Week, this feast serves as a factor of a highly spiritual mood which introduces us into the atmosphere of Jesus' Sufferings.

Only St. John refers to this miracle. The other evangelists give no reference, as they also say nothing about the Lord as begotten from the Father before eternity, or as the Word of God. So we can suppose that St. John considered it important to include this miracle in his narration, in relation with the divine essence of the Word, who is Jesus Christ, as the Source and Cause of Resurrection.

Lazarus after his resurrection ate only meals having some sweetness. He never gave any description of what he had seen in hell, either because he was not permitted to see anything, or because he was ordered not to disclose anything. His chasuble as archpriests's was made by the virgin Mother of our Lord, and it had been offered as a present to him

Through the intercessions of Thy friend Lazarus, O Christ our God, have mercy on us.

Expansion with other biblical allusions is a technique found often in Byzantine hymnography, so it should not be surprising to find it here in a text which comments on and interprets that hymnography. Nikephorus takes the dispute between the Sadducees and the Pharisees over eternal life which is recorded for us in the Synoptic gospels (Mt 22.23-33; Mk 12.18-27; Lk 20.27-40) and uses it as a pretense to explain the friendship between Jesus and Simon, which in turn explains the clear affection which Jn 11 demonstrates between Jesus and the family of Lazarus.

The "land beyond the Jordan" mentioned in Jn 10.50 is glossed to become the scene of the two other resurrections which are mentioned in the canonical gospels, the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Mk 5.21-43; Mt 9.18-26; Lk 8.40-56) and the raising of the son of the Widow of Nain (Lk 7.11-17). Patristic commentators often list these miracles along with the raising of Lazarus, while contemporary biblical scholars have also given a great deal of attention to the question of what relationship if any exists among these gospel accounts of resurrection miracles.

It is striking that Nikephorus almost always uses the term "Hebrews" to refer to the Jews, especially since the Fourth Gospel shows a marked preference for the term "the Jews." Is this an idiosyncratic trait of Nikephorus, or does it reflect the general terminology of 12th century Constantinople, or is there some other allusion here which we do not recognize because we no longer share a common background with the author?

The theme of Jn 11.45-53, that the raising of Lazarus was the proximate cause for the death of Jesus, is paraphrased and reiterated twice within this Synaxarion notice. In

The placement of this commemoration is explained with reference to the completion of the Fast and the expectation of the Passion, which latter event is triggered by the opposition of the "Hebrews" just mentioned. It is difficult to know what to make of the appeal to apostolic authority for the placement of this commemoration, beyond the observation that it is clearly added in as an afterthought, and as such it would seem to respond to some type of apologetic purpose.

The Emperor Leo is explicitly mentioned as bringing the relics of Lazarus to Constantinople.²² The Byzantine sanctoral cycle preserves many examples where such *translatia* of relics and/or dedications of churches influenced the cycle of commemorations, occasionally being transformed into a feast which retains no explicit evidence of its origins. At the very least it raises the possibility that the introduction of these relics to Constantinople influenced the liturgical commemoration of Lazarus in the capital in some way. The explicit attribution of some of the proper hymns of the Feast to the Emperor Leo is further evidence which supports such a possibility.

Lazarus' description of Hell, or more precisely the need to offer speculative explanations on why no description of Hell by Lazarus was preserved in the tradition, is striking. The passage has a clear apologetic tone to it, but one must wonder to what questions is it attempting to respond. Was it simply an attempt by Nikephorus to react to popular speculation of which he was aware from his own social environment, or were

²² See below, p. 313 and ff.

there more formal questionings of the role Lazarus could or should have played in the subsequent development of Christianity? The claim that Lazarus never spoke of his experiences in Hades is contradicted by the hymnography of the feast, which repeatedly presents us with direct discourse attributed to Lazarus. (See the texts collected in Appendix 7 and discussed below in Chapter 20.)

The tradition of Lazarus' career on Cyprus could also respond to such concerns. Mentioned in several modern secondary sources,²³ this tradition is also reflected in the history of the iconography of Lazarus.²⁴

Exaposteilaria

Two *Exaposteilaria* are given, which are very similar in content.

{To the tune of:} "Look over us ..." {LT says Tone 1}

O Word of God, at your word Lazarus springs forth, coming back to life,
and the people honor you with branches, O Mighty One,
for when all is completed you shall demolish Hades by your death.

Another, similarly {Tone 1?} once.

O death, through Lazarus Christ has already plundered you.
O Hades, where is your victory?
The mourning which was in Bethany is now transferred to you.
Let us all wave branches of victory before him!

In both of these texts, three of the themes of Lazarus Saturday are intimately intertwined,

²³ See, e.g., *ODB* 2:1199 s.v. "Lazarus Saturday;" or Frank Cross, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of the Church*, s.v. "Lazarus."

²⁴ See C. Walter, *Revue des études byzantines* 27 (1969): 197-208; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1916, rp. 1960) 232-54; M. Sacopoulo, *Asimou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels, 1966) 22-27.

i.e., the Raising of Lazarus, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the Destruction of Hades. The explicit mention of Bethany may be an indication of another thematic element, but it could also be a simple echo of the Johannine narrative.

Exaposteilaria at Sunday Matins during the rest of the year relate to the series of eleven Resurrection Gospels which the Byzantine tradition currently uses in an eleven-week cycle which begins after the period of the "Bright Triodion," i.e., after the Sunday of All-Saints, following Pentecost. For major feasts they are given in the Menaion, with themes relevant to that particular commemoration. In providing Exaposteilaria texts proper to the commemoration of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday the Triodion is here following the model earlier used on the "Saturdays of the Dead," the first Saturday of Lent (commemorating St. Theodore the Recruit), and the Saturday of the Akathistos. On Sundays during Lent, the rubrics provide for the taking of the Exaposteilarion of the Resurrection, followed by one proper to the specific commemoration of that day. These propar exaposteilaria are given on the First Sunday (commemorating the restoration of Orthodoxy), the Second Sunday (for St. Gregory Palamas), the Third Sunday of Lent (Exaposteilarion of the Cross), the Fourth Sunday (for John of the Ladder), and the Fifth Sunday (in honor of Mary of Egypt). On Palm Sunday, the antiphonal chant "Holy is the Lord our God," which is used every Sunday, is specified as the Exaposteilarion.

Idiomela at the Praises

At the Praises, Idiomela are given to respond to eight psalm verses. Six of these verses are taken from Psalms 149 and 150 as is usual, but two are also taken from Psalm

9, which is associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in other contexts. The Aposticha following the verses from Ps 9 are in Tone Eight, while those following the verses from Pss 149 and 150 are in Tones One and Four. These changes in Tone are quite common in the printed books, but they are at least suggestive of the possibility that the compilers of the Triodion here put together hymns which were originally part of distinct collections.

Most of these Aposticha are based on a paraphrase of the Johannine narrative. The interpretation of the miracle as a manifestation of the divine and human natures of Christ is also a prominent theme in these hymns. Only in the seventh Apostichon (the first in Tone Eight) do we find any element of the Destruction of Hades theme; similarly only the eighth hymn makes the moralizing application of the raising of Lazarus to the hymnographer's (or worshipers') own ascetical struggles: "I beg you to raise me also for I am dead because of {my} passions."

Lazarus Saturday - The Eucharistic Liturgy

The Eucharistic Liturgy on Lazarus Saturday is that ascribed to John Chrysostom, as on all of the Saturdays of Lent. Several of the elements proper to this Liturgy deserve further comment.

Baptismal Anthem replacing Trisagion

The significance of this rubric as the only surviving witness to the baptismal tradition of Lazarus Saturday has already been noted above (p. 265). Its retention a full millenium after the disappearance of the baptismal rituals once associated with this feast

is another dramatic example of the importance of one of the core insights of structural analysis, i.e., that each structural element has its own history, and even when elements have been strongly linked at one point in history, they are capable of independent and divergent developments.

Prokeimenon

The Prokeimenon for the Liturgy on Lazarus Saturday is the opening strophe of Psalm 26.1, with the complementary parallelism of the second strophe serving as the verse. As a "theme verse" it clearly echoes the victory over death and the confidence in Christ as Savior which are such important themes in the Gospel narrative:

Κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σῶτηρ μου, τίνα φοβηθήσομαι;
Κύριος ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου, ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω;

The Lord is my light and my Savior: whom shall I fear?
The Lord is the defender of my life: before whom shall I cower?

It is striking that this is the same verse which was used by the monks of Palestine when they dispersed into the desert at the beginning of the fast, as described in the *Life of Mary of Egypt* by Sophronius of Egypt.²⁵ It is tempting to see here an echo of that practice as they re-assembled at the conclusion of the Fast, but there is simply no evidence to support this assumption, and so for the moment it must be seen as simply a thematic coincidence.

The Epistle

Coming from the Letter to the Hebrews, as do all the Saturday Epistles of the

²⁵ This was cited above in chapter 13.

Lenten Cycle (except for those "secondary readings" which came into the Triodion from the Menaion), the particular passage chosen for Lazarus Saturday is Hebrews 12.28 - 13.8. In Part Two of this study, two suggestions of Fr. Schmemmann concerning the Saturdays of Lent were mentioned: the first is that the basic theme of Lenten Saturdays is *death*, culminating in the reflections on death inherent in the commemorations of Lazarus Saturday and Great Saturday; the second is that the scriptural readings for these Saturdays make up a thematic sequence. Examination of the content of the designated pericope raises several possible themes which might be suggestive of why this specific section was designated for this particular celebration.

Reading the passage in a modern biblical translation leads to the observation that the passage both begins and ends mid-paragraph. This simply means that modern interpreters of the scriptures discern a different flow of ideas here than did the compilers of the Byzantine Lectionary. A clearer understanding of this "lectionary logic" can be added to the list of *desiderata* for further research in Byzantine liturgy.²⁶

Several strong themes emerge from the Hebrews passage.

The Destruction of Hades could be suggested by the phrase in Hebrews 12.28 "the unshakeable kingdom" (βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον); similarly 12.29's invocation of

²⁶ Cf. Paragraph 12 of the *Criteria for the Evaluation of Inclusive Language Translations of Scriptural Texts Proposed for Liturgical Use* approved by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on November 15, 1990: "According to the Church's tradition, biblical texts have many liturgical uses. Because their immediate purposes are somewhat different, texts translated for public proclamation in the liturgy may differ in some respects . . . from those translations that are meant solely for academic study, private reading, or *lectio divina*."

Deuteronomy 4.24; 9.3; and Isaiah 33.14 in the reference to God as an consuming or destroying fire (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκον). The admonition in 13.3 to remember those in prison (μιμνήσκεσθε τῶν δεσμίων) would also suggest that theme to those who were already thinking of it, although in the original context it clearly belongs to the next category.

Acceptable worship is the translation of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible for λατρεύωμεν εὐρέστως in 12.28 and is clearly the central theme of these verses in their original context. It is worth noting the "horizontal thrust" of the specifics offered:

Let brotherly love continue;
 hospitality to strangers;
 remembrance of those in prison;
 let the marriage bed be undefiled;
 keep your life free from love of money;
 ...
 Remember your leaders ... imitate their faith.

The Triodion hymns retain several references to the theme of the "undefiled marriage bed" (ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος), which are always striking because of the overwhelming lack of interest in such matters by the monastic compilers of the Lenten Triodion. An echo of this striking phrase from Hebrews is found within the Triodion in the Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete.²⁷

"The Lord is my Helper!" sounds the theme of a three-phrase excerpt from Psalm

²⁷ See the twelfth Troparion at the Ninth Ode, *LT*, 412; *AT*, 312. In current usage this is also used at Great Compline on Tuesday of the First Week, *LT*, 228; *AT*, 107.

118.6 which is certainly relevant to the celebration of Lazarus Saturday, as is the admonition to confidence in the God who promises never to fail or forsake us (a promise first offered in Deuteronomy 31.6 and then echoed in Gen 28.15, Deuteronomy 31.8, and Joshua 1.5). The Christocentric twist of this theme in the next verse may also be part of this same semantic field.

Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever is the dramatic end to the designated reading, and as such it provides the central theme for the interpretation of this passage in its liturgical setting. While the role of this phrase in its original context is less clear, as the culmination of the pericope it provides a most appropriate focus on the unifying theme of the entire celebration of Lazarus Saturday, not to mention the entire pre-Paschal preparation.

Alleluia

The designated Alleluia verses from Ps 91.1 are those used throughout the year in the Oktoechos as the Prokeimenon for Saturday Evening Vespers, in which role they will be used again at Great Vespers for Palm Sunday. Their use here as "theme verse" for the Gospel would seem to be associated with the power of God manifest in the raising of Lazarus, although in considering the same words as applied to Palm Sunday, possible connections with the imagery of that feast will be offered below.

Gospel Reading

The designated pericope is Jn 11.1-45, the only account of the raising of Lazarus

in the Christian scriptures. The passage, as well as Thomas Talley's suggestion that it is paralleled in a section of the "Secret Gospel of Mark," is explored in chapter 21 below. It is interesting that the current limits of the passage exclude the introductory section of Jn 10.40-42 as well as the conclusion of Chapter 11 in verses 47-57. As we have seen, both the hymnography and the Synaxarion notice of Lazarus Saturday do allude to details of the story mentioned in these sections. Since there is no evidence that these sections were included in the liturgical readings of the Byzantine tradition, these allusions suggest that the hymnographers did not feel obliged to limit themselves to the specific passages proclaimed at the liturgical services.

Communion Hymn

The passage from Ps 8.3 used as the Communion Verse, "You have fashioned praise from the mouths of children and nursing infants" could strike those of us accustomed to an almost universal practice of infant baptism as a vague baptismal allusion. In fact, the imagery is often utilized in the hymnography for Palm Sunday, where the passage itself is used in response to the *Aposticha* at Little and Great Vespers, and as the Prokeimenon at Matins. The passage is quoted in Mt 21.16 as Jesus' response to the anger of the Jewish authorities at the praise given Christ after he had cleansed the Temple. In the edited gospel read at Palm Sunday Matins, the liturgical proclamation presents the adulation of the children and the reaction of the Temple leadership as relating directly to the exclamations offered on Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. The Synaxarion notice of Palm Sunday presents Ps 8.3 along with Zechariah 9.9 as prophetic statements

concerning this feast.

The Eucharistic Liturgy is the last of the structural elements proper to Lazarus Saturday itself. Beginning with Little Vespers, the remaining Services of Saturday and those of Sunday pertain to Palm Sunday, even if the themes proper to Lazarus Saturday remain prominent within them. In the next chapter we will examine those structural elements proper to Palm Sunday.

CHAPTER 15

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF PALM SUNDAY

In this chapter we will examine the structural elements proper to Palm Sunday in the current Byzantine usage, limiting our observations to those which relate to our primary themes.

Little Vespers for Palm Sunday

All of the hymns unique to this service focus on allusions to the triumphal entry into Jerusalem and the upcoming remembrance of the Passion. Lazarus is mentioned only once, in the Troparion of the Feast. All of the hymns are called *Prosomia* and are short and concise, something which is unusual for *Aposticha* hymns at Vespers during Lent. Passages from Ps 8 are used in response to the *Aposticha* in Tone Two, "{to the tune of} 'O House of Ephrata ...'," which *LT* describes as a "special melody."

Great Vespers for Palm Sunday

We have already had occasion to comment on the content of the hymnography of this service, noting how often themes proper to Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday occur together. Those at Ps 140 and the *Aposticha* are all described as *Idiomela*.

Great Vespers on Saturday Evening for Palm Sunday is the only Saturday Vespers in the Triodion to have proper readings from the Old Testament (apart from the

significant baptismal readings of Holy Saturday). The first reading is from the penultimate chapter of Genesis, 49.1-2; 8-12 which is noteworthy since the previous evening had completed the Lenten course-reading of Genesis. Upon examination, it proves to have a thematic connection with Palm Sunday, where Jacob summons his sons in vv. 1-2 and predicts of Judah in vv. 8-12:

Judah, your brothers shall praise you
 your hand is on the neck of your enemies.
 Your father's sons shall do you homage.
 Judah, you lion's whelp,
 you have returned from the kill my son,
 and crouch and stretch like a lion;
 and like a lion who shall dare rouse you?
 The sceptre shall not pass from Judah
 nor the staff from his descendants
 so long as tribute is brought to him
 and the obedience of the nations is his.
 To the vine he tethers his ass,
 and the colt of his ass to the red vine;
 he washes his cloak in wine,
 his robe in the blood of grapes.
 Darker than wine are his eyes,
 his teeth whiter than milk.

I have not discerned any allusion proper to the striking imagery of this passage in the hymns associated with Palm Sunday. The readings from Zephaniah (3.14-19) and Zechariah (9.9-15) are clearly related to Palm Sunday, in fact they may well have helped to shape the Gospel accounts of those events.

Great Vespers on Saturday Evening for Palm Sunday are also the only Saturday Vespers in the current Triodion to have a full set of proper texts for a Procession (Lite).¹

¹ *LT* has supplied texts from the usage of the Monastery of St. John on Patmos for the Second and Fourth Sundays. See Footnote 3 on p. 315 and Footnote 1 on p. 354. For the

The return to the use of the Prokeimenon from Ps 92.1, which the Oktoechos uses every Saturday night at Vespers, has been interpreted above as an indication that Palm Sunday is liturgically distinct from the time of the Forty-day Fast. No Tone is specified for the Prokeimenon, although all of the preceding hymns are in Tone Six, and within the current hymnographic compilations the general assumption is that when no Tone is specified one continues in the last Tone which was indicated. One of the oddities of the Saturday evening Prokeimenon in the Oktoechos is that it is *always* in Tone Six, regardless of the Tone of the week of the Oktoechos cycle. Perhaps the Palm Sunday usage goes all the way back to the Jerusalem practice which Egeria {31.1} describes as "*hymns and antiphons appropriate to that very day and place are said, and in the same way the readings.*" The image of God's kingship, "clothed in majesty" is certainly complementary to the imagery common to the feast, which emphasizes that the one who enters Jerusalem seated on a colt is the same One who sits upon the throne of the cherubim. The confluence of themes is not strong enough to be anything more than suggestive, but it does suggest a possibility which can then be tested as other data become available. This "working hypothesis" would state that the use of Ps 92.1 as the Prokeimenon in Tone Six at Great Vespers for Palm Sunday became the pattern for the usage of the Oktoechos for the same passage in the same tone at every Saturday Vespers.

The content of the two *Apolytikia* proper to the feast has already been noted. Both Troparia end with the refrain, "Hosanna in the Highest; Blessed is the One who comes in

First, Third, and Fifth Sundays the rubrics prescribe the Verses for the Patron of the Church.

the name of the Lord." This exact phrase is found in Mt 21.9, and with minor variants in the parallel gospel accounts of the triumphal entry: Mk 11.9; Lk 19.38; Jn 12.13. With the two phrases reversed it is found in the hymn "Today the grace of the Holy Spirit has called us together ..." which is used at the Glory of the Aposticha at Vespers and as the second Troparion after Ps 50 at Matins.

Matins, Palm Sunday Morning

Matins on Palm Sunday Morning follows the pattern for Sunday Matins in general, nevertheless there are some distinctive features of the service that are worth calling attention to.

The Sessional Hymns

Two Sessional Hymns (καθίσματα) in Tone Four are given to be used after the first reading from the Psalter, which does not occur elsewhere in the Triodion apart from Holy Week. Two Sessional Hymns are also given to be sung after the second reading from the Psalter, something which is normally found only at Weekday Matins elsewhere in the Triodion. The first of these is based on the same model as the first Sessional Hymn after the first reading from the Psalter, and is also in Tone Four; the second Sessional Hymn after the second reading from the Psalter is in Tone One and is modeled on the Resurrection Troparion of that Tone. There are no other Sundays in the Triodion which give Sessional Hymns for the second reading from the Psalter.

In providing these hymns, the Triodion is here structurally similar to the Menaion, which usually provides proper Sessional Hymns after all the Psalter readings at Matins

for Great Feasts. Indeed, it is traditional to include Palm Sunday in the listing of Great Feasts of the Byzantine Church Calendar, an classification more popularly known from the inclusion of the icon of the feast on the second tier of Icon Screens. The possibility that this listing reflects an earlier stage of calendrical development, in which Palm Sunday would be independent of the Forty-day fast, is only a possibility in the absence of any more specific evidence.

A Megalynarion

LT includes texts for the following Megalynarion, which is interspersed with the verses from Ps 8.2 and Ps 117.26-7, biblical texts which were probably chosen since they are used in chapter 21 of Matthew, from which the Gospel pericope read at this service is taken.

We magnify thee, O Christ, Giver of Life:
 Hosanna in the Highest!
 And we also cry to Thee:
 Blessed is He who comes in the Name of the Lord.²

LT's footnote 12, which explains that this element is found in the Slav usage only, makes clear its absence from *AT*.

The Readings

The Matins Gospel is specified as Mt 21.1-11 and 15-17, the first Gospel's account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The designated pericope omits verses 12-14, which describe Jesus "cleansing" the Temple, but continues in verses 15-17, with

² *LT*, 494.

Matthew's account of the indignation of the Chief Priests and the Scribes over the adulation Jesus had received.

AT does not give the Prokeimenon reading from Ps 8, which however is well attested in other sources. It was an obvious choice for this "theme verse" since it is actually quoted in the Gospel reading just mentioned, at Mt 21.16.

The Omission of *Having Seen the Resurrection of Christ*

Among the distinctive details of Palm Sunday is the rubric at Matins, "We do not sing *Having seen the Resurrection of Christ ...*",³ the only Sunday of the Liturgical year to have this unique usage. It would seem that the intention of the rubric is to mute the clear resurrectional emphasis of every Sunday's liturgical services, focusing instead on Palm Sunday's character of preparation for the annual celebration of the Resurrection at Pascha. This assumption is supported by a detail found in the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, where Janeras called attention to an alternative text given there which clearly parallels the Hymn which is normally taken at every Sunday Matins after the Gospel Reading. Here are the parallel texts as he arranged them, although underlining has been added to call attention to the differences.

³ *AT*, 384; *LT*, 495.

Sunday Matins

Having beheld the Resurrection of Christ

Let us worship the holy Lord

Jesus, who alone is sinless

We venerate Your cross, O Christ

and we praise and glorify Your holy resurrection,

for You are our God, and beside You we know no other, and we call upon Your name.

Come, all the faithful

let us venerate the holy resurrection of Christ

for behold, through the cross joy has come to the whole world.

Ever blessing the Lord, we sing the praises of his resurrection

for in enduring the cross for us

he destroyed death by death.

Palm Sunday (*Typikon of the Anastasis*)

Having beheld the Feast of the Palms

Let us worship the holy Lord

Jesus, who alone is sinless

We venerate Your Passion, O Christ

and we praise and glorify the prelude of Your resurrection,

for the raising of the four-day-~~dead~~ Lazarus {is} a fore-shadowing of Your resurrection on the third day.

Come, all the faithful

let us venerate the condescension of Christ

for behold through it joy has come to the whole world.

Ever blessing the Lord, we sing the praises of his passion

for in enduring the cross

he destroyed death by death.

Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι

προσκυνήσωμεν ἅγιον Κύριον
Ἰησοῦν τὸν μόνον ἀναμάρτητον
Τὸν σταυρόν σου, Χριστέ,
προσκυνούσωμεν
καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν σου ἀνάστασιν

ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν
σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεὸς ἡμῶν
ἐκτός σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἶδαμεν
τὸ ὄνομα σου ὀνομάζομεν

Δεῦτε, πάντες οἱ πιστοί,
προσκυνήσωμεν
Τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγίαν ἀνάστασιν
ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἦλθε διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ
χαρὰ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ
Διὰ παντὸς εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Κύριον
ὑμνοῦμεν τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ
σταυρὸν γὰρ ὑπομείνας δι' ἡμᾶς
Θανάτῳ Θάνατον ὤλεσεν.

Τὴν Βαίῳ ἀγίαν ἐορτὴν
θεασάμενοι

προσκυνήσωμεν ἅγιον Κύριον
Ἰησοῦν τὸν μόνον ἀναμάρτητον
Τὸ μετριοπαθές σου, Χριστέ,
προσκυνούσωμεν
καὶ τὰ προοίμια τῆς σῆς
ἀναστάσεως

ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν
ἢ τοῦ Λαζάρου γὰρ
τετραήμερος ἔγερσις
τὴν τριήμερον σου ἀνάστασιν
προετύπωσεν

Δεῦτε, πάντες οἱ πιστοί,
προσκυνήσωμεν
Τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ συγκατάβασιν:
ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἦλθε δι' αὐτῆς
χαρὰ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ
Διὰ παντὸς εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Κύριον
ὑμνοῦμεν τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ
σταυρὸν γὰρ ὑπομείνας
Θανάτῳ Θάνατον ὤλεσεν.

The *Typikon of the Anastasis* continues
with another verse.

In this hymn we again see the Raising of Lazarus, the celebration of Palm Sunday, and the "foreshadowing" of the Passion intertwined. The clear replacement of any reference to the resurrection as a past event to be celebrated transforms it into a future event to be awaited and prepared for, which is precisely what the events being commemorated did in the Gospel narrative of the life of Christ.

The Blessing of the Palms

Another of the distinctive features of Palm Sunday Matins is the blessing of the Palms. *AT* simply mentions it in a rubric which follows the Troparia specified after Ps

50: "While the brothers are venerating the Gospel, the Hegumen distributes (διανέμει) the Palms."⁴ *LT* on page 495 gives the prayer for the Blessing of the Palms, placing it directly after Ps 50, and not giving a specific source for the text given.

Egeria explicitly mentions the use of Palms in the Stational Procession of Palm Sunday afternoon, but she does not give any indication of a blessing for them.

[31.2] At five o'clock the passage is read from the Gospels about the children who met the Lord with palm branches, saying, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." At this the bishop and all the people rise from their places and start off on foot down from the summit of the Mount of Olives. All the people go before him with psalms and antiphons, all the time repeating, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

[31.3] The babies and the ones too young to walk are carried on their parents' shoulders. Everyone is carrying branches, either palm or olive, and they accompany the bishop in the very way the people did when once they went down with the Lord.

[31.4] They go on foot all down the Mount to the city, and all through the city to the Anastasis, but they have to go pretty gently on account of the older women and men among them who might get tired. So it is already late when they reach the Anastasis; but even though it is late they hold Lucernare when they get there, then have a prayer At the Cross, and the people are dismissed.⁵

It is striking that, given how much the Holy Week services which follow clearly reflect the influence of the stational liturgies of Jerusalem and Constantinople, there is no procession with Palms in the current Byzantine rite.

⁴ *AT*, 384.

⁵ English translation from Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 133.

The Kanon

The Kanon at Matins is attributed to Kosmas the Monk.⁶ *AT* tells us that it has the acrostic Ὡσαννὰ Χριστός, εὐλογημένος Θεός, which enables us to discern something about the structure of the Kanon assumed by the hymnographer. The Kanon has eight Odes, skipping the second. *AT* calls for the repetition of the Heirmos as a Katabasia, but these Katabasia are not included in the acrostic, while the Heirmoi are.⁷ The Hypakoe given after the Third Ode is not included in the acrostic, nor are the Kontakion and its Oikos found after the Sixth Ode.

For each Ode, the Heirmos is followed by two (Odes 1, 3, 5, 6) or three (Odes 4, 7, 8, 9) Troparia. Every single Troparion ends with the concluding phrase of the Heirmos on which it was modeled, and each appears to scan with the same number of syllables and accents as its model. These are two characteristics of the classical Kanon genre which are rarely found in the composite kanons which predominate in the current Triodion, especially since they were not characteristic of the works of Joseph and Theodore the Stoudites, whose compositions dominate the Weekday kanons of the Triodion.

Another unusual feature of these Heirmoi is that that most of them explicitly relate to the imagery of Palm Sunday. To give but one example:

⁶ *LT*, 496, footnote 15 on p. 496 tells us that, "According to some texts, {this kanon is} by St. Andrew of Crete." That attribution is probably due to scribal confusion with the rubric found after the Third Ode, "Then we read the word of our Lord Andrew of Crete." (*AT*, 384) In fact this notice refers to the monastic system of Patristic readings. See the discussion above at the end of Chapter 9.

⁷ A typographical error at the top of the second column of *AT*, 384 confuses the Katabasia of the First Ode with the Heirmos of the Second.

(Heirmos) The Lord is God and has appeared to us; let us keep the feast together. Come, and with great rejoicing let us magnify Christ with palms and branches, and let us cry aloud: Blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord our Saviour.⁸

The content of the Troparia also recalls the scriptural accounts of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Only one (the first of the Third Ode) makes any mention of Lazarus, although its place in the acrostic assures us that the composer was aware of the association of these two feasts which is so prevalent in other texts. The third Troparion of the Eighth Ode refers to the cleansing of the Temple, an event whose description is excluded from the Gospel passage specified for Matins in the current Byzantine usage.

Exaposteilarion

For the exapostilarion, *AT* has this curious rubric:

Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Ἄγιος Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ψάλλομεν τὰ αὐτὸ καὶ μόνον, ἐκ γ'.

For the Exaposteilarion: *Holy is the Lord our God.* We sing this and only this one, three times.⁹

LT's translation makes clear the implications:

There is no special exaposteilarion, but we sing (as usual on Sundays) Holy is the Lord our God (three times) in TONE FOUR.¹⁰

This lack of a special exaposteilarion is another detail that distinguishes Palm Sunday from the Sundays of the Forty-day Fast (see above, p. 285.) In avoiding another of the

⁸ *Heirmos* at the Ninth Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 500-501; *AT*, 386.

⁹ *AT*, 387.

¹⁰ *LT*, 501.

ways which normal Sunday Matins celebrate the resurrection of Christ, this would seem to be another indication of the liturgical sense of Palm Sunday as a prelude to the Passion, transforming the resurrection from something celebrated into something to be awaited and prepared for.

At the Praises

Four hymns identified as Idiomela are provided, all in Tone Four, and the rubrics specify that we take six verses, so the first two are sung twice. The hymn after *Glory Now and Ever... .* is the same hymn in Tone Six used as the last hymn at Ps 140 at Great Vespers the night before.

Palm Sunday, Divine Liturgy

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the specification of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom for this day distinguishes it from the previous 5 five days, each of which fell within the calculation of the Forty-day Fast and used the Liturgy of St. Basil.

The Antiphons

The three sets of antiphons given are from Pss 114, 115, and 117 {Pss 116 and 118 in the Masoretic numbering}, and are the only such proper antiphons within the Lenten Triodion. They show several signs of being remnants of the stational celebration of this feast.

The use of Ps 117 {118.}.26 as the Prokeimenon is easy to understand, given its use in slightly variant forms in all the Gospel accounts of the triumphal entry, and the

same passage will be used as the Communion Verse (κοινωνικόν).

The Epistle reading from Phillippians 4.4-19 has many memorable phrases, none of which are easily connected with the themes usually associated with Palm Sunday. One which may have such connections is found in verse 6: ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς.

The Alleluia Verses from Ps 97 {96}.1 & 3 do not have as clear a connection to the events commemorated on Palm Sunday, although they certainly are appropriate for the opening of Great and Holy Week.

The Gospel from John 12.1-18 opens with the phrase which we noted above as being so significant in the hymnography of our target texts: "Six days before the Passover" Lazarus is explicitly mentioned five times in this pericope: once in each of the first two verses which set the scene for the anointing in Bethany, twice again in verses 9 and 11 which describe the reaction of the Jewish authorities to the fact that people were attracted to Jesus through Lazarus. The last time Lazarus is mentioned is in verse 17 (in fact it is the final time Lazarus is referred to in the entire Christian canon), and the following verse explicitly makes the connection between the events commemorated on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

The people who were present when he called Lazarus out of the tomb and raised him from the dead told what they had seen and heard. That is why the crowd went out to meet him; they had heard of this sign that he had performed.

Note that in these verses from the Fourth Gospel, a narrative link is provided which connects the two events of the raising of Lazarus and the triumphal entry of Jerusalem. We are told that the crowd went out to meet Jesus on Palm Sunday because they had heard of the raising of Lazarus. The chronological marker given in the text explicitly

describes the triumphal entry as taking place on the next day (Τῇ ἐπαύριον) after the anointing at Bethany, which in 12.1 was identified as taking place "six days before the Passover."

LT, 504 gives a rubric not found in *AT*: "In place of 'Truly it is right to call thee blessed,' we sing the irmos from Canticle Nine of the Canon, 'The Lord is God.'" There is no comparable substitution elsewhere in the Lenten Triodion, although such replacements are found in the rubrics for other Great Feasts. This may be another indication that the structure of Palm Sunday has more in common with the Feasts of the Fixed Cycle than with those of the Moveable Cycle of Feasts.

Palm Sunday Evening: At the Lamplighting

As was noted in Chapter 7, the use of the phrase Εἰς τὸ Λύχνικον is common, but by no means universal, in the Triodion.

The three stichera in Tone Eight used at Ps 140 are called Idiomela. Each is repeated twice, thus responding to six of the Psalm verses, while the first and third are repeated yet again in response to the *Glory be...* and *Now and ever ...*. The first two use the same concluding phrase which would seem to have been composed by combining four components:

Ὁσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις
εὐλογημένος εἶ
ὁ ἔχων πλήθος οἰκτιρμῶν
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Hosanna in the Highest
Blessed is
the one full of compassion
have mercy on us.

This is the first Sunday Evening Vesper service since Forgiveness Vespers to use the customary Sunday evening Prokeimenon, rather than one of the two Great

Prokeimena which alternated during the period of the 40-day Fast.

The verses from Ps 97.1 & 3 which were used at the Alleluia before the Gospel at the Liturgy return here as the Aposticha verses. The two hymns to which they respond are in Tones Two and Three respectively, while that which precedes the *Glory* ... is in Tone 7. The first exhorts the faithful to hasten "as if passing from one divine feast to another," - ὥς ἐκ θείας ἑορτῆς εἰς θείαν μεταβάντες ἑορτήν, which would seem to reflect an understanding of the Lazarus Saturday/Palm Sunday celebrations as being distinct from those of Holy Week.

The Same Sunday Evening: at Compline

This service is dominated by the Three-ode Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete. Similar Triodia attributed to Andrew are found at {Little} Compline later in Holy Week, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday nights, and each seems to be more properly a part of the services of the following day, both in structure and theme. Thus the Triodion at Sunday night Compline has hymns for the First, Eighth, and Ninth Odes, which is the usage within the Lenten period for the Kanon at Monday Morning Matins. Similarly the Three-ode Kanon used on Monday night has hymns for the Second, Eighth and Ninth Odes, the Triodion usage for Kanons at Tuesday Morning Matins, etc.

The themes of the Kanon used at Sunday Evening Compline are dominated by references to the patriarch Joseph from the book of Genesis, and the fig tree which was

cursed by Jesus as he returned to Jerusalem from Bethany¹¹ The Synaxarion notice for Holy Monday tells us:

On the same day, Holy and Great Monday, we celebrate in commemoration of Joseph the blessed and excellent man, and we call also to remembrance the fig tree that had been cursed by the Lord and withered away.¹²

Both of these themes are prominent in the hymnography proper to Great Monday, and the Matins Gospel is Mt 21.18-43 includes the episode with the fig tree mentioned above.

AT does not provide the text of the Heirmoi of this Kanon, although the *incipits* are given in bold after the title of each Ode. *LT* does supply the text, a situation repeated for the Kanons of Complines on the following three nights also. Within this Kanon, the Triadika and Theotokia seem to relate to the themes of the day, something not found in most of the Lenten Triodion.

Glory be to the Father...

It is alien to evildoers to glorify Thee, the Essence that has no beginning, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the sovereign and uncreated Might, that has established the whole world by an act of divine power. *Both now...*

Theotokion

We bring the Theotokos as our intercessor: at her prayers and those of Thine apostles, make us share, O Master, in Thy blessings and, O Saviour, count us worthy of the glory of Thy Resurrection.¹³

The hymns of this Kanon also distribute some of the more dramatic expressions of the

¹¹ Cf. Mt 21.18-22; Mk 11.12-14 & 20-26 (the omitted verses present Mark's account of the cleansing of the temple). Many scholars think that the Lukan parable found in 13.6-9 is a re-working of this tradition of the cursing of the fig tree.

¹² *NZT*, 436, cf. *AT*, 398.

¹³ Hymns after the Ninth Ode in Tone Eight, Three-ode Kanon, attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 510; *AT*, 391.

anti-Jewish polemic that has been identified in our target texts and which will be examined in the next chapter.

It was observed above in Chapter 4 that *AT* utilizes a dramatic headline on p. 392 to indicate the beginning of Great and Holy Week, a typographic indication of one of the most widely understood divisions of the Triodion. A rubrical reflection of the same structural division is found in the instruction given at the end of Sunday Night Compline:

Note that during Holy and Great Week we complete the Psalter just once; on Great Monday at Orthros we say three kathismata {of the Psalter}, and two at the Third/Sixth Hour; we do the same on Great Tuesday, finishing on Great Wednesday; Ps 118 we chant on Great Saturday.¹⁴

Looking back over the evidence examined in the last two chapters, the assertion that Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday are liturgically distinct from the preceding Forty-day Fast is well established on structural grounds. The thesis that they are also distinct from Holy Week, and thus form an independent, transitional element within the larger period of paschal preparation, is not as firmly supported, yet it still seems to be the best way to explain the evidence uncovered so far. This distinction of Palm Sunday from Holy Week is also implied in the phrase used in the Synaxarion notice for Great Monday: "From this day begins the Holy Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ."¹⁵ While none of these structural details would be conclusive if considered in isolation, taken together they do provide strong support for the unique nature of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday within the celebrations of the Lenten Triodion.

¹⁴ *AT* 391.

¹⁵ *NZT*, 437, cf. *AT*, .

CHAPTER 16

LITERARY ELEMENTS

A full and comprehensive description of the literary elements would be difficult if not impossible, and even if it were more feasible it would take us too far afield from our primary interests to pursue such a survey in depth. There are nevertheless a wide range of literary elements which it will be useful to note however briefly. We will limit ourselves to preliminary observations in areas that will be helpful in tracing the histories of our primary elements, and hope that future studies will offer opportunities for broader and deeper examination of these important areas.

The first area to be examined will be literary forms, the second will be the hymnographers to which works are attributed in our printed books, while the final area will be a sampling of literary themes.

Literary Forms/Hymnographic descriptors

In Part Two of this study, we alluded to the confusion inherent in the lack of a uniform terminology to refer to the various forms of Byzantine hymns, and a few comments were offered about the different literary genres still represented in the Byzantine anthologies. In the absence of more substantial studies to clarify these convoluted usages, it seems futile to attempt more specific observations about the particular terminology used in our printed Triodia to identify the hymns for Lazarus

Saturday and Palm Sunday. There are nonetheless a few observations which can be helpful in our attempt to trace the particular histories of some of the structural elements associated with these commemorations.

Dialogue/Serial Monologue

A striking feature of the Kanon of Andrew of Crete currently sung at Compline on the Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday is the dialogue (more precisely serial monologue) format of so many of the stanzas. One example comes from the Third Ode:

"Woe is me! Now I am annihilated!" shrieked Hades,
 calling out to death and saying,
 "Behold, the Nazarean rattles the depths,
 ripping open my guts,
 He speaks to a lifeless corpse and raises it up."

The most striking example is in the hymns for the Seventh Ode:

Lazarus cried from below to the one who set him free,
 "Even if I am bound in restraints, O Savior,
 I shall not be left forever in the depths of Hades,
 if only you will call to me, 'Lazarus come out!'
 You who are my Light and my Life."

"Lazarus, I beg you," says {Hades},
 "Rise up, quickly leave my constraints behind, and be off!
 It is better for me to bitterly grieve over one who escapes
 than {to lose} all those I have ravenously devoured."

"Lazarus, why do you dally?" says Hades.
 "You friend stands shouting to you, 'Come out!'.
 "Depart then, so that I may also experience relief,
 because ever since I devoured you,
 all other food makes me sick."

"O Lazarus, why don't you rise quickly?" Hades shrieks in pain,
 "Why don't you rise up and bolt from here this instant?
 Unless you do, Christ may capture others after raising you."

The expansion of the biblical narrative through imagined monologue or dialogue is a literary characteristic of the Kontakion genre of liturgical hymnography, while the less specific expansion of biblical narrative is characteristic of those non-canonical Christian writings generally classified as the apocrypha. This observation suggests that these writings might be a potential source for some of the hymnographic elements currently associated with Lazarus Saturday.

Attributed Sources

The tenuous nature of the attributions of specific works to specific hymnographers within the current hymnographic compilations has already been commented on above. Until more manuscript sources are more widely available in reliable editions, more precise observations about these attributions will not be possible. Nevertheless, since our methodological starting point has been the current printed editions, some observations about the persons credited with composing these texts is appropriate. These observations can provide a useful starting point if and when a more detailed study of the sources becomes feasible.

Gospel of John

Nowhere is the narrative of the Fourth Gospel explicitly cited as a source for the hymnographic texts included in the Triodion, although the Synaxarion notice for Lazarus Saturday does note:

Only St. John refers to this miracle. The other evangelists give no reference, as they also say nothing about the Lord as begotten from the Father before eternity, or as the Word of God. So we can suppose that St. John considered it important

to include this miracle in his narration, in relation with the divine essence of the Word, who is Jesus Christ, as the Source and Cause of Resurrection.¹

As will be explored in chapter 21 below, there can be no question but that the narrative of the Fourth Gospel concerning the Raising of Lazarus is the basic source for all subsequent accounts, although it is less clear that it is responsible for the historical development and placement of the commemoration.

Careful attention to the texts of Jn 11 and 12, as well as to the implications of the phrase "Six days before the Passover" as used in the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, has raised the possibility that the commemoration of the anointing in Bethany may have been involved in the historical evolution of these feasts in the Byzantine tradition.

Other images used in our target texts are specific to Matthew's gospel, while allusions to the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus can only be based on the text of Luke 16. Yet it seems clear that the basic lenten lectionary for weekends at Constantinople was based on a course reading of Mark. Unraveling the twisted threads of this complicated history is one of the main challenges facing our investigation of the structural elements of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition.

Emperor Leo (the Wise)

A series of *Idiomela* at Psalm 140 (Friday Vespers) are attributed to the Emperor Leo the Wise, i.e. Leo VI. They are all in Tone Six, as opposed to the all of the other

¹ NZT, 417; AT 376. My own more literal translation has been given above in Chapter 14.

hymns at this Friday Vespers, which are in Tone Eight. (The First Prokeimenon taken from Ps. 123 is in Tone Six; the Second, taken from Ps 124, is in Tone Four.)

Leo's involvement in hymnography is well documented.² We also have evidence for a specific interest of Leo VI in Lazarus. The Synaxarion notice for Lazarus Saturday includes the following information:

Later [they], *the precious and holy relics of {Lazarus}*, were translated to Constantinople by *the most wise* Leo the Emperor of Byzantium (after a vision he had), and a great temple was erected in his honor. *A temple in the name (of Lazarus) was constructed to the right alongside of the New Temple, and against the Bema of the Church, before the wall. Even now whoever would like to venerate these precious relics goes in.*³

Presumably this notice reflects the experience of Nikephorus Kallistos of Xanthoupolis around the year 1300, and the information about the veneration of the relics of Lazarus in Constantinople is corroborated in the Russian Pilgrim tales edited by G. P. Majeska in *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.⁴ The Monastery of St. Lazarus is mentioned by three of Majeska's sources. The so-called "Russian Anonymous" tells us:

As you go north from Hodigitria toward Mangana, on the right is the Monastery of St. Lazarus; there reposes St. Lazarus the friend of God sealed in a column on the right, while his sister Martha reposes there on the left-hand side. There also reposes St. Meletius on the right-hand side, while immured in a column on the left

² See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Catalog*, # 221 (Vol. I, p. 331) for other Idiomela attributed to Leo. I have not yet been able to consult H.J.W. Tillyard, "The Morning Hymns of the Emperor Leo," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 30-31 (1928-31).

³ *AT*, 375, English translation adapted from *NZT*, with additions by *PEY* in italics.

⁴ *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 19 (Washington D.C., 1984).

is Mary Magdalen.⁵

The account of "Alexander the Clerk" tells us:

Near the imperial palace of Constantine is the Monastery of Ss. Sergius and Bachus, [and] among the relics [are] both their heads. Nearby is a playing field {the Hippodrome} where serpent poison is sealed in three bronze serpents, and [there are] many other wonders there wrought by Emperor Leo the Wise. In the Monastery of St. Lazarus, St. Lazarus and his two sisters, Martha and Mary, are enclosed in the sanctuary.⁶

Finally the account of Zosima the Deacon:

Nearby St. Sophia is the Hodegitria Monastery where the All-pure [Mother of God] performs a miracle every Tuesday. Near this monastery is a second monastery, Lazarus "Four-days[-Dead]," in which are his relics, sealed in a column, his sister Mary, and a second Lazarus, bishop of Gelasium.⁷

These sources are unanimous in placing the relics of Lazarus in this Monastery.⁸

The association of the relics of Lazarus with those of Martha and Mary is not surprising, although later Christian tradition has developed the character of each of the siblings in distinctive ways. The confusion (or conflation) of Mary the sister of Lazarus with Mary of Magdala is common in the Christian tradition and is rooted in differing gospel accounts of the anointing of Jesus' feet. The close connection in the account of Alexander

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 138, with the Russian text on p. 139.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 164, Russian text on p. 165.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 192, Russian text on p. 183.

⁸ According to Majeska (*op. cit.*, 380), two additional sources provide similar information. "The Armenian Anonymous" is his title for a source published by Sebastian Brock, "A Medieval Armenian Pilgrim's Description of Constantinople," *Revue des Études Armeniennes* n.s. 4 (1967): 81-102, here p. 86. "The Mercati Anonymous" refers to a travel narrative published by K. Ciggaar, "Une Description de Constantinople," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 34 (1976): 211-67, here p. 249.

the Clerk between the "wonders of the Emperor Leo the Wise" and the monastery of St. Lazarus is striking, given the association between the two which we know of from other sources. The text itself, however, offers us no basis to judge if this connection is merely accidental or not.

Andrew the Blind

The Troparion after *Now and Ever* at Psalm 140 (Friday Vespers) is attributed to Andrew the Blind. It is identified as "another Idiomelon," presumably with reference to the preceding Idiomelon which comes after the *Glory*; both are in Tone Eight.

This hymn includes the distinctive phrase "Having completed the soul-enriching Forty-days," which is also found in the unattributed Idiomelon which opens the propers for Friday Vespers. Beginning with a summary of the biblical narrative, it then adds elements from the destruction of Hades semantic field, moving on to images of Palm Sunday, with at least a hint of the polemic against the Hebrews. Thus even though this is the only element within the texts explicitly attributed to Andrew, this brief passage effectively integrates a wide range of the themes dealt with in the hymnography for the feast.

The precise identity of "Andrew the Blind" is unclear.

Andrew of Crete

The Kanons at Compline on Friday Night before Lazarus Saturday and at Compline on the Evening of Palm Sunday are attributed to Andrew of Crete, whose "Great Kanon" is so prominent in the current Triodion, and which may well have played

a significant role in the eventual predominance of the Kanon form within the Byzantine Liturgical Books. The fact that the Kanon used at Compline on Friday Evening is one of the few surviving Kanons with poetic compositions for all nine Biblical Odes has already been commented on.

This Nine-ode Kanon shows several structural signs of being an authentic sample of the early Kanon form. Among these are the clear echos of the biblical Odes in the Heirmoi, short stanzas with clear parallelisms, and the consistency with which the poet remains close to the Biblical texts for inspiration for the verses. The "Great Kanon" of Andrew of Crete amply demonstrates his predilection for, and mastery of, biblical *exempla*, a trait reflected in this Kanon also. In the words of Egon Wellesz,

The Kanons of Andrew of Crete, most of them of exceptional length, show the {kanon} genre fully developed. ... Andrew of Crete is certainly one of the greatest hymn writers, and like Romanus, indefatigable in turning scriptural examples to the purpose of penitential confession.⁹

The two major themes of this Kanon are discussed below: the Raising of Lazarus as a manifestation of the two natures of Christ, and various images associated with the Destruction of Hades.

(Sophronius of Jerusalem)

Concerning this "Troparion in the First Tone of Lazarus Saturday" [Greek incipit, "The New Resurrection"], Momina observes:

It is particularly interesting that in the 7th century Kanonaria it is preserved as an antiphon for the passion. According to the tradition, it is the work of Sophronius,

⁹ Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 204.

Patriarch of Jerusalem. As we have seen, Kekelidze considers this correct, referring to an ancient edition of the antiphons, which at that time were only seven of the current fifteen.¹⁰

Sophronius was Patriarch of Jerusalem from 634-638.

Theophanes

There are three candidates for the referent to this attribution. Theophanes the Confessor lived from about 760-817; his most famous literary work is his *Chronographia*. Theophanes of Sicily was a ninth-century hymnographer; most of his extant works are Kanons in honor of Sicilian saints. Theophanes Graptos (brother of Theodore Graptos) would seem to be the most likely candidate. Born around 778, he died in 845 and was closely associated with the iconodule struggle against iconoclasm.

Kosmas the Monk

Kosmas the Monk is the title given in the liturgical books for the figure known to contemporary scholars as Kosmas of Maiouma, who lived from around 675 to about 752. The adopted brother of John of Damascus, he ended his life as Bishop of Maiouma, and like John, his poetic compositions form a large part of the early Sabbaite corpus. The Eight-ode Kanon used at Matins on Palm Sunday is attributed to him.

John the Monk

The precise referent of this attribution is uncertain. Many works later attributed to John of Damascus have this attribution, and it is the one used by John in acrostics, so the

¹⁰ Momina, "Origins," 114.

hypothesis that the Damascene is intended is attractive. Wellesz, cautions us, however:

The last of this group of {ninth century} hymn writers was John Mauropus (c. 1081) Metropolitan of Euchaita. A number of the hymns bearing the name of Ἰωάννης Μόναχος may have been written by him and not by John Damascene, to whom they were formerly attributed.¹¹

Literary Themes

Literary themes is used here to refer to themes clearly made up of elements taken from previous literary works. The overwhelming majority of such elements within Byzantine hymnography are taken from the Greek Scriptures.

The Raising of Lazarus

This theme is clearly the most prominent of all those presented in the hymnography of the day. It has already been examined above in Chapter 12, and the scriptural basis of this theme will be discussed below in Chapter 21.

The Destruction of Hades

On the surface at least this theme has nothing to do with the biblical narrative of John 11, in fact there are no texts of the Christian Scriptures which obviously underlie the use of this theme in the hymns of Lazarus Saturday. This peculiarity was one of the main reasons this theme was chosen for special examination in our study. The texts for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday which demonstrate this theme will be explored in more depth in Chapter 20, while the broader context of this theme as manifest in hymns

¹¹ Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 237, where footnote 6 refers us to Tillyard, *Byzantine Music*, p. 35.

from elsewhere in the Triodion, the Pentekostarion, and the Oktoechos will be surveyed in chapter 19.

Polemic against "the Hebrews"

One of the features of our target texts which is quite striking to our post-holocaust sensibilities is the blatant polemic against "the Hebrews" which is so often found there. A significant number of examples have already been offered above, where this polemic was a relatively secondary development of a scriptural theme, and many more instances will be analyzed here. Apart from the texts used on Great and Holy Friday, one would be hard pressed to find a more pervasive polemic against the Jews in the Byzantine liturgical books than that associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.¹²

The presence of such a polemic within the Fourth Gospel, and the exaggeration of this theme into blatantly anti-semitic writings and actions within the later Christian tradition, have already received a fair amount of scholarly attention.¹³ One of the functions of the raising of Lazarus episode within the narrative flow of the Fourth Gospel is explicitly presented as motivating the Jewish leaders to seek to put Jesus to death.

¹² Concerning the Hymns of Great Friday, see the sources listed below in Chapter 18.

¹³ See, e.g., *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity* - Volume 1 edited by Peter Richardson and David Gransko, Volume 2, *Seperation and Polemic* edited by Stephen G. Wilson (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1986); Eric Werner, "Melito of Sardis, the first poet of deicide," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 37 (1966: 191-210; Stephen G. Wilson, "Passover, Easter, and anti-Judaism: Melito of Sardis and others," in Jacob Neusner, ed., *To see ourselves as others see us: "Christians, Jews, and "others" in late antiquity*, (Scholar's Press, 1985). All of the Commentaries on the Fourth Gospel listed below in Chapter 21 have sections dealing with this theme also.

Jn 11.45-6; 53 Then many of the Jews who had come to Mary, and had seen the things that Jesus did, believed in Him. But some of them went away to the Pharisees and told them the things Jesus did. . . . Then from that day on they plotted to put him to death.

Jn 12.9-11 A great number of the Jews heard that he was there, and came not only to see Jesus but also Lazarus whom he had raised from the dead. The chief priests then resolved to do away with Lazarus as well, since on his account many Jews were going over to Jesus and putting their faith in him.
(Jn 12.12-15 is the account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.)

Jn 12.16-19 At that time his disciples did not understand this, but after Jesus had been glorified they remembered that this had been written about him, and that this had happened to him. The people who were present when he called Lazarus out of the tomb and raised him from the dead told what they had seen and heard. That is why the crowd went out to meet him; they had heard of this sign that he had performed.

Some expressions of the theme within our target texts can be understood as elaborations on elements already present in the biblical narrative. The following examples all come from Kanon used at Friday Night Compline, attributed to Andrew of Crete.

O Master, the crowd of Hebrews was astonished
when they observed the dead one, Lazarus,
rising from the tomb at the sound of your voice,
and yet they remained skeptical about your miracles.¹⁴

O Christ, the Jewish people were enraged
on seeing the dead one rise at the sound of your voice.
O Jews, surrounded by light yet still in darkness,
Why do you dispute the resurrection of Lazarus?
It is the work of the Messiah.¹⁵

The inclusion of additional thematic elements found in the Fourth Gospel expands the range of the polemic.

¹⁴ Eighth Troparion of the Fourth Ode, *AT*, 370.

¹⁵ Fourth Troparion at the Eighth Ode, *AT*, 371.

What is this folly of the Hebrews?
 What is this lack of faith?
 How long these deceptions?
 How long these illegitimacies?
 You see the one who had died
 springing forth at the sound of a voice,
 yet still you do not believe in Christ.
 You are all children of darkness!¹⁶

Elements from elsewhere in the Scriptures expand the range further:

O Ignorance of the Jews! O Blindness of the Enemies!
 Who has ever known of a dead one being awakened from the tomb?
 Of old Elijah raised the dead,
 but never from the tomb, never four days after death!¹⁷

Nor is this polemic unique to Andrew's Kanon.

Astonished at seeing this wonder,
 the Hebrews come forth to greet him
 with palms and branches.
 Although the parents are full of deception,
 the children will praise him without deception, saying,
 "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,
 the King of Israel!"¹⁸

One of the interesting details in these hymns is how often the polemic will be against "the Hebrews," although this designation for the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus is rare within the canonical gospels and is not found in the Johannine narrative of chapters 11 and 12 which were presumably the core texts on which the hymnographic compositions were based. "Hebrews" also seems to be the term of choice within the

¹⁶ Sixth Troparion at the Third Ode, *AT*, 369.

¹⁷ Fifth Troparion at the Fifth Ode, *AT*, 370.

¹⁸ Idiomelon attributed to Andrew the Blind, used after the *Now and Ever* of Psalm 140, Friday Vespers for Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 366.

Synaxaria notices of Nikephorus of Xanthopoulos. This suggests that the choice of the term Hebrews has more to do with linguistic conventions and sociological realities of the Byzantine Empire than with the relations expressed in the biblical texts.

In the texts proper to Palm Sunday, the number of texts with anti-Jewish themes increases, as does the viciousness of the rhetoric employed in some of them. As noted with the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday, such themes are rooted in the biblical narrative themselves. Only one such hymn based on John 11 is found at Sunday evening Compline.

The Jewish priests and Levites, when they saw the raising of Lazarus conspired together out of envy, and by guile they betrayed Christ to Pilate, that He might be put to death.¹⁹

The following hymn attributed to Kosmas can eloquently express an appreciation of the status of Jews as God's chosen people.

This is our God, and there is none other like Him; He has found out every righteous way and given it to Israel His beloved; and afterward He has shewn Himself upon earth and lived among men. Blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord our Saviour.²⁰

The texts of Palm Sunday also express what we can think of as an authentic liturgical identification of the worshiper with the shortcomings of the characters of the biblical events commemorated.

¹⁹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode in Tone Eight, Three-ode Kanon, attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 509, where footnote 52 refers us to Jn 11.47-53 and Mt 27.18. The Greek text is in *AT*, 390.

²⁰ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 500-501; *AT*, 386.

It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God: for He is Judge of the thoughts and meditations of the heart. Let no man draw near in order to make trial of His surpassing faithfulness; but let us come to Christ in meekness and in fear, that we may receive mercy and find grace to help us in our time of need.²¹

All too often, however, the interpretive framework suggested by the hymns is one in which the vices of the biblical story are identified with the Jews.

O disobedient nation, why do ye set stumbling-blocks upon our path? Your feet are swift to shed the blood of the Master, but He shall rise again, to save all those who cry: Blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord our Saviour.²²

Come forth, ye nations, and come forth, ye peoples: look today upon the King of heaven, who enters Jerusalem seated upon a humble colt as though upon a lofty throne. O unbelieving and adulterous generation of the Jews, draw near and look on Him whom once Isaiah saw: He is come for our sakes in the flesh. See how He weds the New Zion, for she is chaste, and rejects the synagogue that is condemned. As at a marriage pure and undefiled, the pure and innocent children gather and sing praises. Let us also sing with them the hymn of the angels: Hosanna in the highest to Him that has great mercy.²³

O evil and adulterous synagogue, thou hast not kept faith with thine own Lord. Why then dost thou hold fast to the Testament of which thou art not heir? Why dost thou glory in the Father since thou hast rejected the Son? Why hast thou not accepted the prophets who proclaimed the Son? Be thou ashamed when thine own children cry aloud: 'Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord.'²⁴

It is in paraphrasing the cursing of the fig tree, an event more properly associated with Great Monday, that the kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, used at Compline on

²¹ Aposticha Hymn in Tone Three, Vespers on Sunday Evening, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 506; *AT*, 389.

²² Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 501; *AT*, 386.

²³ Sticheron at Lauds in Tone Four, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 501; *AT*, 387.

²⁴ Aposticha Hymn in Tone Seven, Vespers on Sunday Evening, Palm Sunday, *LT*, 506; *AT*, 389.

the evening of Palm Sunday, slips into ever more drastic rhetoric reflecting an anti-Jewish polemic. To be sure there are hymns which evoke what we have called an authentic identification of the worshipper with the biblical events.

Those who are barren of good actions are like the fig tree. Let us avoid its fruitlessness, lest we be dried up as it once was, prefiguring the synagogue that was covered with leaves but bore no fruit.

O brethren, let us flee from the fruitlessness of the fig tree and understand the meaning of this example. May we not be withered as it once was, when He who loves mankind came to it in hunger.²⁵

O my Saviour, journeying along the paths of life, Thou hast hungered by Thine own free choice, desiring the salvation of all: for Thou wast hungry for the conversion of those who had turned away from Thee.²⁶

Yet in the Ninth Ode, Andrew offers us hymns which identify the Synagogue and the Law as allegories of what was cursed by Christ.

Christ my God, who is the Bread of Life, hungered for man's salvation. He came to the Synagogue, as to the fig tree, and found it adorned with the leaves of the Law yet lacking fruit; and so He pronounced it cursed.

Thou has cursed the unfruitfulness of the Law, for it produced as leaves an understanding of the shadow of the letter, but because of disobedience it bore no works as fruit. But do Thou bless all of us, O Saviour, and make us sons by grace.²⁷

It is a small step from such images to a supercessionist interpretation which suggests that

²⁵ Troparia at the First Ode in Tone Eight, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 507; *AT*, 389-390.

²⁶ Troparion at the Eighth Ode in Tone Eight, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 508; *AT*, 390.

²⁷ Troparion at the Ninth Ode in Tone Eight, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 510; *AT*, 391.

God has rejected the Jews because of their failure to accept Christ.

Justice is alien to the lawless, and the knowledge of God is a thing strange to unbelievers. The Jews in their lawlessness rejected both these things; and so, like the fig tree, they have inherited the curse.

Of old the rod of Moses was changed into a serpent; and the rod of Aaron, though dried up and withered, was changed into a green branch that put forth leaves. But the lawless Synagogue was changed into an unfruitful fig tree.²⁸

Contrast the impression created by the hymns above with hymns which reflect what we have called an authentic liturgical identification with the moral of the biblical story.

May the reproach of the fig tree not overtake thee - but make haste, my soul, and from the soil of thy heart bear good fruit for Christ thy Creator, and offer it to Him in repentance.²⁹

The most extreme of the rhetorical excesses is made against personified Judea in the charge of deicide.

Prepare thy priests, O Judaea, make ready thy hands to kill God: for see, He has come to His Passion, meek and silent, our Lamb and Shepherd, Christ the King of Israel.

O Judaea, the Master has turned thy feasts into mourning, according to the prophecy; for thou hast murdered God, who (as David tells) once changed the stony rock into pools of water.³⁰

In the context of such extreme passages, even hymns which by themselves do not directly name the Jews are likely to be taken that way.

²⁸ Troparion at the Ninth Ode in Tone Eight, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 509-510; *AT*, 391.

²⁹ Sessional Hymn in Tone Four, after the First Ode, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 508; *AT*, 390.

³⁰ Troparia at the Ninth Ode in Tone Eight, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 510; *AT*, 391.

The lawless company of disobedient men was driven out from the precincts of the temple, for they had made God's house of prayer into a den of thieves, and they rejected from their hearts the Redeemer unto whom we cry aloud: O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord.³¹

It is beyond the scope of our study here to examine examples of this anti-Jewish polemic in the hymns of Holy Week. It is worthwhile noting, however, that our target texts do preserve some examples of what we have called the authentic identification of the worshiper with the biblical commemoration, an attitude which applies also to the events celebrated in Holy Week.

Cleaving to the Lord as He makes haste to suffer all things, let us prepare ourselves for spitting, mockery and disgrace, that, remaining faithful to Him in His holy Passion, we may be glorified with Him.

Let us adorn our life with chastity and guard the faith with wisdom; let us seek the ways of righteousness, that we may follow Christ with courage and be crucified with Him.³²

Strikingly Idiosyncratic Themes

Several images used in our target hymns are so striking that they call attention to themselves, even though they do not seem to have any direct relation to the elements we have chosen to examine in more depth. Such striking images can be useful "tracers" in future analysis, since they are more likely to be noticed in the examination of other sources.

³¹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Palm Sunday, *LT* 500; *AT*, 386.

³² Troparia at the Eighth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Palm Sunday Evening, *LT*, 507-8; *AT*, 390.

The Shepherd protecting against the all-devouring wolf

This image is found in a Troparion for the Fourth Ode of the Kanon for Saturday Matins, attributed to Kosmas the Monk:

O Savior and creator of all,
 You were like a shepherd,
 when you rescued from the gruesome wolf
 who would like to devour everyone,
 the one who was already decaying
 after being dead for four days;
 even while, as the powerful Lord, you demonstrated beforehand
 the glory of your resurrection on the third day,
 which now shines throughout the whole world.³³

The shepherd image returns in the Eighth Ode of Kosmas' Kanon:

You sought out the helpless lamb like a shepherd,
 rescuing the victim,
 bringing him back from corruption to health,
 as he cries out to you,
 "Sing hymns, and exalt (the Lord) above for all time."³⁴

Although the Synoptic gospels preserve several parables and sayings which use the pastoral imagery of sheep and shepherds, the claim of Jesus to be the Good Shepherd is unique to the Fourth Gospel. This image, which builds on language of the Jewish scriptures which speaks of God as a good shepherd (see e.g., Is 40.11; Jer 23.3; Ps 23.1; Ezek 34.23), is found in John 10.14-18, where it is explicitly related to an emphasis that the upcoming death of Jesus is something he freely chooses, as well as to the confusion and anger of the Jews who heard Jesus. This controversy is unpacked in Jn 10.19-39,

³³ AT, 374.

³⁴ AT, 377.

which is followed by the account of the raising of Lazarus.

Thus while this image of the shepherd may simply be an example of the poetic imagination of the hymnographer naturally gravitating to an attractive biblical allusion, it may also reflect a *lectio continua* of John, familiar to the hymnographer but no longer to us.

Wheat of Life

Chapter 6 of John's Gospel makes much of Jesus as "the bread of life," and Jn 12.24 speaks of the Paschal Mystery with the image of the grain of wheat which must be buried in the ground before it can give life, a passage which comes just after that read on Palm Sunday in the current Byzantine lectionary. It is likely that such images are behind the title "Wheat of Life" addressed to Christ in the 2nd *Idiomela* attributed to the Emperor Leo the Wise at Ps. 140 of Friday Vespers.³⁵

Theological Themes

The category of theological theme is intended to draw attention to elements which, even if rooted in the biblical narrative, receive an importance, focus, and terminological precision not from those base texts, but rather from later theological and doctrinal contexts.

Union of the two natures of Christ

The *Idiomela* attributed to the Emperor Leo the Wise sound several themes which

³⁵ *AT*, 366.

will recur at later services. The Raising of Lazarus makes clear the two natures of Christ; His power and authority are especially manifest in this event, which serves as "a pledge of your resurrection from the dead" for the disciples. Similarly a major theme of the Kanon of Andrew of Crete, currently sung at Compline on Friday Evening before Lazarus Saturday, is how the raising of Lazarus makes clear the human and divine natures of Christ.

O Lord, you wept for Lazarus,
demonstrating that you took on (our) flesh,
according to your plan of salvation,
Since while existing as God by nature,
you became human, according to our nature.³⁶

The themes of both Kanons used at Matins are similar. Expressions of the power of Christ occur repeatedly in both Kanons, while the emphasis on the two natures of Christ is also clear in each.

O Christ, you accepted human nature from a virgin,
and as a human you inquired after the tomb of Lazarus
in order to instruct us,
even though as God you knew where it was.³⁷

O Savior, in displaying your two energies,
You demonstrated your two natures,
For You are both God and man.³⁸

³⁶ Third Troparion of the First Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline on Friday Evening for Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 368.

³⁷ Second Troparion of the First Ode, Kanon attributed to Kosmas the Monk, Matins, Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 373.

³⁸ First Troparion at the Third Ode, Kanon attributed to Theophanes, Matins, Lazarus Saturday, *AT*, 373.

This theme of the two natures of Christ is so pervasive and so clear in the texts of Lazarus Saturday that further examples would be superfluous. While the basic insights of the theme are clearly present in the Johannine narrative, few of us would include them with such clarity and frequency if we were given the task of commenting on the text of John 11. Given the significance of the acceptance of Chalcedon to the later history of the Byzantine empire, such an explicit rejection of any hint of monophysite thinking is not surprising. This dogmatic struggle may help specify the intellectual environment within which some of these hymns were composed.

Lazarus as first fruit of the rebirth of the world

Another striking phrase is the assertion made in the Idiomelon attributed to Leo the Wise, currently used at Ps 140 at Vespers the Friday before Lazarus Saturday, that Lazarus became "the salvific first fruits of the rebirth of the world." The more common way this theological idea is expressed is that the raising of Lazarus is a prelude or preparation or foreshadowing of the victory over death which will take place in a definitive way at the death of Christ. Already the Letter to the Hebrews stresses the unique mediatorship of salvation that was accomplished by the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, "once for all time" (ἐφ' ἅπαρος - see Heb 10.12-14), and theological reflection would want to be careful not to dilute that focus on Christ's redemptive action. Yet the same doctrinal concern to stress the unique role of Christ in human salvation leads the Eastern Christian tradition in a different direction, emphasizing how everything God does for us in Jesus, even the very fact that Jesus took on our human nature, is salvific.

To unpack these insights further, it will be necessary to explore the theme we have identified as the Destruction of Hades. The task is sufficiently complex that it will require the final two chapters of Part Three. Before turning to that task, however, there are two more groups of target texts that need to be examined before our survey is complete. The next chapter will look at texts from the Sixth Week of the Fast, and finally in chapter 18 we will examine incidental references to our themes elsewhere in the Triodion.

CHAPTER 17

ELEMENTS IN HYMNS OF THE SIXTH WEEK OF THE FAST

As was noted above, the hymns of the Sixth Week of the Fast show a decided turn towards "historicization," or more properly towards an elaborated liturgical remembrance of the specific chronological markers which are offered in the gospel accounts of the primary events celebrated at the end of that week, i.e., the raising of Lazarus, the triumphal entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, and the preparation for Jesus' passion as commemorated during Holy Week. It was also noted that the Kanon for the Fifth Sunday of the Fast is based on the Lukan parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and this is another theme which persists throughout the hymnography of the Sixth Week of Lent. In addition to these primary themes, the hymns of this week also address the completion of the Fast, Christian attitudes towards Jews, and an interesting assortment of idiosyncratic themes. Before turning to a detailed examination of each of these, some preliminary observations on the hymnography of the Sixth Week are in order.

Preliminary Observations

As was noted in the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday, there are some elements which do not manifest a specific relationship to the proper themes of a particular commemoration. The presence of the themes mentioned above is so pervasive during this week that even general references to the ascetical discipline of Lent, which in the

previous five weeks give the impression of being quite proper to the liturgical season, seem in this week to be unspecific generalities, since they are surrounded by so many hymns which focus on particular commemorations. Thus at Monday Matins we sing,

Through fasting Elijah opened the heavens and watered the thirsty earth with showers of rain. Let us fast, pouring out streams of tears from our soul, that we may be granted mercy.¹

Similarly at Tuesday Matins:

Once in Babylon fasting made the Children stronger than the fire. Be not fainthearted, O my soul, but follow their example, and thou shalt quench the fire of sensual pleasure with the dew of the Spirit.²

There is nothing in either of these hymns to suggest where in the Triodion it is to be found. They could fit just as easily in the exhortations of the pre-Lenten period or any of the six weeks of the Lenten Fast, or even into the hymns of Holy Week. By contrast we will later see hymns of the Sixth Week in which the Lenten ascetical disciplines are addressed with imagery of Palm Sunday, the raising of Lazarus, the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, or the expectation of the Passion. The *Theotokia*, *Triadika*, and *Heirmoi* of the Kanons also appear to be totally independent of any connection to the particular themes of this week, as do the *Martyrika* associated with the *Aposticha* of Matins and Vespers.

Secondly, while the three main themes of the week are unusually prevalent in

¹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Monday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 237; *AT*, 342.

² Troparion at the Second Ode, first Kanon in Tone Six attributed to Joseph, Matins, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 243; *AT*, 347.

these hymns, it is striking that only rarely will a specific *Troparion* or hymn deal with more than one theme at once. Before pursuing this observation further the evidence for each theme should be examined. In the sections that follow, the outline of Table Three will be followed in order to facilitate comparison with the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday. Only those categories actually reflected in these hymns will be mentioned here, and several new elements will be added to the list based on their presence in these texts.

Examination of the Texts of the Sixth Week

All of the texts are present in *LTSup*, 208-271, while in *AT* they are found on pages 341-365. These texts are not included in the list of differences between *AT* and *RT* given in Appendix 2.

Descriptive Titles

AT consistently refers to the days of this week as τῶν Βαίων, "of the Palms" which *LT* consistently translates as "of the Sixth Week." As later chapters will show, both usages are well attested to in earlier sources.

Object of commemoration

Conclusion of the "forty days"

Earlier in this chapter it was noted how several hymns at Friday Evening Vespers explicitly identify that service as the completion of the Forty-day Fast. A similar hymn is found at Matins that morning.

Having completed the forty days that bring profit to the soul, we beseech Thee in Thy love for man: Grant us also to behold the Holy Week of Thy Passion, that in it we may glorify Thy mighty acts and Thine ineffable dispensation for our sakes, singing with one mind: O Lord, glory to Thee.³

One would not expect much attention to this theme earlier in the week, since the Forty-days would not yet be completed, and in fact there is only one other allusion to this theme, in a hymn currently placed in the Kanon at Thursday Matins.

O compassionate Lord, at the full completion of the Fast fill our hearts and minds with joy, through the prayers of Thine apostles who loved Thee with sincerity, O Saviour of our souls.⁴

The raising of Lazarus

Anticipation of the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus is one of the most prominent themes of the hymnography for this week, and one which surfaces in the proper hymns of every Matins and Vesper service. The theme is introduced as in an overture at Monday Morning Matins.

The door of the forecourt is opened, that leads to the raising of Lazarus: for Christ is come, to awaken the dead man as from sleep and to overthrow death by life.⁵

A large number of these hymns develop the chronology inherent or explicit in the Johannine account of the raising of Lazarus. It is interesting to note that the vast majority

³ Hymn in Tone Eight, at *Glory be* at the *Aposticha* at Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 271; *AT*, 364.

⁴ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 261; *AT*, 358-9.

⁵ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, the second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 237; *AT*, 342.

of hymns which unpack explicit chronological cues are either from hymns attributed to Theodore, or from the Sessional Hymns proper to the Triodion, that is those after the second or third reading of the Psalter at Matins.⁶ This observation leads to a working hypothesis that it was Theodore who was responsible for the hymns currently used as Sessional Hymns at Matins in the Triodion. Exploration of that hypothesis must await further research on the life and works of the Stoudite brothers Joseph and Theodore, who were so influential in the formation of our current Triodion.

Other hymns take these basic events of the canonical gospel account and expand them with the "poetic license" of a midrashic-type exposition of the scriptural narrative which was well known throughout the ancient world. Hymns of both types are found on each day of the Sixth Week.

Thus on Monday, the hymnographers recall Jesus being notified of Lazarus' illness, and the enigmatically ambivalent reply so characteristic of the Fourth Gospel's portrait of Jesus, "This sickness is not unto death."

While He is staying beyond {the} Jordan, Christ is told today that Lazarus is ill, and, knowing all things in advance, He says, 'This sickness is not unto

⁶ The first Kanon at Matins, attributed to Joseph, does not make any mention of Lazarus of Bethany before Thursday. While three of the hymns in these Kanons on Thursday and Friday do allude to the women weeping and waiting for Jesus, these images are general enough that they could be the result of a simple paraphrase of the biblical narrative without any underlying liturgical chronology. Similarly Vesper hymns attributed to Joseph do not allude to the events described in John 11 until Wednesday evening. The footnotes below will make clear the attribution of each hymn, but the reader may wish to attempt to discern the differences between the references to Lazarus of Joseph and Theodore.

death.⁷

In a hymn currently found at Vespers, the hymnographer unpacks the canonical narrative with what amounts to a paraphrase of the biblical account:

O Lord, while dwelling in the flesh on the other side of the Jordan, Thou hast foretold that the sickness of Lazarus would not end in death, but that it had come to pass for Thy glory, O our God. Glory to Thy mighty acts and Thine all-sovereign power, for Thou has destroyed death in Thy great mercy and Thy love for mankind.⁸

No action is specified for Tuesday in the scheme by which the Johannine chronology unfolds during this sixth week, so the hymnographer's imagination faces a more difficult task. The strategy adopted takes the previous and subsequent events and telescopes their significance onto the intervening day.

Yesterday and today Lazarus is sick, and his sisters make it known to Christ. Prepare thyself with joy, O Bethany, to welcome as thy guest the Lord and King, and to cry aloud with us: O Lord, glory to Thee.⁹

In all of these examples, Theodore stays close to the narrative of John 11, although in some he emphasizes the meaning of the events.

Lazarus falls sick that Thou, Son of God, mayest be glorified through him and Thy works praise Thee, Lord, without ceasing.¹⁰

⁷ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, the second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 238; *AT*, 343.

⁸ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Five, attributed to Theodore, Vespers, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 240; *AT*, 344-5.

⁹ Sessional hymn in Tone Five after the third reading from the Psalter, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 242; *AT*, 347.

¹⁰ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 244; *AT*, 348.

See now, see that I am God, who when I was dwelling on the far side of the Jordan heard that Lazarus was sick, and I said: 'He will not die, but this is for My glory.'

The sisters of Lazarus lament and disclose their anguish to Thee who knowest all things. But Thou delayest a little, in order to perform the miracle and show Thy disciples Thy dread power.¹¹

These articulations of the motives for Christ's delay and eventual resurrection of Lazarus are consistent with those found in the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday examined above.

In the final example from Tuesday, the hymnographer exhorts the worshiper to prepare for the upcoming celebrations in a text which addresses Lazarus, the only such hymn in the current Triodion found outside of the services proper to Lazarus Saturday:

O wise Lazarus, prepare now for thy burial; for tomorrow thou shalt die and leave this life. Look at the tomb in which thou shalt dwell. But Christ will bring thee back to life again, raising thee on the fourth day.¹²

The death of Lazarus is a major event ascribed to Wednesday of this week, since the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus on Saturday will be of him who was "four-days dead." The adjective τετραήμερος, associated usually with Lazarus or his tomb, is the verbal identifier most often associated with Lazarus in Byzantine hymnography.

Today, dead Lazarus is buried, and his sisters sing in lamentation: but Thou, in Thy divine foreknowledge, hast predicted what should come to pass. 'Lazarus sleeps,' Thou hast prophesied to Thy disciples, 'but now I go to raise up

¹¹ Troparia at the Second Ode, second Kanon, in Tone Five attributed to Theodore, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 243; *AT*, 347.

¹² Troparion at the Ninth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 245; *AT*, 348.

him whom I created.' Therefore we all cry to Thee: Glory to Thy mighty power.¹³

The death of Lazarus this day did not escape the all-seeing eye of Jesus, but He spoke of it to His disciples, crying: 'My friend Lazarus has fallen asleep, but I go to raise him.'¹⁴

A hymn attributed to Theodore provides one of the relatively rare examples of the theme of the raising of Lazarus being combined with others, in this case the personification of Bethany, the fore-assurance of the resurrection of Christ, and the destruction of Hades.

Today, Lazarus has died and Bethany laments for him; but Thou, our Saviour, shalt awake him from the dead. Through the raising of Thy friend, Thou hast given us in advance an assurance of Thine own dread Resurrection, of hell's death and Adam's restoration to life; and we therefore sing Thy praises.¹⁵

It is interesting that this hymn is currently placed at Tuesday Vespers, a rare example in the current Triodion where a hymn from Vespers on Monday through Thursday explicitly relates to the commemoration of the following day.¹⁶

Other hymns for Wednesday of the Sixth Week revolve around this commemoration of the death of Lazarus. Some stick closely to the biblical narrative

¹³ Sessional hymn after the third reading from the Psalter, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 250; *AT*, 352.

¹⁴ Troparion at the Third Ode, second Kanon in Tone Three, attributed to Theodore, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 251; *AT*, 352.

¹⁵ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Three, attributed to Theodore, Vespers, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 247-8; *AT*, 350.

¹⁶ See the discussion of different ways of reckoning the liturgical day above in Chapter 7, as well as the comments on the Kanons attributed to Andrew of Crete used at Compline in Holy Week below. One other possible example is found in reference to "as we reach today the middle of the time of abstinence" at Vespers on Monday of the Fourth Week (*LTSup*, 159), a theme repeated at Matins the next day (*LTSup*, 162).

which they simply re-arrange or paraphrase:

'Let us go into Judea again,' Thou hast said, O Lord, and Thy words filled the disciples with fear. But Thomas boldly cried aloud: 'He is the Life, let us go also; for if we die, we shall return to life again.'¹⁷

In Thy divine foreknowledge and Thy tender mercy Thou hast foretold to Thy friends the death of Thy friend; and Thou hast raised him on the fourth day, to Thy praise and glory.¹⁸

Others expand on the meaning or motivation of this event:

Lazarus, the friend of Christ, has died today: he is carried out for burial, and Martha's companions lament in sorrow for her brother. But Christ comes to him in joy, to show the nations that He is Himself the Life of all.¹⁹

Others seek to emphasize the dramatic impact of biblical narrative through the expansion of details:

Seeing their brother today beneath the bitter stone, the sisters of Lazarus shed tears of mourning. And from afar, my Christ, Thou hast spoken of this to Thine Apostles, saying: 'I am glad for your sakes'; for thou was not there in the flesh.²⁰

On Thursday there is no specific action to be commemorated, apart from the grief of Martha and Mary and their dismay at Jesus' apparent indifference.

Mary and Martha now lament, beholding Lazarus laid in the tomb, and in

¹⁷ Troparion at the Third Ode, second Kanon in Tone Three, attributed to Theodore, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 251; *AT*, 352.

¹⁸ Troparion at the Eight Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 252; *AT*, 352.

¹⁹ Troparion at the Eight Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 252; *AT*, 353.

²⁰ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 253; *AT*, 353.

distress they cry aloud: 'Had Christ been here, our brother had not died.'²¹

Today Lazarus has been two days in the tomb, and Mary and Martha as his true sisters shed tears for him. But Christ comes to him with His holy apostles, to make manifest a great wonder.²²

This second example makes clear the reckoning of the "four days," i.e., the day Lazarus died is considered the first day. Since this was remembered on Wednesday, Thursday makes the second day, Friday the third, and the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus on Saturday will be on the fourth day. Modern reckonings of a day as a twenty-four hour period after an event often make this biblical terminology confusing to contemporary readers.

Even while remaining close to the biblical narrative, the hymnographer feels free to dramatize it, in the process introducing imagery suggestive of the semantic field we have called the Destruction of Hades:

Lazarus has been dead now for two days, and his sisters Martha and Mary shed tears of grief for him, gazing at the stone before his tomb. But the Creator has come with His disciples, to despoil death and bestow life. Therefore let us cry to Him: O Lord, glory to Thee.²³

Nothing further happens on "the third day," and so at Matins on Friday it is the grief of the sisters which enables the hymnographer to look forward to the joy of

²¹ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 260; *AT*, 358.

²² Troparion of the Ninth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 261; *AT*, 359.

²³ Sessional Hymn in Tone Six after the third reading from the Psalter, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 258; *AT*, 357.

resurrection.

Why, O women, do you weep bitterly for your beloved brother, when ye have with you the Resurrection and the Life? He who brings gifts to all has come and will restore to life His true friend, through Lazarus' resurrection foretelling the resurrection of all.²⁴

Wishing to deliver Thy friend from death, Thou dost make haste to suffer death for our sake in the flesh, granting immortality to mortal men who believe in thee, O Word who alone art immortal.²⁵

Before leaving the theme of Lazarus, there is one further hymn which to my knowledge has no parallels in the extant Triodion hymns. In it, the antithetical parallelism so beloved of Byzantine hymnographers is applied to the friendship of Christ and the disciples, later focused specifically on Lazarus, contrasting that saving relationship to the friendship of the hymnographer (or the worshiper) with "the crafty one."

O Master Christ, who hast made Thy wise disciples to be Thy friends, save me from friendship with the crafty one. Thou hast come with them, O Saviour, and raised Thy faithful friend Lazarus, and in thanksgiving he sings Thy praises.²⁶

The motif of Jesus' friendship with the disciples is one which is made explicit in Jn 15.15. The description of Lazarus in Jn 11.5, where the sisters of Lazarus send to Jesus the message, Κύριε, ἴδε ὃν φιλεῖς ἀσθενεῖ [Lord, the one whom you love {your friend} is

²⁴ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, First Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 268; *AT*, 363.

²⁵ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, First Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 269; *AT*, 364.

²⁶ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, First Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 261; *AT*, 358.

ill.], has even led some commentators to identify Lazarus as the beloved disciple which Jn 21.24 identifies as the author of the Fourth Gospel.²⁷

The Entrance into Jerusalem

As noted above, the most common designation of the Sixth Week of Lent is the Week "of the Palms," and the theme of preparation for the commemoration of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem is another motif which is found in the hymns for every day of that week.

As we set out upon the sixth week of the Fast, let us sing to Christ a hymn in preparation for the Feast of Palms...²⁸

A hymn from the Kanon attributed to Theodore for Monday Matins speaks of observing the entire week as a "forefeast" (προεορτάζοντες), looking beyond Palm Sunday to the remembrance of the passion in Great Week.

O ye faithful, let us prepare to celebrate Palm Sunday, joyfully observing the forefeast from this present day onwards, that we may be counted worthy to see the life-giving passion.²⁹

The hymnographic techniques of paraphrase and expansion are in evidence here.

Rejoice, O Zion! Now the King comes, as the Prophet proclaimed: He is meek, and the foal of an ass carries Him in the body, though He holds all creation

²⁷ See the summary of the hypotheses that Lazarus was the author of the Fourth Gospel below in Chapter 21.

²⁸ Sessional hymn after the third reading from the Psalter, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 235; *AT*, 341.

²⁹ Troparion at the First Ode, the second Kanon in Tone One attributed to Theodore, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 236; *AT*, 342.

in His hand. Let us sing to His power.³⁰

The most prominent use of the theme, however, comes in an allegorical interpretation of the scriptural accounts of the entry into Jerusalem to the ascetical disciplines of the spiritual struggle of the worshiper.

Preparing branches of virtue with which to welcome Christ, we cry: O ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord.³¹

Raised on high through acts of compassion, as though upon the Mount of Olives, let us cut branches of virtue, O ye peoples, and let us make ready for the invisible coming of Christ to us, as we praise, bless, and exalt Him above all for ever.³²

All ye who through abstinence and prayer have made your rebellious body submissive to the Word, both monks and laity, go out and meet Christ who rides upon a foal and comes to His Passion.³³

At every Matins service from Monday through Thursday of the Sixth Week, this allegorical preparation for Palm Sunday through ascetical effort is hymned as the response to the acclamation *Glory to You, our God, glory to You!*, coming after the Theotokion but before the repetition of the *Heirmos* to form a *Katabasia* for the conclusion of each Ode.

Bearing the branches of our generosity and the palms of our purity, let us

³⁰ Troparion after the *Theotokion* at end of the Third Ode, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 251-2; *AT*, 352.

³¹ Troparion after the *Theotokion* at the end of the Eighth Ode, Matins, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 245; *AT*, 348.

³² Troparion at the Eighth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 252; *AT*, 353.

³³ Troparion of the Fifth Ode, First Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 267; *AT*, 362.

all make ready to meet Christ who comes to Jerusalem as our God.³⁴

Come, let us make ready to meet the Lord, bringing to him palms of virtue. So shall we receive him in our souls as in the city of Jerusalem, worshipping him and singing his praises.³⁵

With the Children let us also go and meet Christ our God, bringing works of mercy instead of palms, and prayer in our hearts instead of branches; and ever let us cry: Hosanna! Bless and exalt Him above all for ever.³⁶

Weaving branches of palms, both inwardly and outwardly let us make ready to meet the Master that comes to us: for blessed is He that comes as the true Son in the name of the Lord and Father.³⁷

Let us and all the faithful prepare virtues as branches and palms for our meeting with the King, and let us cry aloud: Bless, praise, and exalt ye the Lord above all forever.³⁸

Invisibly with the branches of our virtues, and visibly with branches from the trees, let us prepare to receive Christ who is twofold in nature. He comes riding on a colt, and we exalt Him above all forever.³⁹

This theme is also found throughout the Kanons of the Sixth Week - examples are offered below as examples of the "ascetical allegorizing" themes, a tendency found throughout

³⁴ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 239; *AT*, 343.

³⁵ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Matins, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 246; *AT*, 349.

³⁶ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 253; *AT*, 354.

³⁷ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 254; *AT*, 355.

³⁸ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 261; *AT*, 358.

³⁹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 269; *AT*, 363.

the Triodion, not just in this Sixth Week.

It is striking that most of the hymns which reflect this theme of preparing for Palm Sunday focus on that motif alone. There are examples, nonetheless, of hymns which address two or more of our target themes. To the extent that the entry into Jerusalem is understood to be the initiation of the events which lead to Jesus' crucifixion, there is a natural expansion from that commemoration to expectation of the passion itself.

Let us offer the palm branches of our self-control to Christ, who draws near humbly in the flesh upon a foal, and let us say to Him: O Saviour who comest to Thy Passion, blessed art thou.⁴⁰

Fulfilling the sayings of the prophets, in Thy compassion Thou hast come, O Christ, to the city that killed the prophets; and there of thine own will Thou shalt be slain, saving from corruption me who am dead.⁴¹

The theme of "triumphant entry" also expands well into images which suggest the theme we have called the Destruction of Hades:

... count me worthy in compunction to bring palms of virtue to Thee the Victor over hell...⁴²

Still, in light of how intertwined the themes of Lazarus Saturday, Palm Sunday, and the preparation for the Passion are in the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday, it is noteworthy how few are the hymns which incorporate these three themes during the Sixth Week, all

⁴⁰ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, First Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 269; *AT*, 364.

⁴¹ Troparion of the Fifth Ode, First Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 267; *AT*, 362.

⁴² Sessional Hymn after the second reading from the Psalter, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 235; *AT*, 341.

of which are found in services on Thursday.

Before Thy Passion, O my Saviour, Thou hast foretold the falling asleep of Lazarus, and after a short while Thou hast raised him up; and Thou hast accepted the praise of babes and sucklings, who came to meet Thee bearing branches.⁴³

The Lord comes seated upon a foal, as it is written. Ye peoples make ready to receive in fear the King of all, and to welcome Him with palms as Victor over death and hell; for he has raised Lazarus.⁴⁴

Receive thy King, O Zion. For see, He comes to thee now in meekness, to raise up Lazarus and to destroy the bitter kingdom of death. Summoned by God, let all the multitude of holy monks and lay-people assemble, to welcome Christ with palms and cry: Blessed is He who comes to save mortal men through the Passion of the Cross, and to grant in His love freedom from the passions unto all.⁴⁵

O Christ, who art borne on high by the dread seraphim, as God and Creator of all Thou dost make haste to ride on earth upon a colt, as a man like us. Bethany rejoices greatly to receive Thee, O Saviour, and Jerusalem is glad as it awaits expectantly to welcome Thee. Death has been slain, and as a foretaste of the coming Resurrection it sees Lazarus return from the dead. In joy we go to meet Thee with palms, praising the power of thy Love, O Lord.⁴⁶

The last three examples add imagery associated with the Destruction of Hades theme to those of the Raising of Lazarus, Palm Sunday, and preparation for the passion.

An interesting subset of hymns explicitly referring to the events commemorated

⁴³ Troparion of the Fourth Ode, First Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 259; *AT*, 357.

⁴⁴ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 262; *AT*, 359.

⁴⁵ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Four, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 264; *AT*, 360.

⁴⁶ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Four, attributed to Theodore, Vespers, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 264; *AT*, 360-61.

on Palm Sunday are found on Thursday and Friday of the previous week. All of them refer to Jesus' sending two disciples to find the colt on which he will enter Jerusalem.

Two of the disciples are sent to bring the foal of an ass, in accordance with the prophecy; and, mounting upon it, Christ comes in His beauty, accepting the divine praise offered by the children. So let us eagerly hasten to meet Him, bearing as palms our acts of righteousness.⁴⁷

One such hymn is another example of a hymn from this week which incorporates multiple themes, this time those of Palm Sunday, the Destruction of Hades, and the Raising of Lazarus.

Two of the disciples are sent to bring the foal of an ass to the Master of all, He who is borne on high by the hosts of the seraphim comes riding on a colt, and all devouring death, the ruler of this world, begins to be afraid; for, through Lazarus first of all, he is despoiled of mankind.⁴⁸

Poetic license in expanding the biblical account, often by conflating it with other biblical themes, is common in such hymns.

Two of the disciples were sent to fetch an ass for Him who rides upon the clouds, whom all things praise and exalt above all forever.⁴⁹

Sending out His disciples now, Christ said to them: 'Loose the colt and bring it back to me, and I will ride upon it, that I may loose the nations from their lack of reason, and as Son bring them into subjection to the Father.'⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Sessional hymn in Tone Four after the second reading from the Psalter, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 266; *AT*, 362.

⁴⁸ Sessional hymn in Tone Eight after the third reading from the Psalter, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 266; *AT*, 363.

⁴⁹ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, Second Kanon, attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 268; *AT*, 363.

⁵⁰ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, Second Kanon, attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 269; *AT*, 364.

Among the details which make this set of hymns interesting is the fact that their common scriptural referent, the two disciples who are sent to find the colt on which Christ can enter Jerusalem, is information given only in the synoptic accounts of the entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21.1-9; Mk 11.1-10; Lk 19.28-40). In John 12.14-15 we are simply told:

And Jesus found a young ass and sat upon it; as it is written, "Fear not, Daughter of Zion; behold, your king is coming, sitting on an ass's colt!"

Earlier we saw how the phrase "Six days before the Passover," a phrase unique to Jn 12.1, played a prominent role in hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday. Here we encounter the alternative chronology offered by the synoptics.

Two of the holy apostles, knowing that Thou, O Christ, art one of the Trinity, now are sent by Thee to bring the colt of an ass, in fulfilment of the prophecy. And humbling Thyself, O compassionate Lord, Thou shalt sit upon it, who dost make ready for Thy will a seat in the highest for all that love Thee. And those who in their folly have submitted to unreasoning passions, Thou hast made, O Word, to cry aloud to Thee: Hosanna!⁵¹

A common referent in the accounts of Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem given in both Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel is mention of Bethany as the "staging point" for Christ's entry.

Approaching Bethany, O Christ, Thou sendest two of Thy disciples to fetch Thee a foal on which no man had sat. For none but Thyself, O Saviour, has brought into subjection the peoples who were without reason.⁵²

⁵¹ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Four, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 263-4; *AT*, 360.

⁵² Troparion of the Fifth Ode, Second Kanon in Tone Eight attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 267; *AT*, 362-3.

This theme of Bethany is prominent enough in the texts before and proper to Lazarus Saturday that it has been separated out as a distinct thematic element in our analysis.

Anticipation of the Passion

We have already examined some texts in which the preparation for Palm Sunday flows over into preparation for the Passion of Christ, and in two of these hymns there is explicit mention of the raising of Lazarus as offering assurance of the resurrection of Christ.⁵³ It is striking that there are no hymns this week which speak of preparing for the Passion without also mentioning the raising of Lazarus or the triumphal entry into Jerusalem or both.

There is one hymn from Friday Matins which has no other parallel in all the Triodion hymns dealing with Lazarus, for it takes up the theme of death as sleep and uses it to connect the raising of Lazarus, the crucifixion of Christ, and what may be the mildest image possible of the destruction of Hades, putting death to sleep.

Falling asleep upon the Cross, O Lord and Master, thou hast put death to sleep. For Thou hast cried: 'My friend Lazarus is sleeping, but I shall go now to awaken him.'⁵⁴

The Rich Man and Lazarus

Earlier it was noted that the first Kanon at Matins on the Fifth Sunday of the Fast is based on the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus from Luke 16,19-31, and that there

⁵³ See above, p. 348.

⁵⁴ Troparion of the Fifth Ode, First Kanon in Tone Four attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 267; *AT*, 362.

are some manuscripts which give precisely this reading as part of a Lenten weekend lectionary based on the third Gospel.⁵⁵ Hymns alluding to that parable are quite common in the weekdays before Palm Sunday, although only one example is found after Wednesday of that week.

Deliver me from the rich man's lack of love and from his selfishness, O Christ my God, who through Thy Cross hast cleansed us from our sins. Make me follow Lazarus the poor man in his thankful patience, and in Thy great mercy deprive me not of a place with Abraham the Patriarch (twice).⁵⁶

Imagery from parable is used in making general admonitions to keep the Lenten season.

Let us observe with gladness the fast that kills our passions; let us steadfastly devote ourselves to prayer; let us weep and mourn and lament with all our heart, that when we depart hence, we may go to dwell with Abraham.⁵⁷

Following a pattern well established in the Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete, the biblical story is mined for examples which can be applied to the spiritual struggles of the worshiper.

Let us flee from the example of the rich man, who was condemned to the fire that shall never be quenched, and let us acquire the patience of Lazarus in his troubles, that Jesus may comfort us and make us sharers in His Kingdom.⁵⁸

I have neglected the virtuous actions of Lazarus and emulated the ways of

⁵⁵ See above in Chapter 5, p. 117 and ff.

⁵⁶ *Aposticha* Hymn in Tone Eight, Vespers, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 264; *AT*, 362.

⁵⁷ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, the first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 238; *AT*, 343.

⁵⁸ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, the first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 238; *AT*, 343.

the rich man who showed no love for others. O compassionate God, turn me back and take pity on me, that I may glorify Thee for ever.⁵⁹

In pursuing such analogies, the poetic imagination is willing to stretch the biblical story quite far, as in these hymns by Joseph in which the hymnographer/worshiper is placed in the role of the Rich Man, gazing on our mind in the role of Lazarus.

I have rivaled in foolishness the rich man who showed no love for others; overwhelmed by sensual pleasures and the passions, I live in luxury and self-indulgence. I see my mind, O Lord, lying always like Lazarus before the gates of repentance, but with indifference I pass it by, and leave it, hungry, sick and wounded by the passions. Therefore I deserve to be condemned to the flames of Gehenna: but deliver me from them, O master, for Thou alone art rich in mercy.⁶⁰

At the prompting of the evil one I have always loved the riches of corrupting pleasure, and without conscience I have delighted in vanity. I have neglected my mind when it groaned like another Lazarus and hungered for God's food. O Word, deliver me in Thy tender mercy from the flames to come, that I may glorify Thy love for mankind.⁶¹

Hymns which follow this line of thought can also be addressed to Christ.

O Christ of many mercies, I have followed the ways of the rich man who showed no compassion; but I pray Thee, make me to dwell with the poor man Lazarus, and deliver me from the flame and fire that shall never be quenched.⁶²

Condemn me not, O Christ, to the flames of Gehenna, as the rich man was condemned because he had neglected Lazarus; but grant even to me, who ask with

⁵⁹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 244; *AT*, 348.

⁶⁰ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Six, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 240; *AT*, 345.

⁶¹ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Two, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 247; *AT*, 350.

⁶² Troparion at the First Ode, the first Kanon in Tone One attributed to Joseph, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 236; *AT*, 342.

tears, a drop of Thy lovingkindness, O God, and have mercy upon me (twice).⁶³

Deliver us, O Saviour, from soul-destroying greed, and give us a place with Lazarus the poor man in the dwelling of Abraham. For Thou who art rich in mercy hast for our sakes willingly become poor, and Thou has led us from corruption into incorruption, because Thou art a God of tender compassion and love for mankind.⁶⁴

Make me, O Christ, poor as Lazarus in sin, and scatter the wealth that I have gathered in wickedness; fill me with Thy perfect love, O merciful Lord, and deliver me from the fearful punishment that is to come.⁶⁵

In calling the worshippers to place themselves in the role of characters from the biblical story, the hymns of this week encourage the kind of liturgical identification with the events being commemorated which is so characteristic of the Holy Week services.

Thou wast clothed, O my soul, in the divinely woven purple of self-mastery and in the fine linen of incorruption, but thou hast insulted thine own dignity. Thou hast made sin thy wealth and thy delight, and looked with scorn upon thy fellow men, like the rich man who despised Lazarus in his poverty. Lest thou share the rich man's punishment, become poor in spirit and cry to the Lord who for thy sake became poor: Before Thy Crucifixion Thou hast worn the purple of mockery, and for my sake wast nailed to the Cross: deliver me from eternal shame, O Christ, and clothe me in the raiment of Thy Kingdom.⁶⁶

I am rich in passions and clothed in the deceitful robe of hypocrisy, and I rejoice in the sins of self-indulgence. There is no limit to my lack of love. I neglect my spiritual understanding, that lies at the gate of repentance, starved of all good things, sick through want of care. O Lord, make me like Lazarus poor in sin, that I may not be tormented in the flame that never shall be quenched, and

⁶³ *Aposticha* hymn, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 239; *AT*, 343.

⁶⁴ *Aposticha* hymn in Tone Four, Vespers, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 241; *AT*, 346.

⁶⁵ Troparion at the Second Ode, first Kanon in Tone Six attributed to Joseph, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 243; *AT*, 347.

⁶⁶ *Aposticha* hymn in Tone One, Vespers, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 248; *AT*, 351.

pray in vain for a finger to be dipped in water and laid upon my tongue. But in Thy love for mankind make me dwell with the Patriarch Abraham (twice).⁶⁷

This mind set, which could be considered the authentic liturgical identification fostered by the Byzantine lenten commemorations, can be contrasted with the kind of interpretive frameworks which cast the Jews in the evil roles of the biblical narrative. Among the examples discussed below, the *Aposticha* hymn in Tone One from Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week,⁶⁸ which applies a supercessionist ideology on the parable can be directly contrasted with the hymns given above.

Baptism

There are no explicit references to baptism in any of the hymns or rubrics of the weekdays of the Week of the Palms, and I have not been able to discern any implicit references either. There is one hymn in Tone Four at the *Aposticha* at Matins on Friday in the Sixth Week, attributed to the Emperor Leo, which attracts attention in the first place because there is absolutely no allusion to the scriptural themes of this week.

Despising the divine commands, my soul, thou hast become an easy prey to the snares of the enemy; and by thine own choice thou hast surrendered thyself to corruption. Sunk in slumber through thy many trespasses, thou hast covered with filth the garment that God wove for thee, and made thyself unfit for the wedding of the King; and thou shalt be dragged away because of thy sin. For if thou sittest at the wedding feast clad in the raiment of the passions, He will ask thee how thou camest in, and thou shalt be cast out from the bridal chamber. But cry to the Saviour: O dread eye of God, Thou hast become what I am, without ceasing to be who Thou wast. Before Thy Crucifixion, for my sake Thou has

⁶⁷ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Five, Vespers, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 256; *AT*, 355.

⁶⁸ *LTSup*, 254; *AT*, 354; discussed below on p. 367.

worn a robe of mockery: tear in pieces my sackcloth and clothe me with gladness; deliver me from the outer darkness and the eternal weeping, and have mercy upon me.⁶⁹

The scriptural basis of this hymn is the parable of the wedding feast of Matthew 22.1-14, or more specifically of the allegory of the wedding garment within that parable, and thus *LTSup* gives a footnote to Matthew 22.11-13. Within the arrangement of the First Gospel, this passage comes in a series of parables which Jesus delivers in Jerusalem after his triumphal entry, which is described at the beginning of Matthew 21. Other hymns based on this passage are found in the Triodion on Great Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday,⁷⁰ but the passage is not specifically appointed to be read within the current lenten lectionary of the Byzantine Churches.⁷¹

We know of at least one very influential fifth-century text which associates the imagery of Matthew 22.1-14 with preparation for baptism, that is the *Protocatechesis* usually attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, especially section 3.⁷² This is certainly too slender a thread to tie the hymn of Leo to baptism, but it may provide a useful path for future research.

⁶⁹ *LTSup*, 270, where a footnote tells us that in the Slav Books this hymn is in Tone One; *AT*, 364.

⁷⁰ The same *Exaposteilarion* is used at Matins on all three days, *LT* 514, 527, 538; and the first Sticheron at the Praises at Matins on Great Monday, *LT* 527.

⁷¹ Monastic practice would read the pre-passion sections of all four canonical gospels at the Hours; see *LT*, 516.

⁷² Conveniently available as *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments* (Crestwood NY: SVSP, 1986) here pp. 2ff. for the Greek text and pp. 41 ff for the English translation.

Bethany/Bethphage

Since so many hymns consist of a paraphrase of the biblical narrative, we should not be surprised to find the term Bethany used in describing the raising of Lazarus, which John 11 clearly places in that town outside of Jerusalem.

A great number of Jews came today from Jerusalem to Bethany and shared the sorrow of the sisters of Lazarus; but when they learnt on the next day that Lazarus had come out of the tomb, they sought to kill Christ.⁷³

Personified Bethany is called to find joy in preparation for the raising of Lazarus.

Prepare thyself now, O Bethany, and with joy make ready to receive the King of all: for He shall come to thee, to bring Lazarus back from corruption to life.⁷⁴

O Bethany, home of Lazarus, rejoice. For Christ comes to thee and shall perform a mighty work, bringing Lazarus to life.⁷⁵

Be glad, O Bethany, for Christ shall come to thee, performing in thee a great and fearful miracle. Binding death with fetters, as God he will raise up Lazarus who was dead and now magnifies the Creator.⁷⁶

If the town can model joy at the miracle, why not sorrow at the death which makes the miracle necessary?

Today, Lazarus has died and Bethany laments for him; but Thou, our Saviour, shalt awake him from the dead. Through the raising of Thy friend, Thou

⁷³ Troparion at the Fifth Ode, Second Kanon in Tone Eight, attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup* 267; *AT*, 363.

⁷⁴ Troparion at the Second Ode, Matins, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup*, 244; *AT*, 348.

⁷⁵ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup*, 244; *AT*, 348.

⁷⁶ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup*, 245-6; *AT*, 349.

hast given us in advance an assurance of Thine own dread Resurrection, of hell's death and Adam's restoration to life; and we therefore sing Thy praises.⁷⁷

The Bethany theme becomes one of the ways the hymnographer can add variety to the unpacking of the chronology of John 11 which was discussed above. Thus as we move through the days of the Sixth Week, the commemorations associated with each can be addressed through this personification of Bethany.

Great is thy glory, O Bethany! For thou art counted worthy to receive the Creator as thy guest, and thou dost cry aloud, O ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord.⁷⁸

Christ is at the door: so be not sad, Bethany. For He will change thy sorrow into joy by raising from the tomb Lazarus thine offspring, who sings His praises.⁷⁹

The hymnographer can also use personified Bethany as a hook to images taken from other biblical texts.

Make ready, O Bethany, adorn thy gates for God, open wide thy courts; for behold, the Master shall enter with the apostles, bringing life to him whom thou hast nurtured.⁸⁰

The Lord draws near: open thy gates, Bethany, and receive the Master with faith. He is come to raise Lazarus from the tomb, for He alone is all-

⁷⁷ Sticheron in Tone 3 at Psalm 140 of Vespers, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, attributed to Theodore, *LTSup*, 247-8; *AT*, 350.

⁷⁸ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 237; *AT*, 342.

⁷⁹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup*, 268; *AT*, 363.

⁸⁰ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 238; *AT*, 343.

powerful.⁸¹

In doing so, the hymnographers are following a *topos* which was already well established in the Jewish Scriptures in the personification of Zion.

Rejoice, O Zion! Now the King comes, as the Prophet proclaimed: He is meek, and the foal of an ass carries Him in the body, though He holds all creation in His hand. Let us sing to His power.⁸²

The Raising of Lazarus is the main event associated with Bethany to be commemorated this week, but as was noted above it is not the only one.

Approaching Bethany, O Christ, Thou sendest two of Thy disciples to fetch Thee a foal on which no man had sat. For none but Thyself, O Saviour, has brought into subjection the peoples who were without reason.⁸³

In the synoptic tradition, the name Bethphage is associated with this event, which in each of their accounts is the initiation of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21.1; Mk 11.1; Lk 19.28-29). Matthew mentions only Bethphage, while Mark and Luke mention "Bethphage and Bethany which is near the Mount of Olives {the mount called Olivet" - Lk}. While there are some variants in the manuscript tradition which show that scribes were not always sure how to understand these two place names, none were considered important enough to be reported in the apparatus of the United Bible Societies critical

⁸¹ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup* 269-70; *AT*, 364.

⁸² Troparion at the Third Ode, Matins, Wednesday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup*, 251-2; *AT*, 352.

⁸³ Troparion at the Fifth Ode, Second Kanon in Tone Eight, Attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup* 267; *AT*, 362-3.

edition of the New Testament in Greek.⁸⁴ In the Fourth Gospel, which is the only one to tell us of the raising of Lazarus, only the name Bethany is used, where it is also the setting for the anointing of Jesus described in Jn 12.1-8 and the triumphal entry which is introduced in Jn 12.12 as taking place Τη ἐπαύριον, "On the next day," a favorite Johannine expression. Our hymnographers seem to assume Bethany and Bethphage are the same location, although the following hymns would also be understandable on the assumption that Bethany and Bethphage were so close geographically that they could be treated as the same location, even while the two names referred to distinct places.⁸⁵

As Thou wast approaching Bethphage, hark our adversary heard the sound of Thy feet, and he touched the feet of Lazarus, saying: 'If the Life calls thee, delay not, but go out: for I know that my destruction will come swiftly.'⁸⁶

Behold, Christ has come to the city of Bethphage. Rejoice, Bethany, home of Lazarus, for a great miracle shall He show to thee, raising Lazarus from the dead.⁸⁷

Elements of Liturgical Structure

There are no disruptions from the normally expected structures of the services of the Sixth Week of the Fast, which all follow the pattern established on the First Week of

⁸⁴ Kurt Aland et. al., *The Greek New Testament*² (United Bible Societies, 1968). Variants are noted in the critical apparatus of the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland text.

⁸⁵ Jerome (*Ep* 108) thought Bethphage was located beyond Bethany on the way to Jericho, although the Crusaders identified a spot closer to Jerusalem, approximately 1 kilometer East of the summit of the Mount of Olives. See *ABD* I:715 s.v. "Bethphage."

⁸⁶ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, First Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup* 268; *AT*, 363.

⁸⁷ Troparion at the First Ode, Matins, Monday of the Sixth Week, *LtSup*, 237; *AT*, 342. A Footnote in *LT* draws our attention to Mt. 21.1.

the Fast. Two observations which have already been made can be repeated here.

The *lectio continua* of readings from Isaiah, Genesis, and Proverbs must begin to omit ever larger sections of text in order to finish each book by Friday of this week.

The hymn at Tuesday Evening Vespers which refers to the death of Lazarus is the only example of a Lenten Weekday Vesper service which appears to celebrate the events of the following day. Rather than a structural anomaly, however, this is more likely to be explained by the displacement of a hymn which was originally composed to be part of the Wednesday services.

Literary Forms/Hymnographic Descriptors

None of the proper hymns used at weekday services of the Sixth Week are described in *AT* as Idiomela, which is in marked contrast to those proper to Lazarus and Palm Sunday examined earlier in this chapter.

Ascetical Allegory

One tendency which is very common in the weekday texts attributed to Joseph and Theodore throughout the Triodion is "ascetical allegory." By this is meant an interpretation of the biblical text which applies it to the ascetical efforts of prayer and fasting which are part of the season of the Fast, and thus make up the existential situation within which the hymns were intended to be heard.

The primary biblical text associated with Lazarus Saturday is of course Jn 11, and the image of being captive in a tomb like Lazarus is one which Joseph and Theodore find easy to apply to the ascetical struggles of the soul.

Slain by my many sins, I am imprisoned in the tomb of negligence, and upon me lies the stone of despair. Remove it in Thy mercy, O Christ, and raise me up as once Thou hast raised Lazarus.⁸⁸

Roll back from my humble soul, O Christ the Word, the heavy stone of grievous slothfulness, and raise me from the tomb of insensitivity, that I may glorify thee.⁸⁹

This imagery of the tomb can be combined with that associated with Palm Sunday.

I dwell in the tomb of sloth, O Christ, and I stink from the festering wounds of sin. And so I call upon Thee: Raise me up and save me, that I may come to meet Thee with branches of virtue, shouting aloud: Hosanna be to God.⁹⁰

In the context of this week, even hymns which do not make explicit allusion to details from John 11 come to be understood in this framework.

My strength is weakened by my many sins and by the pleasures of this life, and in misery, O Master, I lie always on the bed of slothfulness; but I cry to Thee: With loving compassion come and visit me, granting me health and mercy. Forsake me not, lest I sleep in death and the enemy rejoices over my destruction, for he seeks to drag me down, O Saviour, into the fearful depths of hell.⁹¹

My soul is sick, and despair has brought me near to death. Come to me, O Jesus, I implore Thee, for Thy visitation gives life to those that call upon Thee.⁹²

The characters of the story provide another way the hymnographer (and

⁸⁸ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, the first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 238; *AT*, 343.

⁸⁹ Troparion at the Eight Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 252; *AT*, 352.

⁹⁰ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, First Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 261; *AT*, 359.

⁹¹ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Six, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Monday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 240; *AT*, 344.

⁹² Troparion at the Eighth Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 244; *AT*, 348.

worshiper) can make the biblical story parallel their own life story.

O ye faithful, let us follow the example of Martha and Mary, and as intercessors let us send to the Lord our acts of righteousness, that He may come to raise up from the dead our spiritual understanding, which lies insensible within the tomb of negligence, lacking all feeling of the fear of God and having no vital energy. So let us cry: As once by Thy dread authority, O merciful Lord, Thou hast raised up Thy friend Lazarus, so now give life to all of us, and grant us Thy great mercy.⁹³

Martha and Mary become quite important in the history of Christian spirituality, coming to stand for different spiritual polarities at different times. In light of how important these sisters are in the later Christian tradition, it is striking that only rarely are worshipers asked to identify with Lazarus. In the following example, the dualities of contemplation and action would call to mind Martha and Mary for most of Christian history, and even when Lazarus is invoked, his role is purely passive:

Yoking contemplation to action, let us make haste to offer up our prayers to Christ, that by his dread authority He may call our spiritual understanding back from the tomb to life, like another dead Lazarus, and we shall bring him palms of righteousness and cry: Blest art Thou who comest.⁹⁴

Finally, we note some additional examples of hymns of the Sixth Week which apply ascetical allegory to images associated with the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Raised on high through acts of compassion, as though upon the Mount of

⁹³ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Five, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 256; *AT*, 355.

⁹⁴ Sessional Hymn in Tone Five after the second reading from the Psalter, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 258; *AT*, 357. This is, however, the only hymn I have noticed which takes account of the inference of Jn 12.17-18 which may explain the origins of the connections of our two target commemorations, because it says that the reason the crowd greeted Jesus so joyfully was that they had been told of the sign he had performed in raising Lazarus.

Olives, let us cut branches of virtue, O ye peoples, and let us make ready for the invisible coming of Christ to us, as we praise, bless, and exalt Him above all for ever.⁹⁵

Let us become through grace meek in soul and humble in thought, and let us receive the meek Master of all, who comes to break in pieces the arrogance of the evil one.⁹⁶

Attributed Sources

Like every other weekday of the Forty-day Fast, every Matins service this week uses two different Three-Ode Kanons, the first attributed to Joseph and the second to Theodore. Similarly at Vespers, many hymns at Ps 140 are attributed to Joseph or Theodore, and those attributed to Joseph always precede those ascribed to Theodore, although for Wednesday Vespers an unattributed Troparion and Martyrikon precede the Troparia of these two hymnographers. The only other hymn attributed to a specific hymnographer this week is the first Aposticha hymn at Matins on Friday Morning, which significantly enough is attributed to the same Emperor Leo the Wise whose *Idiomela* are so prominent in Vespers for Lazarus Saturday. Given how prominent the works of Joseph and Theodore are in the rest of the Triodion, it is worth noting that their names were not associated with any of the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. In fact, in the current Triodion there are no hymns in Holy and Great Week associated with these authors. Another observation worth further study is that many of the *Heirmoi*

⁹⁵ Troparion at the Eight Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 252; *AT*, 353.

⁹⁶ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, First Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 260; *AT*, 358.

used in the Kanons attributed to the Stoudite brothers come from the Kanons attributed to Andrew of Crete.

Observations such as these have led most authors to attribute the organization of the Triodion and Pentecostarion to the ninth-century monks of the Monastery of the Stoudion at Constantinople, and more specifically to Joseph and Theodore, the latter of whom served as Hegumen of the Monastery and is venerated as a Saint, commemorated on November 11. This assertion was already made by Nikephoros Kallistos and is expressed in the Synaxarion notice for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, the first included in the Triodion:

With God's blessings we enter through this day into the period of the Triodion, on which many of our holy and God-bearing Fathers, who were melodists, composed hymns inspired by the Holy Spirit. First among them all, Cosmas the great poet invented the pattern of the tri-ode Canon (Tri-odion) according to the character of the Holy Trinity. He applied this type in the melodies which he composed for Holy Week, and especially for the passion of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Following him, the rest of the fathers, and particularly the brothers Theodore and Joseph Studites, composed the Odes for the six weeks of the Holy and Great Lent and arranged them together, compiling the entire book in their Monastery of the Studium.⁹⁷

While some work has been done on these two hymnographers, Quinlan has noted how further research on the life and work of the Stoudite brothers is a *desideratum* of current work on the Triodion since it is a precondition to the kind of serious critical study which the work deserves.

⁹⁷ NZT, 4-5; AT, 3.

Literary Themes

Hymns from the Sixth Week of Lent which reflect on the raising of Lazarus have already been considered above, and those which use imagery of the Destruction of Hades will be examined in the next chapter.

Polemic against "the Hebrews"

Hymns which use anti-Jewish rhetoric are not as common as those in our primary target texts which were examined in the previous chapter. When they do occur they usually are based on a paraphrase of the biblical narrative.

A great number of Jews came today from Jerusalem to Bethany and shared the sorrow of the sisters of Lazarus; but when they learnt on the next day that Lazarus had come out of the tomb, they sought to kill Christ.⁹⁸

'Behold, we go up to the Holy City,' Thou hast foretold to Thy disciples, O Jesus; 'and by the hands of murderers I shall be delivered to crucifixion, and I shall be truly slain according to the flesh.'⁹⁹

The first hymn stays close to the biblical narrative. So does the second, except for the fact that the word "murderers" (μικαίφόνων) does not appear in the biblical account of Mt 20.18 or its parallels in Mk 10.33 and Lk 18.31. Matthew and Mark preserve the saying as "the Son of man will be delivered over to the chief priests and scribes, and they will condemn him to death and hand him over to the Gentiles." All three synoptic gospels agree that it is the Gentiles who will mock, spit, scourge, and kill the Son of Man,

⁹⁸ Troparion of the Fifth Ode, Second Kanon in Tone Eight attributed to Theodore, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 267; *AT*, 363.

⁹⁹ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, First Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 269; *AT*, 364.

in fact since Luke omits the reference to the chief priests and scribes, this focus on Gentile responsibility is even stronger there. Admittedly the hymn does not explicitly identify these murderers as Jews, but in the context of our other texts there can be no doubt that when these hymns were proclaimed at worship services, that is how they would be understood.

Another hymnographic technique of biblical expansion, personifying a geographic location to dramatize the narrative movement of the biblical story, unfortunately feeds into such stereotypes against Jews.

Thou comest again, O Christ, to Judea, which seeks to kill Thee the tree of Life upon the tree of the Cross; for it is thy will to make immortal those who had been slain by eating from the tree.¹⁰⁰

Christ, whom thou hast sought to stone, comes to thee once more, O murderous Judea, desiring to fulfil as God His saving Passion. Willingly and by His own free choice, He accepts violent death at thy hands for our salvation.¹⁰¹

This subtle mis-reading of the biblical accounts of the passion, focusing responsibility on Jews as a group, would have disastrous consequences in a Christian society where a religious minority was clearly identified as being the same community of Jews. When combined with a "supercessionist" ideology which claimed that the Jews had been the chosen people of God, but because of their rejection of Jesus that special relationship had now been given to the Christians who did accept the Christ, the stage was set for the

¹⁰⁰ Troparion at the Eight Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 252; *AT*, 352.

¹⁰¹ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 253; *AT*, 353.

periodic persecutions which are only now being acknowledged in Christian communities.

Israel was clothed in purple and fine linen, arrayed in the glory of priestly and royal garments; rich in the Law and Prophets, it rejoiced in the worship of the Old Covenant. But it crucified thee outside the gates, O Benefactor who hast made Thyself poor, and it rejected thee when Thou hast returned alive after the Crucifixion, O Thou who art ever in the bosom of God the Father. Israel thirsts now for a single drop of grace, like the rich man clothed in purple and fine linen, who showed no mercy to Lazarus in his poverty, and so was punished in the fire which never shall be quenched. Israel is filled with anguish as it looks upon the peoples of the gentiles, who once lacked even the very crumbs of truth. But now they are comforted in the bosom of the faith of Abraham; they wear the purple of Thy blood and the fine linen of Baptism; and they make glad and rejoice in thy gifts of grace, saying: O Christ our God, glory to Thee (twice).¹⁰²

Conclusion

In the hymns of the Sixth Week of the Fast, all of the primary and secondary themes found in the hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday are found. The hymns on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday which are attributed to specific hymnographers are all authors who were active before the presumed organization of the Triodion by Joseph and Theodore the Stoudites (with the significant exception of the Emperor Leo the Wise, who was almost a contemporary of the reforming brothers). The hymns of the Sixth Week which are attributed to specific authors are only attributed to the Stoudite brothers, with one exception again attributed to the Emperor Leo. These observations suggest that the themes associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday were already well established before the work of the organization of the Triodion, and Joseph and Theodore were able to build upon this established network of themes in their own compositions.

¹⁰² *Aposticha* hymn in Tone One, Matins, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 254; *AT*, 354.

A unique feature of the hymns of the Sixth Week is the way they develop the chronology inherent in the Johannine account of the raising of Lazarus. Another striking characteristic is the prominence of imagery taken from the Lukan parable of the Rich man and Lazarus, which was the central theme of the Kanon at Matins of the Fifth Sunday of the Fast. In spite of the interweaving of hymns which refer now to the Lukan Lazarus, now to the Johannine Lazarus, the hymnographers seem to have been very careful not to conflate the two biblical figures of the same name, and there is no single hymn which refers to both figures.

In the next chapter, we will look at the relatively few examples of texts elsewhere in the Triodion which reflect the themes of our target texts.

CHAPTER 18

ISOLATED ALLUSIONS IN THE LENTEN TRIODION

Our final category of texts will not provide a great deal of data, but the very scarcity of such references is illustrative of the concentration of themes around the celebrations of the Sixth Week of the Fast, culminating in Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

Texts Before the Fifth Sunday of the Fast

The theme of the barren fig tree is mentioned in the first Troparion of the Ninth Ode in the Kanon attributed to Joseph at Matins Monday of the Third Week,¹ however this is in the more general context of a series of biblical examples and admonitions and does not seem to have any connection with Great Monday, much less Palm Sunday or Lazarus Saturday.

The hymns of the Fourth Week are dominated by the themes related to the Veneration of the Cross, and several of them refer to this as the midpoint of the Fast.

Sticheron at Ps 140, in Tone Eight, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Monday in the Fourth Week, *LTSup*, 159; *AT*, 242.

Troparion of the Second Ode, first Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Tuesday of the Fourth Week, *LTSup*, 162; *AT*, 244.

Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Four, Vespers, Wednesday in the Fourth Week, *LTSup*, 180; *AT*, 255.

¹ *LTSup*, 111; *AT*, 204.

Troparion at the Fourth Ode, first Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday of the Fourth Week, *LTSup*, 192.; *AT*, 262.

We will give the text of one other of these here, as it illustrates an understanding of the Fast itself as preparation for the passion.

Having come to the middle point on the path that leads to Thy precious Cross, grant that we may see Thy day that Abraham saw and rejoiced, when on the mountain he received Isaac back alive as from the tomb. Delivered from the enemy by faith, may we share in Thy mystical supper, calling upon Thee in peace; Our light and our Saviour, glory to Thee!²

In the Fifth Week of the Fast, we do have a text which is more suggestive of the Raising of Lazarus as the culmination of the Fast.

O Lord, Thou hast granted us to reach the light of the present day, and soon we shall come to the holy week of the dread raising of Lazarus from the tomb. Count us Thy servants worthy to walk in Thy fear, and to complete the whole course of the Fast.³

Monday of the Fifth Week also has a hymn alluding to the anointing of Jesus.

O Word of God, Thou hast given us the time of the Fast, that we may turn again and live, and in no way perish. Grant that all of us may please Thee, O Christ, and serve Thee with fervent compunction, like the wise and holy harlot: for because of the sweet-smelling ointment and the warm tears which she shed,

² First Aposticha hymn in Tone Eight, Matins, Wednesday in the Fourth Week, *LTSup*, 179; *AT*, 254. It is tempting to see in this hymn, with its allusions to the Mystical Supper and Cross, an understanding of the Fast as extending up to the beginning of the Triduum on Holy Thursday. Such an understanding would explain the placement of this hymn and its counterpart on Wednesday, while explaining those on Tuesday (and Monday Vespers) as referring to the 40-day fast ending on Lazarus Saturday. Unfortunately such calculations would still require some juggling to come out right, and they leave us to explain the hymn from Friday Matins.

³ Sessional Hymn in Tone Seven after the third reading from the Psalter, Matins, Monday of the Fifth Week, *LTSup*, 208; *AT*, 279.

she received forgiveness of her sins.⁴

LTSup gives a footnote to Lk 7.37-50, since Luke is the only one of the four evangelists who describe this event to specifically mention the forgiveness of sins, and the only one who identifies the woman as "of the city, a sinner" (γυνή ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁμαρτώλος; Lk 7.37). There is, however, no suggestion that the allusion here is anything more specific than another biblical example of the spiritual attitudes to be fostered during the Fast.

Texts after Palm Sunday

An explicit mention of Lazarus after Palm Sunday is found on Great Friday Matins, in the first Troparion after Antiphon 3.

Because of the raising of Lazarus, the children of the Hebrews cried Hosanna to Thee, O Lord, who lovest mankind: but Judas the transgressor had no wish to understand.⁵

Apart from the concluding refrain, the hymn is rooted in Jn 12.17-18, which suggests that the early church was aware of this passage as a key for connecting the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus with that of the triumphal entry.

The liturgical element of the "Fifteen Antiphons" which include this hymn are first mentioned among our sources with the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, however Janeras notes a passage in the *Life of Melany (The Younger)*. In the description of the Office of the Monastery which she founded around the year 430, we are told: "Similarly for the

⁴ Sticheron in Tone Three at Psalm 140, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Monday of the Fifth Week, *LTSup*, 213; *AT*, 282.

⁵ *LT*, 572; *AT*, 441. Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint* discusses this "Office of the Passion" on pp. 124-134.

nighttime kanon, {there are} three *hypopsalmata* and three readings, while at Matins {we take} fifteen antiphons."⁶ While there is no way to identify these fifteen antiphons with those that show up later in the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, it is certainly suggestive of an early origin for these hymns.⁷

The text would be perfectly understandable, however, even if there were no liturgical celebration of Lazarus Saturday. The context is a series of incidents which "Judas the transgressor had no wish to understand," and the first of those series is when "The children of the Hebrews cried Hosanna unto you O Lord because of the raising of Lazarus"

A similar observation could be made about the hymn for the Eighth Ode in the Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete used at Compline the night of Holy Thursday.

'Let Jesus Christ be crucified,' cried the Hebrew people together with the priests and the scribes. O faithless people! What evil has He done, He who raised up Lazarus from the tomb and wondrously brought to pass the salvation of all?⁸

The raising of Lazarus is here used as one example among many that could be offered of

⁶ Life of Melany the Younger, chapter 47. Janeras, *op. cit.*, 125, gives the following quote, from which the passage above is translated: 'Ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν νυκτερινὸς κανὼν τρία ὑποψάλματα καὶ τρεῖς ἀναγνώσεις, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ὀρθρινοῖς ἀντίφωνα δεκαπέντε.

⁷ See the discussion at *loc. cit.*, plus his later summary: "Nevertheless it remains difficult to establish where and when this structure of 15 antiphons was put together, given that some among these Troparia are taken from other moments of the same Great Friday {Services}." Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 186.

⁸ *LT*, 562; *AT* does not have this kanon. *LT* has supplied it from the Slavonic, noting that the Greek text with some variations is found in the 1738 Triodion published at Rome, and in the Bodleian Manuscript gr. 71 on f. 219a.

the good works Christ worked among the Jews, which makes their betrayal and abandonment of him even more blameworthy. This more general articulation of the same theme is prominent in the Great Friday services, and is found within the same kanon, in a hymn at the Ninth Ode.

O Lawless Jews! O people without understanding! Do ye not remember how many miracles of healing Christ performed for your? Do you not comprehend His divine power, just as your fathers before you understood it not?⁹

The theme was already articulated in the second century work *Περὶ Πάσχα* of Melito of Sardis, which many have seen as the historical foundations of the hymns of the Byzantine Great Friday service as well as the *Improperia* of the Latin Rite Holy Friday Services.¹⁰

Aside from these isolated references among the texts of Holy Week, there is another cluster of texts which we have identified as having an implicit, and often explicit, connection to the celebration of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

The Commemoration of the Anointing of Jesus

We have already noted the connections of the anointing at Bethany with the raising of Lazarus and Palm Sunday, and noted that the current Byzantine tradition commemorates this event on Holy Wednesday, following the Matthean account which

⁹ *LT*, 564.

¹⁰ See Π. Κ. Χρηστοῦ, >>Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Μελίτωνος Παρὶ Πάσχα καὶ ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ Πάθους,<< *Κληρονομία* 1 (1960): 65-78; K. Mitsakis, "The hymnography of the Greek Church in the early Christian centuries," *JÖBG* 20 (1971): 31-49. The WilsonDisk version of the Religion Index also gives the following incomplete citation which I have not yet found: Michael D. Brocke, *On the Jewish origin of the Improperia*, 1977.

was normative in Jerusalem. This commemoration on Great Wednesday is representative of the synoptic, as opposed to the Johannine, chronology of the passion.

Hymns referring to this anointing, often also referring or alluding to the raising of Lazarus, are found in the following services:

Great Compline, Tuesday of Holy Week, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete;
Matins, Holy and Great Wednesday, in every element of the service;
Matins, Holy and Great Friday.

The last of these is within the antiphons of great antiquity mentioned above, and like the allusion to Lazarus, the reference to the anointing is part of a more general theme condemning the greed of Judas. Towards that end, Mary (only in the Johannine account is the woman identified as Mary) is contrasted with Judas.

In loving compassion, let us minister to God, as Mary at the supper; and let us not as Judas acquire love of money, that we may ever abide with Christ our God.¹¹

While it is worth noting that this early hymn is based on the Johannine account of the anointing, it does not offer any specific information about a liturgical commemoration of that event. The permeation of the theme at the other two services, however, does witness to such a commemoration.

The Kanon at Holy Tuesday Compline

It has already been noted that both structurally and thematically the three-ode kanons of Compline during Holy Week pertain to the commemorations of the following

¹¹ Hymn of the Second Antiphon in Tone Six, Matins, Holy and Great Friday, *LT*, 572; *AT*, 441.

day, and that from Sunday through Thursday they are attributed to Andrew of Crete.¹²

The Kanon used at Holy Tuesday Compline also refers to the themes of the last judgement and of the bridegroom in each of the Odes, but the predominant theme is the one which interests us, the anointing of Jesus. It is worth noting that, in contrast with the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, nowhere in the hymns of this service or Wednesday Matins is Bethany explicitly mentioned. Instead, the location is spoken of as the house of Simon.

The house of Simon contained Thee whom nothing can contain, O Jesus our King, and the woman who was a sinner anointed Thee with oil of myrrh.¹³

Today Christ comes to the house of the Pharisee, and the sinful woman draws near and falls down at His feet, crying: 'Behold me sunk in sin, filled with despair by reason of my deeds, yet not rejected by Thy love. Grant me, Lord, remission of my sins and save me.'¹⁴

O Jesus, wishing to show Thy surpassing humility unto all, Thou who art food to the hungry hast eaten in the house of Simon.

O Jesus, life-giving bread, Thou hast eaten with Simon the Pharisee, that the harlot might gain Thy grace that is beyond all price, by pouring out the ointment on Thy head.¹⁵

¹² *AT* does not have any propers for Compline the night of Holy Thursday, giving only the rubric, "We sing Compline in our own cells." (*AT*, 439.) *LT* has provided the text from the Slavonic, noting that the Greek text is included in the 1738 Triodion published at Rome and in the Bodleian manuscript Canon. gr. 71, folio 219a. See *LT*, 560, footnote 31.

¹³ Troparion at the Third Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 531; *AT*, 413.

¹⁴ Aposticha Hymn, in Tone Six, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 539; *AT*, 417.

¹⁵ Troparia at the Ninth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 533; *AT*, 414.

In the last example it is clear how the poetic imagination is expanding on the theme of Jesus eating at the house of the Pharisee to add other biblical allusions to Jesus as food. Andrew likes to develop this idea, both of Jesus as our food and of his kenosis in eating with all.

In loving self-abasement, O Christ, Thou hast eaten with men, although
Thou art Thyself the heavenly food and the Life of those that hunger.¹⁶

Not only with the Pharisees, O Saviour, not only with Simon wast thou
pleased to eat as a guest; but Publicans and harlots also share in Thy
compassion.¹⁷

In general, Andrew likes to stay close to the biblical account, expanding on one or two elements at a time.

As Thou wast sitting at supper, O Word, a woman came to Thee; and
weeping at Thy feet, she took the alabaster box and poured the oil of myrrh upon
Thy head, who art the myrrh of immortality.¹⁸

The woman drew near to Thee, O Saviour, and poured out the sweet-
smelling ointment on Thy feet; and she received the sweet fragrance of
forgiveness.¹⁹

There, are, however, hymns whose whole premise is a scene imagined by the hymnographer as necessary background for the biblical narrative.

¹⁶ Troparion at the Third Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 531; *AT*, 413.

¹⁷ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 532; *AT*, 414.

¹⁸ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 532; *AT*, 414.

¹⁹ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 533; *AT*, 414.

The sinful woman hastened to buy precious oil of myrrh, with which to anoint the Benefactor, and she cried aloud to the merchant: 'Give me oil of myrrh, that I may anoint him who has cleansed me from all my sins.'²⁰

One of the main themes of this day is rooted in the biblical account, the contrast between the loving generosity of the woman who anoints Jesus and the small-minded stinginess of the apostles. The personification of this apostolic inadequacy is centered on Simon by Luke, but on Judas by the author of the Fourth Gospel, and the hymns of the latter days of Great Week follow this Johannine focus on Judas.

In his love for money the traitor Judas, when the ointment was poured out, took thought how he might sell the Master; and going to wicked men he agreed with them upon the price.²¹

Ungrateful and envious in his wickedness, wretched Judas calculates the value of the gift worthy of God, whereby the woman gained release from the debt of her sins, and he traffics in the grace of divine love. Spare our souls, O Christ our God, and save us.²²

While the sinful woman brought oil of myrrh,
 the disciple came to an agreement with the transgressors.
 She rejoiced to pour out what was very precious,
 he made haste to sell the One who is above all price.
 She acknowledged Christ as Lord,
 he severed himself from the Master.
 She was set free,
 but Judas became the slave of the enemy.
 Grievous was his lack of love!
 Great was her repentance!

²⁰ Sticheron at the Praises, in Tone Two, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 539; *AT*, 417.

²¹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 532; *AT*, 414.

²² Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Kanon attributed to Kosmas, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 538; *AT*, 417.

Grant such repentance also unto me,
 O Saviour who hast suffered for our sake,
 and save us.

O misery of Judas! He saw the harlot kiss Thy feet, and deceitfully he plotted to betray Thee with a kiss. She loosed her hair and he was bound a prisoner by fury, bearing in place of myrrh the stink of evil: for envy knows not how to choose its own advantage. O misery of Judas! From this deliver our souls, O God!²³

The harlot spread out her hair before Thee, O Master,
 while Judas stretched out his hands to the transgressors:
 she to receive forgiveness;
 and he, to receive money.
 Therefore we cry aloud to Thee who was sold and hast set us free:
 O Lord, glory to Thee.²⁴

There is only one hymn which explicitly connects the anointing with the raising of Lazarus:

Evil-smelling and defiled, the woman drew near to Thee, shedding tears upon Thy feet, O Saviour, and proclaiming thy passion. 'How can I look upon Thee, O Master? Yet Thou hast come to save the harlot. I am dead: raise me from the depths as Thou has raised Lazarus on the fourth day from the tomb. Accept me in my wretchedness, O Lord, and save me.'²⁵

This focus on contrasting the bad odor of sin with the sweet smell of the myrrh may be an implicit connection to other hymns which sing of the one who was dead for four days and already stank.

The woman was filled with a mystical fragrance and was delivered from

²³ Stichera at the Praises, in Tone One, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 539; *AT*, 417.

²⁴ Aposticha Hymn, in Tone Six, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 540; *AT*, 417.

²⁵ Aposticha Hymn, in Tone Six, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 540; *AT*, 418.

the stench of her many sins, O Saviour, for from Thee flows the myrrh of life.²⁶

The harlot drew near Thee, O Thou who lovest mankind, and poured out on Thy feet the oil of myrrh with her tears; and at Thy command she was delivered from the foul smell of her evil deeds. But the ungrateful disciple, though he breathed Thy grace, rejected it and defiled himself in filth, selling Thee from love of money. Glory be to Thy compassion, O Christ.²⁷

Certainly the myrrh is a detail which the hymnographers choose to accentuate.

'My oil of myrrh is corruptible, Thine is the myrrh of life, for Thy name is myrrh poured out upon the worthy. But release and forgive me,' cried the harlot to Christ.²⁸

The woman poured precious oil of myrrh upon Thine awesome and royal head, O Christ our God, and she laid hold of Thy pure feet with her polluted hands and cried aloud: 'O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord and exalt Him above all for ever.'²⁹

The harlot mingled precious oil of myrrh with her tears and poured it on Thy most pure feet, as she kissed them; and straight-way thou has proclaimed her justified. To us also grant forgiveness, O Lord who hast suffered for our sake, and save us.³⁰

It would certainly be stretching the allusion to jump from these hymns speaking of the myrrh with which Jesus was anointed and the *myron* which is consecrated in Patriarchal

²⁶ Troparion at the Third Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 531; *AT*, 413.

²⁷ Sessional Hymn after the first reading from the Psalter, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, p. 535; *AT*, 415.

²⁸ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 533; *AT*, 414.

²⁹ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon attributed to Kosmas, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 537; *AT*, 416.

³⁰ Sticheron at the Praises, in Tone One, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 538-9; *AT*, 417.

Churches on Great Thursday. Still the verbal hook would be quite strong in Greek, and the account of the anointing is prominent in the texts associated with the service of the consecration of the myrrh. Even closer would be the connection to the Greek tradition of administering the Mystery of Anointing on Great Wednesday. Although not in *LT*, the texts for this sacrament are given in *AT*, 422-26.

Undoubtedly the main role played by the woman who anoints Jesus, now almost always a harlot in the poetic imagination, is as a model of repentance.

To Thee the harlot cried lamenting, O merciful Lord; ardently she wiped Thy pure feet with the hair of her head, and from the depth of her heart she groaned: 'Cast me not from Thee, neither abhor me, O my God, but receive me in repentance and save me, for Thou alone lovest mankind.'³¹

Guilty of sin, she washed with tears the feet of her Creator and wiped them with her hair; and so she received forgiveness for all that she had done in life, and she cried aloud: 'O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord and exalt Him above all for ever.'

Through the saving love of God and the fountain of her tears, the grateful woman was ransomed for her sins; washed clean by her confession, she was not ashamed but cried aloud: 'O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord and exalt Him above all for ever.'³²

O Son of the Virgin, the harlot knew thee to be God and she prayed to Thee lamenting, for she had committed sins worthy of tears. 'Loose me from my debt,' she cried, 'as I unloose my hair. Show love to her who loves Thee, though rightly she deserves Thy hatred, and with the publicans I shall proclaim Thee, O Benefactor who lovest mankind.'³³

³¹ Sessional Hymn after the second reading from the Psalter, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, p. 536; *AT*, 415.

³² Troparia at the Eighth Ode, Kanon attributed to Kosmas, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 537; *AT*, 416.

³³ Sticheron at the Praises, in Tone One, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 538; *AT*, 417.

Drowning in sin, she found in Thee a haven of salvation, and pouring out the oil of myrrh with her tears, she cried to thee: 'Lo, Thou art He who accepts the repentance of the sinful. O master, save me from the waves of sin in Thy great mercy.'³⁴

Full of despair on account of her life, her evil ways well known, she came to Thee, bearing oil of myrrh, and cried aloud: 'Harlot though I am, cast me not out, O Son of the Virgin; despise not my tears, O joy of the angels; but receive me in repentance, O Lord, and in Thy great mercy reject me not, a sinner.'³⁵

There is also a clear fascination with the person of the harlot in Andrew of Crete's descriptions of the her.

O blessed hands, O blessed hair and lips of the chaste harlot! With her hands, O Saviour, she poured out the ointment on Thy feet, and she wiped them with her hair, and kissed them often with her lips.'³⁶

My hands are filthy and I have a harlot's lips; my life is impure and my body corrupt; but release me and forgive me,' cried the harlot to Christ.

'Rich in sweet scents, yet poor in virtues, I offer Thee what I have: grant me in return what Thou hast, and release and forgive me,' cried the harlot to Christ.'³⁷

The most famous example of this fascination is the only hymn in the Triodion explicitly attributed to a woman.

The woman who had fallen into many sins, perceiving Thy divinity, O Lord, fulfilled the part of the myrrh-bearer; and with lamentations she brought sweet-smelling oil of myrrh to Thee before Thy burial. 'Woe is me,' she said, 'for night surrounds me, dark and moonless, and stings my lustful passion with the

³⁴ Sticheron at the Praises, in Tone Six, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 539; *AT*, 417.

³⁵ Aposticha Hymn, in Tone Six, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 540; *AT*, 418.

³⁶ Troparion at the Eighth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 532; *AT*, 414.

³⁷ Troparia at the Ninth Ode, Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete, Compline, Holy Tuesday, *LT*, 533; *AT*, 414.

love of sin. Accept the fountain of my tears, O thou who drawest down from the clouds the waters of the sea. Incline to the groanings of my heart, O thou who in Thy ineffable self-emptying hast bowed down the heavens. I shall kiss Thy most pure feet and wipe them with the hairs of my head, those feet whose sound Eve heard in the dusk in Paradise, and hid herself for fear. Who can search the multitude of my sins and the abyss of Thy judgements, O Saviour of my soul? Despise me not, Thine handmaiden, for Thou hast mercy without measure.³⁸

In much of this imagery, we are very far from the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, and so before leaving this topic it is worth reiterating the connections between the three episodes. The text of John 12 is key here, for the evangelist repeatedly links the three in precisely the pericope chosen for the Palm Sunday liturgy, Jn 12.1-18. The key verses linking the raising of Lazarus with the crowd's enthusiasm on Palm Sunday are Jn 12.17-18, verses which are repeated as the opening verses of the Matins Gospel on Holy Wednesday, Jn 12.17-50. The hymnographic theme "Six days before the Passover," explicitly taken from John 12.1, is applied in the course of the hymns proper to our target feasts to all three commemorations. Finally there is the structural connection of the end of the Fast. Hymns in the current Triodion clearly identify Lazarus Saturday as coming after the conclusion of the Forty-day Fast, while the weekday prokeimenon cycle suggests that at one time the fast concluded on Holy Wednesday, giving way to the Paschal Triduum.

Having surveyed the structural elements of the Triodion in Part Two, the chapters of Part Three have attempted a somewhat fuller survey of the elements associated with Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition. There remains a more complete exposition

³⁸ Aposticha Hymn, in Tone Eight, attributed to Kassiane the Nun, Matins, Great Wednesday, *LT*, 540; *AT*, 418.

of the theme of the Destruction of Hades. In the next chapter this theme will be explored as it is present in a sampling of hymns from the Triodion, Pentekostarion, and Okotechos. This chapter will provide the context for the discussion of the Destruction of Hades and Lazarus Saturday, which will be undertaken in chapter 20.

CHAPTER 19

THE DESTRUCTION OF HADES IN BYZANTINE HYMNS

This chapter represents an expansion on one element identified in the previous chapter, the literary theme called here the "Destruction of Hades." The first part of the chapter will look at examples of this theme in the broader collections of Byzantine hymns, which will be used as a "control group" to compare and contrast with the theme as present in the hymns for Lazarus Saturday. These will be examined in the next chapter, which will examine specific examples of the theme within the hymns for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

The Destruction of Hades in Byzantine Hymnography

The data for this section are collected in Appendix 7. They were compiled by examining the collections of hymns used in the Byzantine Church for examples of poetic compositions that deal with the themes of Christ's descent into and defeat of Hades and Death. For the sake of expediency, this search was done using English translations, first of the Lenten Triodion,¹ then of the Pentekostarion,² and finally of a sampling of the

¹ The source text was *LT*; *LTSup* was not searched.

² The Translation used was *Pentekostarion*, Compiled and adapted from approved sources by the Liturgical Commission of the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Uniontown PA, 1986. In some cases the order of hymns differs from the contemporary Greek text, but I have not yet discovered any significant textual differences.

Oktoechos.³ The resulting compilation is presented in that order in Appendix 7. It makes no pretense of being comprehensive, but it does claim to be representative of the different ways this theme is portrayed in Byzantine hymnography.

Preliminary Observations

Even before looking at the specific content of the hymns collected in Appendix 7, some observations can be made about the pattern of distribution of our admittedly incomplete sample. By far the greatest number of hymns which refer to the Destruction of Hades are included now in the Pentekostarion; of these a good number are also found in the Oktoechos (as was noted in chapter 4 the Pentekostarion traditionally includes those texts from the Oktoechos prescribed for use during that period), usually from the Resurrectional commemorations of Saturday Evening and Sunday. Within the Lenten Triodion itself, the only treatments of the Destruction of Hades before those associated with Lazarus Saturday occur in the texts used on the Sunday of the Cross. Earlier in the Triodion there are two examples which utilize images associated with our theme.

Christ is Risen, releasing from bondage Adam, the first-formed man and destroying the power of hell. Be of good courage, all ye dead, for death is slain and hell despoiled; the crucified and risen Christ is King. He has given incorruption to our flesh; He raises us and grants us resurrection, and He counts worthy of His joy and glory all who, with faith that wavers not, have trusted fervently in Him.⁴

Deliver me O Lord from the gates of Hell, from chaos and darkness

³ *The Office of Vespers*², Compiled and Adapted from Approved Sources by the Liturgical Commission of the Sisters of St. Basil the Great, Uniontown PA, 1987.

⁴ Saturday of the Dead, Matins, At the Praises, *LT*, 139-140.

without light, from the lowest depths of the earth and the unquenchable fire, and from all the other everlasting punishments.⁵

In view of how prevalent the imagery is in other Byzantine hymns, however, what is striking about these examples is that they are the exceptions within the early texts of the Lenten Triodion.

If one focuses on those places in the Triodion where the Destruction of Hades imagery is prominent, a pattern emerges. The theme is found in texts for:

Sunday of the Cross
Lazarus Saturday
Great Friday
Holy Saturday.

On each of these occasions, the ecclesiastical poetry ponders Christ's encounter with and victory over death. It is understandable that this triumphal theme should be more prominent in the Pentekostarion and in those parts of the Oktoechos which focus on the weekly celebration of the Resurrection each Sunday. The rest of this chapter will examine the specific elements which make up this theme within these texts.

The Soteriological Presupposition

The "Soteriological Presupposition" refers to the basic Christian belief that we are saved in Christ. Calling it a "presupposition" is intended to emphasize that it is a logical starting point, an act of faith, an epistemological assumption, which more often than not is implied rather than made explicit in the Christian scriptures. This unstated assumption is also characteristic of the first theological attempts to describe what God has done for us

⁵ Sunday of the Last Judgement, Matins Kanon, Ode Six, *LT*, 159.

in Christ. In the letters of Paul and the "word of encouragement" which modern Bibles call the Letter to the Hebrews we can see the authors self-consciously exploring different images and semantic fields to attempt to convey this soteriological presupposition. Only after many generations of theological speculation was the soteriological issue explicitly addressed, and even then it is more often asserted than argued.

The theme of the Destruction of Hades is among the most pervasive ways in which this soteriological assumption is expressed in the early Christian and Byzantine traditions. The variety of ways in which it is expressed in the later Byzantine hymnographic collections allow us to reconstruct some of the ways in which the theme grew as an expression of the soteriological faith of the Church.

The Victory of Christ over Death

Already in 1 Cor 15, Paul recognized belief in Christ's resurrection from the dead as the cornerstone of Christian faith. In the experience of the Risen Christ, the apostles discovered the vindication of all Jesus had lived and died for, and their conviction that Christ had conquered the power of death shaped their very memories of what they had experienced with him before his crucifixion.

Expressions of Christ's victory over death are thus central to Christian celebration of the resurrection. Paul quoted Isaiah 25.8 in 1 Corinthians 15.54: "Death is swallowed up in victory," and expressions of this victory are common in Byzantine hymnography.

We celebrate the victory over Death, * the destruction of the deep Abyss,

* and the birth of a new eternal life. . . .⁶

This is a day of festival: at the Awakening of Christ, death fled away and the light of life has dawned; Adam has arisen and dances for joy. therefore let us cry aloud and sing a song of victory.⁷

In the Kanon of Paschal Matins, Ode 1 gives a prominent place to this "hymn of victory," (which is actually common in the First Ode of Kanons, since the Biblical Ode on which it is based is the "hymn of victory" celebrating the escape from Egypt, Exodus 15.1-9). As shall be described at length below, there are many different ways in which the poetic imagination of the Byzantine hymnographers were able to utilize a wide repertoire of biblical images to express Christ's victory over death. Not surprisingly, there is often an emphasis on the power of Christ which makes this victory possible.

When you descended to death, O immortal Life, * You destroyed the Abyss by the radiance of your divinity. * And when You raised the dead from the depths of the earth * all the heavenly powers cried out: * O Giver of life, Christ our God, glory to You!⁸

By your strength, You have broken the power of Death, O Lord, * and the dead You have shown the way of life . . .⁹

Thou hast gained the victory by Thy greater strength: Thy soul was parted from Thy body, yet by Thy power, O Word, Thou hast burst asunder the bonds of death and hell.¹⁰

Let us rejoice in the Lord, * Who destroyed the power of Death * and

⁶ Paschal Matins, Kanon, Ode Seven.

⁷ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Ode One.

⁸ Resurrection Troparion, Tone Two.

⁹ Mid Pentecost, Matins, First Canon, Ode Seven.

¹⁰ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Ode Four.

enlightened the human race; * and let us cry with the angels: * Glory to You, our Creator and Savior!¹¹

Focused on the Resurrection of Christ

It is easy to understand how the "moment of victory" is often identified with the Resurrection of Christ.

O come, let us sing a new song, celebrating the overthrow of hell, for Christ has risen from the tomb; death He has taken captive, and saved all the world.¹²

You captured Hades, O Christ, * You raised us by your own Resurrection...¹³

Risen from the dead, you despoiled Hades and gave life to the dead; * by your Resurrection You opened to me the well-springs of immortality. * Deliver me also from the bond of my passions, * for you can do whatever You will.¹⁴

Christ is truly risen; * Hades is empty, the Serpent is crushed, and Adam is returned to grace. Despite the doubts of the impious, * the entire human race is saved by Christ.¹⁵

Expanded to include the Crucifixion

Perhaps the most common practice of the hymnographers is to mention both the Crucifixion and the Resurrection as the occasions for the victory of Christ (and thus of the defeat of Hades).

¹¹ Tone Seven, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 1.

¹² Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Ode Three.

¹³ Friday of Thomas Week, Matins, At the Praises.

¹⁴ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Ode Four.

¹⁵ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Ode Six.

We, the faithful, discoursing on divine things, * touch a wondrous mystery: * his Crucifixion which our minds cannot comprehend, * and his Resurrection which our words cannot describe. * For today Death and Hades are despoiled; * the human race is clothed in incorruption; * and we cry in thanksgiving: * Glory to your Resurrection, O Christ!¹⁶

Although you descended into the grave, O immortal One, * You destroyed the power of death. * You arose again as victor, O Christ God...¹⁷

You endured crucifixion; * You destroyed Death and rose from the dead... . You captured Hades, O Christ. * You raised us up by your own resurrection...¹⁸

... By his death on the Cross and his Resurrection, * He saved the human race from the ancient curse of death.¹⁹

In those texts where both the Crucifixion and Resurrection are mentioned, there is often further poetic expansion of the theme through a variety of additional images.

You were crucified, opening Paradise for all. * You raised the dead with yourself, O our Life. You have destroyed death by your power. * You have joined things of heaven to those of earth... .

The curse has been banished. * Immortal life has come forth. * The ancient chains have been broken. * Let heaven rejoice; let the earth and everything in it be glad. * Christ is risen and Death is withered away... .

This is the day which the Lord has made. * Let us rejoice and be glad. * The Giver of Life is risen and Hades is wailing...²⁰

The Resurrection thus comes to be understood as the culminating moment of Christ's life on earth, the end result which sums up and includes all that came before.

Come, all you people, * let us sing the praises of our Savior's resurrection on the

¹⁶ Friday of Mid-Pentecost, Matins, Sessional Hymn I.

¹⁷ Tone Eight, Kontakion.

¹⁸ Paschal Matins, At the Praises.

¹⁹ Sunday of All Saints, Saturday Evening Vespers, At Ps. 140.

²⁰ Friday of Thomas Week, Matins, Aposticha.

third day. * For we have, thereby, been delivered from the invincible bonds of Hades, * and we have received incorruption, together with eternal life. * Therefore we cry out to you * after Your crucifixion, burial, and resurrection: * Save us by Your resurrection, for You love mankind.²¹

Focusing on the Cross

Once the idea of Christ's victory over death became firmly established in the Christian tradition, it was a small conceptual step to focus on Christ's death itself as being the moment and means, within the two poles of the Paschal mystery, of his victory over death. The Easter Troparion which speaks of "trampling down death by death" is probably the best known example of this tendency. As the examples below demonstrate, this focus on the cross is certainly not in opposition to an emphasis on the resurrection, but should rather be understood as focusing on one moment within a larger process.

O Lover of Mankind, * Your crucifixion and descent in to Hades are most wondrous. * For as God, You thereby conquered the power of Hades * and raised up in glory with Yourself, those who were long imprisoned there...²²

... Christ alone who is mighty and powerful, * has despoiled Hades and raised all those held in corruption. * He has released us from the fear of condemnation * by the power of the cross.²³

Once the Cross becomes the popular symbol of Christ's death (and probably in association with the various cults of the cross which developed in the later middle ages in both East and West) hymns which exalt the power of the Cross become common.

No sooner had the wood of Thy Cross been set up, O Christ our Lord, than

²¹ Tone Four, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 4.

²² Tone Five, Saturday Evening, Aposticha 3.

²³ Tuesday of Thomas Week, Matins, Sessional Hymn I = Saturday of Thomas Week.

the foundations of death were shaken. Hell swallowed Thee eagerly, but it let Thee go with trembling...²⁴

Lord, when Thou has ascended on the Cross, fear and trembling seized all creation. Thou hast not suffered the earth to swallow those that crucified Thee, but Thou hast commanded hell to render up its prisoners, for the regeneration of mortal men...²⁵

Expanded to include other images of victory over death's power

Sometimes in connection with the Cross as the symbol of Christ's victory, sometimes relating to other expressions of that theme, the poetic imagination of the hymnographers sought creative ways to repeat this core message.

Today the ranks of angels dance with gladness at the veneration of Thy Cross. For through the Cross, O Christ, Thou hast shattered the hosts of devils and saved mankind.²⁶

One of the processes by which such expanded imagery develops is the "antithetical parallelism" which was common in the Hebrew poetry of the bible and which seems to have been a popular element in the rhetorical repertoire of hellenistic greek. It becomes one of the characteristic literary devices of Byzantine hymnography.

A dread and marvelous mystery we see come to pass this day. He whom none may touch is seized; He who looses Adam from the curse is bound. He who tries the hearts and inner thoughts of man is unjustly brought to trial. He who closed the abyss is shut in prison. He before whom the powers of heaven stand with trembling, stands before Pilate; the Creator is struck by the hand of His creature. He who comes to judge the living and the dead is condemned to the

²⁴ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Sessional Hymn after the Third Ode.

²⁵ Holy Friday, Matins, Glory after the Aposticha after Eleventh Gospel.

²⁶ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Fifth Ode.

Cross; the Destroyer of hell is enclosed in a tomb...²⁷

Another means for expanding range of symbolic expression is to utilize expressions from other parts of the Scriptures to add variety to the ways in which a theme is expressed.

He who holds the earth in the hollow of His hand is held fast by the earth; put to death according to the flesh, He delivers the dead from the grasping hand of hell.

The flesh of God is hidden now beneath the earth, like a candle underneath a bushel, and it drives away the darkness of hell.

All-devouring hell received within himself the Rock of Life, and cast forth all the dead that he had swallowed since the beginning of the world.

Through Thy burial, O Christ, Thou dost destroy the palaces of hell; by Thy death Thou slayest death, and dost deliver from corruption the children of the earth.²⁸

Thou hast crushed death, O Christ, and risen as a mighty King; Thou hast recalled us from the depths of hell and brought us to the land of immortality, granting us the joy of the Kingdom of Heaven.²⁹

Many other examples of these processes can be found among the hymns used to illustrate other points below. In addition to the Cross, there are two themes which are quite common in Byzantine hymnography as symbolic expressions of Christ's victory over death: the Tomb and Paradise.

The Tomb becomes one of the antinomical, paradoxical expressions so popular to the Byzantine poetic imagination. A universal symbol of death and mourning, it is in

²⁷ Great Friday, Vespers, At Ps 140.

²⁸ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

²⁹ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

Christ transformed into a sign of life and joy.

O happy tomb! It received within itself the Creator, as one asleep, and it was made the divine treasury of life, for our salvation who sing, O God, our Deliverer, blessed art Thou!³⁰

Thy tomb, O Christ, has brought me life: for Thou, the Lord of life, hast come and cried to those who were dwelling in the grave: 'O all who are in bonds, be loosed: for I am come, the Ransom of the world.'³¹

Of course this imagery can likewise be expanded through the use of other biblical images.

Source of the river of life, the Wisdom of God descends into the tomb and gives life to all those in the depths of hell.³²

... It was fitting for the Lord to come forth from the tomb * as from a bridal chamber. * You destroyed the dominion of death. * You opened the gates of paradise to the human race. * Glory to you, O Lord.³³

Eventually the conviction that Christ has overcome death so completely permeates

Christian thought that the hymnographer can express surprise that Christ would be buried.

... How could they bury the One who trampled down Hades?³⁴

Paradise is a theme which was associated with the passion narratives because of the Lukan description of Jesus' dialogue with the "good thief," which includes the promise, "this day you will be with me in paradise" (Luke 23.43). Factor in the Pauline emphasis on the obedience of Christ replacing the sin of Adam (e.g. Rom 5:12ff.) and it

³⁰ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode.

³¹ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

³² Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

³³ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Saturday Vespers, At the Lite.

³⁴ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Saturday Vespers, At Ps. 140.

is not hard to understand the emergence of the soteriological image that Jesus' death on the cross re-opened the gates of paradise which had been closed because of the sin of Adam and Eve.

The fiery sword no longer guards the gates of Eden, for in a strange and glorious way the wood of the Cross has quenched its flames. The sting of death and the victory of hell are now destroyed, for Thou art come, my Saviour, crying unto those in hell: 'Return again to Paradise.'³⁵

Adam was afraid when God walked in Paradise, but now he rejoices when God descends to hell. Then he fell, but now he is raised up.³⁶

O Savior, You have absolved the penalty of disobedience * committed through the tree of Eden, * by willingly being nailed to the tree of the Cross. * As Almighty God, you descended into Hades * and broke asunder the bonds of death...³⁷

Deceived by the serpent, Adam was hurled into the pit of Hades; but You, O compassionate God, have descended there * and have carried him upon your shoulders to the Resurrection.³⁸

Related to the Incarnation

Connections between the Creator and the Redeemer invite theological speculation on the relationship between the two, and in general the Byzantine tradition has favored an approach which strongly emphasizes the continuity between the act of love which brought the world into existence at creation, and the act of love which accomplishes the re-creation of humanity to allow the cosmos to fulfill the purpose for which it was

³⁵ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Kontakion.

³⁶ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

³⁷ Tone 4, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 2 = Friday after Samaritan Woman.

³⁸ Sunday of the Council Fathers, Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

created. As we were one with Adam in the fall, so we are one with Christ in the redemption.

To fill all things with Thy glory, Thou has gone down into the nethermost parts of the earth; for my person that is in Adam has not been hidden from Thee, but in Thy love for man Thou art buried in the tomb and dost restore me from corruption.³⁹

Such a perspective fits well with the approach mentioned above, in which the various moments of salvation history are viewed as part of one process of divine love.

O Lord God, who shall proclaim your dazzling wonders, * or who shall declare your divine mysteries? * For You were willingly incarnate for our sakes, * manifesting the might of your power. By your cross You opened Paradise to the thief; * by your death You crushed the bars and bolts of Hades; * and by your Resurrection You enriched all creation. * Therefore O Compassionate One, glory to You!⁴⁰

O loving Lord, for our sakes Thou wast born of a Virgin and hast endured Crucifixion, despoiling death by death, and as God Thou hast revealed the Resurrection...⁴¹

Other images from the Christian Scriptures reinforce this association between the resurrection and creation.

Christ is risen from the dead, * the first-fruits of them that sleep, * the first-born of all creation, * and the maker of all created things. * In his flesh He restored the human nature which had grown corrupt. * Your reign is over, O Death, * for the Master of all has made you power of no avail.⁴²

In the context of later Christological controversies, this connection between the

³⁹ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Ode 1.

⁴⁰ Sunday of the Man Born Blind, Matins, At the Praises = Tuesday of the same week.

⁴¹ Great Friday, Ninth Hour.

⁴² Monday of the Week of the Paralytic, Matins, Sessional Hymn I = Saturday of same week.

Incarnation and the Crucifixion can have apologetic motifs.

When the thief beheld the Author of life hanging upon the Cross, he said:
If it were not God incarnate that is crucified with us, the sun would not have hid
its rays nor would the earth have quaked and trembled... ⁴³

You have deigned to take upon yourself our entire human condition, O
Lord, * and You willed to let yourself be nailed on the Cross, O God our Creator.
* You have suffered in your humanity * destroying Death by your death * in
order to redeem the human race... ⁴⁴

The poetic imagination even dares parallel the eternal life of the Trinity with the
outpouring of love made manifest in our creation and redemption.

O Lord, Your birth from the Father is timeless and eternal; * Your incarnation
from the Virgin is beyond the understanding of all, * and beyond the expression
of our words. * Your descent into Hades and victory over Death * caused Satan
and his angels to tremble with fear. * Your resurrection on the third day *
brought to mankind incorruption and great mercy. ⁴⁵

Hymns such as this suggest the extent to which the destruction of Hades became a
theological commonplace in expressing the soteriological presupposition of Byzantine
theology. The degree to which it was taken for granted in the later tradition is made clear
by the way in which it is applied in other hymns where the soteriological imagery is no
longer applied exclusively to Christ, but is used for human beings who cooperate with the
saving work of Christ. By far the most daring applications of this type refer to the
Theotokos, Mary, the Mother of God.

⁴³ Great Friday, Ninth Hour.

⁴⁴ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Sessional Hymn II.

⁴⁵ Tone Four, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 7.

Applied to Mary

In the earliest hymns addressed to Mary, the Christ is clearly identified as the One who accomplishes our salvation, while Mary is praised for her relationship with the Redeemer.

You are truly most blessed, O virgin Mother of God. * Through the One who was incarnate of you, * Hades was chained, Adam revived, the curse wiped out, * Eve set free, Death put to death, * and we ourselves were brought back to life...⁴⁶

We praise you, Mother of God * for you are covered with more glory than any other. * Death has been put to death and Hades trampled underfoot * by the Cross of your Son. * He raised us from death and granted us eternal life. * Paradise is again offered for us to enjoy as before. * Therefore in thanksgiving we glorify the love and power of Christ our God.⁴⁷

O Immaculate Virgin, * He who wondrously dwelt in your womb and became flesh, * descended into the depths of the earth, * and rising from the tomb, * raised with Him all human nature.⁴⁸

O Immaculate Virgin, * He who made Adam your first father, * was made a man from your womb, * and by his death He destroyed the death caused by sin, * and today he makes the divine brilliance of his holy Resurrection shine on you.⁴⁹

The Kanon attributed to Joseph the Hymnographer, used at Matins on Akathistos Saturday (i.e., the 5th Saturday of Lent), will apply the soteriological imagery of the Destruction of Hades directly to Mary's role in the economy of salvation.

⁴⁶ Thomas Sunday, Matins, At the Praises, Now and Ever: = Sunday of Myrrh-Bearers, Samaritan Woman.

⁴⁷ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Glory . . . Now and ever.

⁴⁸ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

⁴⁹ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

Hail, Virgin bride of God, restoration of Adam and death of hell; ...

Hail, only gate through which the Word alone has passed. By thy birthgiving, Lady, thou hast broken the bars and gates of Hell. Hail, Bride of God, divine entry of the saved.⁵⁰

Applied to the Martyrs?

There is one text which might suggest that the imagery has even been applied to the Martyrs.

... O Divine ranks of the Martyrs. * By your deeds you have fulfilled the words of the Savior; * for through you the gates of Hades, * once opened against the Church, have now been closed...⁵¹

On closer examination it is clear that the image of the Gates of Hades is here being used in the opposite direction from that explicit in the Destruction of Hades theme. There, the Gates of Hades keep the dead prisoner, until Christ opens them; here, the gates of Hades represent the power of evil, which had been unleashed against the Church, but which is now contained again in hell because of the sacrificial deeds of the martyrs.

Echos of the Gospel Accounts of the Passion and Burial of Christ

Since all strata of Byzantine poetic compositions are deeply immersed in the vocabulary and thought of the Christian scriptures, it is not surprising that many of them include restatements or paraphrases of scriptural themes.

When you mounted the cross, the sun darkened itself,

⁵⁰ Saturday of the Akathistos, Matins, Kanon attributed to Joseph the Hymnographer, First and Third Odes.

⁵¹ Sunday of All Saints, Saturday Evening Vespers, Glory be.

for it could not bear to give its light.
 The earth quaked and the rocks were split.
 The veil of the temple was torn in two;
 the graves were opened and the dead arose.
 Hades gave up all those that were held there;
 the devils were defeated,
 and, for all mankind, sleep took the place of death.⁵²

The first five lines of this hymn are clearly based on the events associated with the death of Christ in Mt 27.45; 51-53.⁵³ It is not hard to find examples of hymns which amount to little more than a paraphrase or verbal re-arrangement of biblical phrases, especially concerning the dramatic events associated with Christ's death.

When thou was crucified, O Christ, all the creation saw and trembled. The foundations of the earth quaked in fear of Thy power. The lights of heaven hid themselves and the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, the mountains trembled and the rocks were split.⁵⁴

Seeing Thee crucified, O Christ, the whole creation trembled. The foundations of the earth shook with fear at Thy power. For when Thou wast raised up today, the people of the Hebrews was destroyed. The veil of the temple was rent in twain, the graves were opened, and the dead rose from the tombs...⁵⁵

For hymnographers accustomed to expressing the soteriological beliefs with the imagery of the Destruction of Hades, it was quite easy to add such images to those which were found in the biblical narrative.

⁵² Tone Two, Tuesday Evening, At Psalm 140, 1.

⁵³ The parallel accounts in Mk 15 and Lk 23 each include mention of the darkness and tearing of the Temple curtain. Only Mt 27.51-3 describes the opening of the earth and tombs.

⁵⁴ Holy Friday, Matins, At the Beatitudes.

⁵⁵ Holy Friday, Matins, At the Praises; See also the Aposticha after Eleventh Gospel at this service.

The rays of the Sun were hidden in fear * when they saw the sufferings of Christ. * The dead rose up and the mountains trembled; * the earth shook in fright * and Hades was deprived of its spoils.⁵⁶

In the following two hymns, the first uses only biblical imagery, the second introduces that of the Destruction of Hades. One wonders how many of the millions who have sung these hymns over the centuries would be aware of the distinction.

You were raised on the Cross of your own will, O Word, * and the rocks were rent asunder when they saw You. * All creation trembled with fear, * and the dead came forth from the tombs as from a dream.

O long-suffering One, You were raised on the Cross; * the rocks were split open and the sun hid itself; * the curtain of the Temple was torn in two; the earth shook and Hades was humiliated, * trembling because it had to give up its prisoners.⁵⁷

There are many examples where the hymnographers quite naturally inserted images of the Descent into Hades into what were otherwise straightforward paraphrases of different aspects of the biblical narrative.

You were nailed upon the Cross, and your side was pierced by a lance; * You tasted gall, O Christ, and endured death; * and you were placed in the tomb as one dead. * But as God you destroyed the bonds of Hades, * resurrecting those dead from all ages...⁵⁸

After your descent into Hades, O Christ, * and your Resurrection from the dead, * the disciples grieved over your departure. * ...⁵⁹

... The seals give brilliant witness: * that the guards of the godless have watched in vain, * that mortal nature has been saved by the flesh of God, * and that Hades

⁵⁶ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

⁵⁷ Thursday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Third and Eighth Odes.

⁵⁸ Wednesday of Thomas Week, Vespers, At Ps 140.

⁵⁹ Sunday of the Council Fathers, Matins, Glory after the Gospel Stanza.

is in mourning...⁶⁰

It is particularly easy to insert such images into presentations of the Resurrection appearances, especially those of the discovery of the empty tomb by the faithful women.

Christ is risen as He promised. * He emptied the kingdom of Hades; * then He showed himself to the apostles * giving them a share of the eternal joy.⁶¹

The myrrh-bearing women arrived early in the morning * and seeing the tomb of the Lord empty, they ran to the apostles and said: * The Mighty One has broken the strength of Death * and has delivered all those held in the bonds of Hades. * Announce with confidence that Christ our God is truly risen * and grants great mercy to us.⁶²

... the women ... evangelized the apostles: * He who was hidden in the earth is risen from Hades ...⁶³

...the women witnessed your resurrection from the dead. * They proclaimed to your disciples in Zion * that You arose and broke asunder the bonds of death, O Life of all...⁶⁴

Related to other images of the Christian Scriptures

As was already mentioned, one of the ways such biblical paraphrases are developed by the hymnographers is through the introduction of images found elsewhere in the Scriptures. Certainly there are many examples where New Testament imagery is used to broaden the range of poetic images available to the hymnographer.

⁶⁰ Thursday of Week of Myrrh-bearers, Matins, Aposticha.

⁶¹ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, Fifth Ode.

⁶² Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Sessional Hymn II.

⁶³ Wednesday of Week of Myrrh-bearers, Vespers, At Ps 140.

⁶⁴ Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Sessional Hymn I,2.

Buried in the earth like a grain of wheat, Thou hast yielded a rich harvest, raising to life the mortal sons of Adam.⁶⁵

The most pure Temple is destroyed, but raises up the fallen tabernacle. The second Adam, He who dwells on high, has come down to the first Adam in the depths of hell...⁶⁶

Three of the images found in the Pauline writings for the consequences of human sin become quite prominent in expressions of how Christ has freed us from the power of sin.

The Sting of Death

Earlier mention was made of 1 Corinthians 15, where Paul discusses the centrality of faith in the resurrection of Christ. Near the end of that discussion, in verses 55-57, Paul begins by quoting Hosea 13.14:

O Death, where is your sting?
O Hades, where is your victory?
The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is not surprising that this theme of the sting of death is often associated with the theme of Christ's victory over Hades in later hymnography.

O Death, where is your sting? * Where is the victory of Hades? * Rejoice Adam, for Death is abolished * by the life of Him who is risen from the dead.⁶⁷

O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory now? You have been put to death by the risen King; * you have been brought to nothing;

⁶⁵ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118; cf. Jn 12.24.

⁶⁶ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode; cf. Jn 2.20-22.

⁶⁷ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

you reign no more; * for the mighty God has delivered your captives.⁶⁸

The poetic imagination of the hymnographer gets credit for associating this "sting of death" with the serpent from the opening chapters of Genesis.

With the weapon of your Cross, * You have destroyed the Serpent, that prince of evildoers; * and by your Resurrection, O Lord, * You have broken the sting of death.⁶⁹

The Decree/handwriting against us

Colossians 2.11-15 is another passage associated with Christ's victory over sin and death.

In Him you were also circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ, buried with Him in baptism, in which you were also raised with {Him} through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead. And you, being dead in your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, He has made alive together with Him, having forgiven you all trespasses, having wiped out the handwriting of requirements that was against us, which was contrary to us. And he has taken it out of the way, having nailed it to the cross. Having disarmed principalities and powers, He made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them in it.

Here, in an explicitly baptismal context, Christ's victory over sin is spoken of in terms of the triumph over the powers of sin, with the more specific soteriological image of canceling or wiping out the charge against us, nailing it to the cross. The images were sure to appeal to the Byzantine hymnographers.

O Lord, on the cross Thou has torn up the record of our sins; numbered among the departed, Thou hast bound fast the ruler of hell, delivering all men from the chains of death by Thy Resurrection... .

⁶⁸ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

⁶⁹ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Fifth Ode.

Thou wast lifted up, O Lord, upon the Cross, and hast destroyed the power of death, and as God Thou hast blotted out the record of our sins that was against us...⁷⁰

Christ our Savior canceled the decree that was written against us, * by nailing it to the cross; * and he abolished the dominion of Death. * Let us glorify his Resurrection on the third day.⁷¹

The Curse

Genesis 3.15 introduces the punishments that follow upon the sin of Adam and Eve with the Lord God telling the serpent, "Because you have done this, you are cursed ..." (LXX ἐπικατάρατος σὺ); in 3.18 the same term is used in telling Adam "cursed is the ground in your labors ...". Paul will utilize later passages of the Jewish Scriptures when he asserts in Galatians 3.10, "For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse, for it is written, *Cursed is everyone who does not continue in all things which are written in the book of the law, to do them.* {Deuteronomy 27.26}." In Galatians 3.13 he offers the solution to this problem: "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us (for it is written, *Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree* {Deuteronomy 21.23})." It is not difficult to imagine how the image of Christ freeing us from the curse could be associated with the themes of his descent into and destruction of Hades.

By your crucifixion, O Christ, * the curse of the tyrant was abolished, *

⁷⁰ Holy Friday, Matins, At the Beatitudes.

⁷¹ Monday of Week of Myrrh-bearers, Vespers, Aposticha.

and by your suffering, the power of evil was overthrown, ...⁷²

By your Cross You delivered us from the ancient curse, O Christ; * by your death You have utterly destroyed the Devil * who tyrannized the human race; * by your Resurrection You have filled the whole world with joy. * Therefore we cry out to You: * O Lord who rose from the dead, glory to You!⁷³

In being lifted upon the Cross, O Lord, * You abolished the curse which we had inherited from our ancestors. * By going down into Hades, * You freed from eternal captivity those imprisoned there, * and granted incorruption to the human race. * We therefore, praise your life-giving and redeeming resurrection.⁷⁴

Expansions of the Biblical Accounts

We have already noted that one of the characteristic features of Byzantine hymnography is the extent to which it is permeated with images from the scriptures, and we have noted two of the most common mechanisms by which this scriptural imagery enters the poetic compositions of the hymns (a simple paraphrase or verbal re-arrangement of the biblical text, and the use of images from elsewhere in the scriptures to add variety and depth to the way a theme is presented.) In this section some of the most prominent examples of this process will be parsed out to illustrate some of the ways the rather sparse biblical texts on the Destruction of Hades develop into a coherent repertoire of images within Byzantine hymnographic texts.

The hermeneutical lynch-pin of these developments is the Greek term Hades. The

⁷² Wednesday of Thomas Week, Matins, Sessional Hymn I.

⁷³ Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Matins, At the Praises = Tuesday after Samaritan Woman.

⁷⁴ Tone Four, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha 1.

term had well developed connotations within the common cosmology of the Hellenistic world, and in the more specific ways it was used in the Septuagint translation of the scriptures. All of these associations enter into the poetic images associated with the Destruction of Hades.

Images from the cultural cosmology

Over the last 100 years, scholars have drawn attention to a wide range of parallels between the biblical conceptions of the "underworld" and those that were prevalent in other cultures of the Ancient Near East. It is not necessary to revisit that material here, especially since there are several useful summaries that are conveniently available.⁷⁵ What will be presented here are examples of Byzantine hymns which reflect three of the most prominent assumptions about Hades that were cultural givens of the Hellenistic culture and its heirs.

Hades as the abode of the dead

Throughout the Ancient Near East, Hades was thought of as the abode of the dead, vaguely located under the earth. The location can be spoken of as "the caverns of

⁷⁵ See Richard Bauckham, "Descent to the Underworld," *ABD* 2:145-159; Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); J. Chaine, "Descent du Christ aux Enfers," *Dictionnaire du Spiritualité* 395-431. The first two have excellent bibliographic sections, while the third includes the relevant excerpts from most of the primary sources.

Hades"⁷⁶ or the "middle of the earth."⁷⁷ The anthropological assumptions about death were that as the body was placed in the earth, the soul went to Hades.

Let us glorify Christ, the Savior of our Souls, * Who arose from the dead.
 * For He took upon himself a soul and a body, * and during His passion He
 separated the one from the other. * His pure soul went down to conquer Hades, *
 while his holy body lay uncorrupted in the grave.⁷⁸

It was taken for granted that all of the dead went there, and thus at his death, Jesus would go there also.

'Release me from my agony and take me with Thee, O my Son and God.
 Let me also descend with Thee, O Master, into hell... '⁷⁹

O Saviour, my Life, dying Thou hast gone to dwell among the dead; yet
 Thou hast shattered the bars of hell and arisen from corruption.⁸⁰

Of course a developed Christology could have difficulty with Christ sharing the fate of all humanity, and this paradox is often commented on.

The company of angels was amazed, beholding Thee, O Saviour,
 numbered among the dead, who hast destroyed the power of death and raised up
 Adam with Thyself, setting all men free from hell.⁸¹

You descended into the grave, * and in death You preserved your body
 from the corruption of the tomb; * your soul was not left in Hades, O Giver of

⁷⁶ Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode.

⁷⁷ Wednesday of Mid-Pentecost, Evening Vespers, Aposticha, Now and Ever; Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode. See below, p. 415.

⁷⁸ Tone Eight, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 2.

⁷⁹ Great Friday, Compline, Seventh Ode.

⁸⁰ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

⁸¹ Holy Saturday, Matins, Evlogitaria of the Resurrection (also sung every Sunday at Matins).

life; * You awoke as from sleep, O Lord, and raised us with You.⁸²

Thus it becomes common to assert this startling fact that Christ was numbered among the dead just like the rest of us.

You were numbered among the dead, * even though You gave life to us who were placed in the tomb. * You emptied the tombs when You conquered Hades and raised up Adam.⁸³

You were willingly crucified for us; * You were counted among the dead, O Giver of life. * You are risen on the third day, O Christ our God. * You demolished the dominion of Death by your power. * By your Resurrection You gave life to all in Hades. * Therefore we all bless You and sing of your Resurrection, O immortal Lord.⁸⁴

You have descended into the depths of the earth; * You have saved humanity; and you have raised it up by your Holy Ascension. * O Christ our God, we extol You!⁸⁵

Yet there is an inherent conflict between Christ who is life and the abode of the dead.

The power of Death was shattered by death, * and henceforth it lies powerless; * for it could not bear the divine invasion of Life, * and Resurrection is granted to the whole world.⁸⁶

Though Thou art buried in a grave, though Thou goest down to hell, O Saviour Christ, yet hast Thou emptied the graves and stripped hell naked.

O Life, how canst Thou die? How canst Thou dwell in a tomb? Yet Thou dost destroy death's kingdom and raise the dead from hell.⁸⁷

⁸² Sunday of the Council Fathers, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

⁸³ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

⁸⁴ Thursday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Sessional Hymn I.

⁸⁵ Ascension Thursday, Matins, Kanon I, Ninth Ode.

⁸⁶ Sunday of the Council Fathers, Matins, Kanon, Third Ode.

⁸⁷ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

This conflict could be imaged with other associations of Hades.

How could hell endure Thy coming, O Saviour? Was it not shattered and struck blind by the dazzling radiance of Thy light?⁸⁸

Finally, Hades will sometime be personified, and the characteristics of this abode of the dead become those of the personified Hell.

Hell is king over mortal men, but not forever. Laid in the sepulchre, mighty Lord, with Thy life-giving hand Thou has burst asunder the bars of death. To those of every age who slept in the tombs, Thou hast proclaimed true deliverance, O Saviour, who art become the firstborn of the dead.⁸⁹

The Dead as Prisoners or Captives of Hades

It is a small step from the assumption that all the dead end up in Hades to speaking about the dead as prisoners or captives of Hades, which can then be imaged as a jail or prison.

When Hades met You in the depths, * it was shaken and had to give up its prisoners * who never cease singing, O Savior God, * of your wondrous Resurrection.⁹⁰

The Creator came into this world * from you, O Virgin Mother of God; * destroying the jail of Hades. * He gave resurrection to us mortals; * and we also bless Christ forever.⁹¹

The doors of affliction have become attentive, * and the jail-keepers of Hades have trembled * when they saw descending into their depths * the one who

⁸⁸ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

⁸⁹ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

⁹⁰ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

⁹¹ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode = Sunday of Paralytic, Sunday of Samaritan Woman.

transcends the nature of all.⁹²

If the dead are prisoners, something must restrain them. These constraints can be generally asserted or described in more specific ways.

All you people, clap your hands; * Christ the Giver of life has broken the bonds of Hades...⁹³

When those bound by chains in the realm of Death * saw your boundless mercy O Christ, * they hastened to the light with joy, * praising the eternal Pasch.⁹⁴

The salvation which Christ accomplishes can then be expressed as the breaking of these constraints, described with varying degrees of specificity.

O Jesus, my Christ and king of all, why hast Thou come to those in hell?
Is it to set free the race of mortal men?⁹⁵

By your death and burial, O Lord, * You broke asunder the bonds of Hades; *
and by your resurrection from the dead, * You enlightened the whole world. *
We therefore exclaim: Glory to You, O Lord.⁹⁶

... The Creator of the world is delivered over into the hands of lawless men, and He who loves mankind is raised upon the Cross, that He might free the prisoners in hell, who cry: O longsuffering Lord, glory to Thee!⁹⁷

... You freed us from the slavery of the Enemy ...⁹⁸

⁹² Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, First Ode.

⁹³ Mid Pentecost, Matins, Canon II, First Ode = Sunday of Samaritan Woman.

⁹⁴ Paschal Matins, Fifth Ode. On the chains of death, see below p. 416 ff.

⁹⁵ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

⁹⁶ Tone Six, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 7.

⁹⁷ Great Friday, Vespers, At Ps 140.

⁹⁸ Wednesday of Week of Myrrh-bearers, Matins, At the Praises.

When they placed You in the tomb, O Redeemer of all, * all the powers of Hades quaked in fear. * Broken and defeated by your death, * Hades no longer reigned supreme, * and the dead came forth alive from their tombs, * casting off the bonds of captivity. * Adam, too, was filled with joy, * and he gratefully cried out to You, O Christ: * Glory to your condescension, O Lover of Mankind.⁹⁹

O Lord, You willingly suffered crucifixion in the flesh, * and on the third day You arose from the dead, * emptying the prisons of Hades * and delivering those held captive, * for You are the Prince of Life.¹⁰⁰

Finally, there is a general assumption that this captivity in Hades is not a pleasant experience, and it could thus be described as suffering in the "tearful domain" of the Princes of Hades.¹⁰¹ It is noteworthy, however, that this is a rather diffuse "absence of good" rather than specific pains. Christ sets us free "from the oppression of Hades..."¹⁰² The extensive biblical imagery on the sufferings of the unjust, which are developed at such length in the hymns for the dead or for the Sunday of the Last Judgement within the Triodion, are not associated with the imagery of the Destruction of Hades, where the understanding of the existence of the dead seems to be closer to the earlier strata of the understandings of *Sheol* in the Hebrew Scriptures.

O Christ, we glorify your resurrection with psalms and hymns. * For by Your victory over Death * You delivered us from the sufferings of Hades, * and as God You granted us eternal life and great mercy.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Saturday of Week of Myrrh-bearers, Matins, Aposticha.

¹⁰⁰ Thursday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, First Ode.

¹⁰¹ Tone Five, Saturday Evening, At Psalm 140, 2.

¹⁰² Tone Seven, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 2.

¹⁰³ Tone Eight, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 3.

Hades as the Realm of Darkness

Perhaps the most pervasive image of the "discomfort" of Hades is one that is easily associated with its presumed location under the earth - darkness. "The black depths of Hades,"¹⁰⁴ its "gloomy depths,"¹⁰⁵ image the condition from which humanity is freed by the coming of the light of the world.

We offer to you our evening worship, * O Light Whom the darkness of night can never extinguish. * For in these latter days Your radiance has appeared to the world * shining in your flesh as light reflected from a mirror. * Your brilliance has descended even to the depths of Hades and dissolved its gloom. * O Lord, Giver of Light, glory to You, * for You have shown the radiance of Your resurrection to all the nations.¹⁰⁶

O Morning Star of righteousness, Thou art gone down beneath the earth and hast raised up the dead as if from sleep, dispersing all the darkness of hell.¹⁰⁷

At the time of your descent, O Christ, * the kingdom of the underworld was filled with light; * and our first father was filled with joy * as he danced and sang out in jubilation: * Blessed are You, O Lord God of our fathers!¹⁰⁸

Images from the Septuagint

These common cultural assumptions about Hades receive more specific content when joined with passages from the Greek translation of the Jewish Scriptures, where the Greek term *Hades* was the usual rendition of the Hebrew term *Sheol*. Thus the LXX Ps

¹⁰⁴ Thursday of Thomas Week, Vespers, At Ps 140.

¹⁰⁵ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

¹⁰⁶ Tone Five, Saturday Evening, At Psalm 140, 4.

¹⁰⁷ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

¹⁰⁸ Sunday of the Council Fathers, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode.

17.4 speaks of the "sufferings of death" which in the next verse becomes "the sufferings of Hades" ('Ωδιῖνες ᾗδου) which results from the constraints of "the snares of death" (παγίδες θανάτου). (See also the LXX text of Pr 14.27). From this expression it is a small step for the poet to speak of the snares of Hades:

... the wretched Pharisee was lifted on the rotten emptiness of pride and fell into the snare of hell.¹⁰⁹

Ps 15.10, "You will not leave my soul in Hades, neither will you suffer Your Holy One to see corruption," is quoted in two speeches of Peter recorded in Acts 2.27 and 13.35, which may well indicate that it was an integral part of the "testimonies" which shaped the primitive apostolic kerygma.

... O Master, Thy flesh saw not corruption, nor was Thy soul left in hell as that of a stranger.¹¹⁰

In accordance with the prophecy of David, * You accomplished our salvation in the middle of the earth...¹¹¹

In the middle of the Feast * let us glorify Him who worked salvation in the middle of the earth...¹¹²

Not every allusion from the Septuagint hinges on the word Hades. The Paschal Lamb and the Suffering Servant of Isaiah certainly contributed to a prominent theme of the Passion Narratives. This prophetic imagery also fits well with various aspects of the

¹⁰⁹ Troparion at the Seventh Ode, Kanon attributed to George, Matins, Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, *LT*, 107.

¹¹⁰ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

¹¹¹ Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode.

¹¹² Wednesday of Mid-Pentecost, Evening Vespers, Aposticha, Now and Ever.

Destruction of Hades imagery.

The Lamb whom Isaiah proclaimed goes of His own will to the slaughter. He gives His back to scourging, and His cheeks to blows, and turns not his face away from the shame of their spitting; He is condemned to a disgraceful death. Though sinless, he accepts all these things willingly, that He may grant to all men resurrection from the dead.¹¹³

O Christ, Who granted resurrection to mankind, * you were led like a lamb to the slaughter. * Then the princes of Hades were struck with terror * as they saw the gates of their tearful domain being lifted up; * for Christ, the King of Glory, entered therein * and exclaimed to those in chains: Go forth from here! * and to those in darkness: Go forth into the light!¹¹⁴

In Matthew 12.38-42, Jesus explicitly speaks of "the sign of Jonah" - "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." The imagery of Jonah becomes associated with the Destruction of Hades in many ways.

You have descended into the realm of Death, O Christ, * and have broken ancient bonds which held the captive. * You arose from the tomb on the third day * like Jonah from the whale.¹¹⁵

O Christ our salvation and redemption, * You have come forth in splendor from the Virgin * to rescue us from the pit of the tomb; * as Jonah was saved from the sea monster, the whole human race was saved after the fall of Adam.¹¹⁶

Gates, Bars, Chains, Locks

One of the most pervasive ways specific imagery from the Septuagint shaped the

¹¹³ Holy Thursday, Matins, At the Praises.

¹¹⁴ Tone Five, Saturday Evening, At Psalm 140, 2.

¹¹⁵ Paschal Matins, Sixth Ode.

¹¹⁶ Pentecost Sunday, Matins, Kanon II, Ode 6.

imagery of the Destruction of Hades is in the specifications of the restraints which bound the dead in Hell. An assortment of very concrete descriptions of these constraints eventually become *topoi* for the soteriological images of the hymns.

The Gates of Death is one such evocative image which becomes a poetic paraphrase for death itself. Thus Ps 9.13 speaks of a recovery from illness as being lifted up from the gates of death. On the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee, we hear of "the power of tears, for they led up Hezekiah from the gates of death."¹¹⁷ The allusion is to 2 Kings 20.1-6, where Isaiah announces the Lord's healing of Hezekiah because of his tears. "The gates of death" is not found in the text, but is used by the hymnographer to dramatize the seriousness of the King's illness. Christ's destruction of the gates of death is among the most common images associated with the Destruction of Hades motif.

By your power You have broken the gates of Death; * You have shown us the path to eternal life; * You opened its gates to the faithful who cry to You: * Glory to your power, O Lord.¹¹⁸

O Lord, You demolished the gates of everlasting damnation, * and You broke asunder the chains of the grave...¹¹⁹

Almighty God, You destroyed the brazen gates and bars of Hades * and raised up fallen mankind. * Therefore with one accord, we cry out: * O Lord, risen from the dead, glory to You!¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Saturday Vespers, At Ps 140.

¹¹⁸ Mid Pentecost, Matins, Canon I, Fourth Ode.

¹¹⁹ Thursday of Bright Week, Matins, At the Praises = Sunday of the Man Born Blind, Matins, At the Praises = Tuesday of that same week.

¹²⁰ Tone Six, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 2.

O Lord, the gates of Death opened before you in fear, * and the gatekeepers of Hades were filled with dread at the sight of You. * You smashed the gates of brass and crushed the posts of iron. * Then You burst our chains asunder * and led us out from the darkness, away from the shadow of death.¹²¹

You willingly suffered death, O only immortal One; * and You crushed the bronze gates; * You took Hades captive, O heavenly King, * and freed those who had been held there throughout the ages * so that they may unceasingly praise the power of your goodness.¹²²

In the Exaltation (Megalynarion) at Matins on the Sunday of St. Thomas, the Byzantine Tradition has assembled a series of psalm verses which illustrate well how the imagery of the psalms contributed to the victorious theme of the descent into Hades:

We extol You, * O Life-giving Christ, * because You descended into Hades for our sake, * and You resurrected all with You.

The Lord is king, with majesty enrobed. {Ps 92.1}

For he bursts the gates of bronze and shatters the iron bars.

He led them forth from darkness and gloom and broke their chains to pieces.

The Lord arose as though from sleep, and He smote their enemies.

Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. {Ps 67.1}

This is the day that the Lord has made. Let us rejoice and be glad in it. {Ps 117.24}¹²³

Another common association with the gates are bolts.

O Lord, in your power You crushed the gates and bolts of Hades; * You resurrected as God and told the myrrh-bearing women to rejoice ...¹²⁴

O God, in your power You have broken the gates and bolts of Hades, * and You arose from the dead * and with glory ascended to heaven * so that the angels, seized with fright, cried out in one voice: * Lift high the gates for the

¹²¹ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Saturday Vespers, At Ps. 140.

¹²² Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

¹²³ *Pentecostarion*, 50.

¹²⁴ Thursday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

entrance of our King.¹²⁵

Thou hast gone down into the tomb, O God the Giver of Life, and Thou hast broken all the bolts and bars, raising up the dead who cry aloud: Glory to Thy Resurrection, O Christ, the Saviour all-powerful.¹²⁶

Other constraints mentioned in the scriptures can be added to these, e.g.

O Christ, neither the gates of death, nor seals of the tomb, * nor the bars of the gates could hold You back; ...¹²⁷

The chains of death is by far the most common image associated with the gates and bars. Occasionally found alone,¹²⁸ it is much more often used in conjunction with the others.

When you resurrected, O Christ, * the bars and gates of Hades were shattered; * the chains of Death were broken, * terrified by your power, O Lord.¹²⁹

O Lord, the gates of Death opened before You in fear, * and the gatekeepers of Hades were filled with dread at the sight of you. * You smashed the gates of brass and crushed the posts of iron. * You burst our chains asunder, * and led us out of darkness, away from the shadow of death.¹³⁰

Finally, there is a lot of room for the hymnographer's poetic imagination to describe the destruction of these constraints with a variety of operative terms (which is

¹²⁵ Wednesday before Ascension, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

¹²⁶ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

¹²⁷ Thomas Sunday, Matins, Kanon, First Ode.

¹²⁸ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Third Ode.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Tone Two, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 6.

enhanced by the tendency of translators to display the range of their vocabulary!)

O Lord, You have battered down the gates of Hades, * and by Your death
You have dissolved the realm of Death. * You have freed mankind from
corruption, * bestowing life, incorruption, and Your great mercy upon the
world.¹³¹

O Christ our God, You have demolished the brazen gates of Hades. * You
have broken asunder the bonds of Death, * and lifted up the fallen human race. *
Therefore we cry out with one accord: * O Lord, Who arose from the dead, glory
to You!¹³²

The veil was torn when You were crucified, O Savior, * and Death gave
up all the mortals which it had swallowed. * Hades was stripped when it saw
your descent into its depths.¹³³

Every bit as common as these more creative images, however, are the straightforward
descriptions of the destruction of the constraints of Hades.

O Christ, of Your own free will, You descended into Hades; * and, as God and
Lord, You destroyed Death. * On the third day You arose from the dead and
raised up Adam * from the bonds of Hades and corruption. * In joy he cried out
and said: * Glory to Your resurrection, O Lover of Mankind!¹³⁴

O Christ, Lover of Mankind, * You descended into Hades and destroyed Death. *
Then you arose on the third day; * and, together with yourself, You lifted up all
of us * who glorify your mighty resurrection.¹³⁵

One of the fullest descriptions of the imagery of the Destruction of Hades is found
in the Third Kneeling Prayer of Sunday Evening Vespers for Pentecost Sunday.

¹³¹ Tone Four, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 3 = Aposticha at Vespers,
Wednesday, Friday after Samaritan Woman.

¹³² Tone Four, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 6.

¹³³ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

¹³⁴ Tone Seven, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 6.

¹³⁵ Tone Seven, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 3.

... O Christ our God, who shattered the indissoluble bonds of Death and bolts of Hades: You trampled upon a multitude of evil spirits, offering yourself for us as a blameless Victim and giving your most pure Body, untouched and unapproachable by any sin, as a sacrifice. And through this awesome and inscrutable sacred sacrifice You have given us eternal life.

For by descending into Hades and smashing the eternal gates, and having shown the way into heaven for those who were sitting in darkness, You ensnared the Prince of evil and the snake of the Abyss with divinely-wise-enticements. And you bound him up with the chains of gloom by your immeasurable power, and you shackled him in Tartarus, the deepest infernal region of Hades, and through your might confined him to the unquenchable fire and the eternal darkness. Thus, O greatly-eminent Wisdom of the Father, You manifested yourself as the great Helper of the misfortunate, and you enlightened those who were sitting in darkness in the shadow of death.

...

O Creator of Life and of its termination, of that life of being transferred into another world: You measure out years for the living, and You appoint the time of death. You led people down into Hades, binding them in impotency, and afterwards you raise them up, releasing them in power. You order present necessities and expediently secure those needed for the future. To those who have been wounded by the sting of death, You make them glad with the hope of the resurrection.

...

Also, on this salvific feast on which everything was totally accomplished, You deigned therefore to accept supplications in behalf of those who are imprisoned in Hades; and to those being held in bondage, you promised great hopes for their release from the grievous bonds constraining them by sending down your consolation.

Hear us, your humble servants, beseeching You, and grant repose to the souls of your servants who have already departed into a place of light and a place of refreshment and peace from which all illness, sorrow, and sighing have been taken away. Commit their souls to the places of the just, and make them worthy of peace and repose. For the dead cannot praise You, O Lord, nor do those in Hades venture to offer confession to You. But we, the living, do bless You, and we do pray and offer You supplications and sacrifices for their souls.

Images of Conquest

The poetic imagination of the hymnographers developed a wide repertoire of image for expressing the basic idea of Christ's victory over death. The following

examples include many particular themes which overlap or develop images discussed above.

With your precious Cross, O Christ, * You have put the Devil to shame. * With Your resurrection You have deadened the sting of sin, * and have saved us from the gates of Death. * We, therefore, glorify You, O only-begotten Son of God.¹³⁶

By rising from the tomb You burst the bonds of Hades. * By destroying the condemnation of Death, O Lord, * You freed us all from the snares of the Enemy ...¹³⁷

You are risen, O Jesus, * and the Enemy is in chains; * both Hades and the tombs are emptied, * and the dead rise up to adore You O Lord.¹³⁸

The unapproachable Light has appeared to us. * On this day Christ the Lord shines forth from the tomb. * Hades is held captive and Satan is bound. * Let the ends of the earth rejoice! Let creation dance! * Keep the feast, O Church of Christ! * In memory of the noble Joseph, * offer hymns to Him and the myrrh-bearing women.¹³⁹

When you tasted death in the flesh, O Lord, * You took away the bitterness of death by your Resurrection, * and made the human race prevail over it, * restoring victory over the ancient curse. * Therefore, O protector of our Life, glory to You!¹⁴⁰

You came forth from the tomb, resplendent in beauty, * as a bridegroom coming from his bridal chamber. * O Christ, You have conquered Death; * and by your divine power You broke the tyranny and the bolts of Hades, illuminating the world by your holy Resurrection.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Tone Five, Saturday Evening, At Psalm 140, 1.

¹³⁷ Wednesday of Week of Myrrh-bearers, Matins, Sessional Hymn I.

¹³⁸ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

¹³⁹ Thursday of Week of Myrrh-bearers, Matins, Aposticha.

¹⁴⁰ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Sessional Hymn I.

¹⁴¹ Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

One area where creativity can be seen is in the images of who/what is conquered.

(In the following examples, *the distinctive section will be in italics*, but the broader passage will usually be given when it contains examples of other points discussed above.)

O myrrh-bearing women, listen to the news that brings joy: I have put *Hades, that cruel tyrant*, to flight; I have made the world rise from the depths of the tomb; ...¹⁴²

By your own will, O Savior, * You endured the Cross. * Mortals placed you in a new tomb, though your word summoned the universe into existence. * *Thus the Stranger was bound, * Death was despoiled without mercy,* * and when the prisoners of Hades saw your life-bearing Resurrection * they cried out: Christ, the Giver of life, is risen! * He shall live forever!¹⁴³

The crucified One is awakened and *the arrogance of Hades is abolished*; * fallen and broken humanity is raised up; * Death is banished and immortality flourishes; * life has once again claimed its rights over mortals.¹⁴⁴

There is also an impressive variety in the way the hymnographer describes *how* they are conquered.

Take courage! Hades is put to death, * for by his death on the Cross *Christ has turned the sword against it.* * *It is now deprived of its spoils* * and has lost all the dead which it had seized.¹⁴⁵

In the flesh Thou wast of Thine own will enclosed within the tomb, yet in Thy divine nature Thou dost remain uncircumscribed and limitless. *Thou hast shut up the treasury of hell*, O Christ, and *emptied all his palaces*. Thou hast honoured this Sabbath with Thy divine blessing, with Thy glory and Thy

¹⁴² Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Hymn of Light (Used all through the following week).

¹⁴³ Tuesday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Sessional Hymn I.

¹⁴⁴ Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

¹⁴⁵ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

radiance.¹⁴⁶

Let us believers speak of divine things, * of the secret of your inscrutable crucifixion and of your ineffable Resurrection; * for *today Death and Hades have been led captive*, * and the human race has been invested with incorruption...¹⁴⁷

By your Cross, O Christ our Savior, * *the power of Death has been vanquished*, * and *the deceit of the devil has been destroyed*. * Therefore the human race, saved by faith, * offers You hymns of praise forever.¹⁴⁸

Death is trampled down, Hades is imprisoned, * and the captives are delivered by the Resurrection of Christ. * Let us exalt with joy and clap our hands; * let us celebrate with gladness.¹⁴⁹

You freely suffered death and were placed in the tomb; * *You emptied the Kingdom of Hades*, O Lord and Immortal King, * and by your holy Resurrection You raised the dead with you.¹⁵⁰

A final area worth examining includes creative descriptions of the effects on those delivered.

Your power, O Death, has been abolished by the death of Christ our God; * *and as the spouses come forth from the bridal chamber*, * *the dead arise from the tomb*, * following the risen Lord.¹⁵¹

Having demolished the dominion of Death as the immortal Lord, * *You granted immortality to all people*, O God who loves us. * And now You have ascended in glory, O Lord almighty, * in the sight of your holy apostles.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Great Friday, Vespers, Aposticha.

¹⁴⁷ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Sessional Hymn II.

¹⁴⁸ Thursday of Mid-Pentecost, Evening Vespers, Aposticha.

¹⁴⁹ Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Fifth Ode.

¹⁵⁰ Sunday of the Man Born Blind, Matins, Kanon, Fifth Ode.

¹⁵¹ Thursday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

¹⁵² Ascension Thursday, Matins, Kanon II, Fourth Ode.

The Reaction of Hades

Another area where the hymnographers display a wide range of expression is in describing the reaction of Hades to the victory of Christ. The roots of these images would seem to be in an emotional extrapolation from the Passion Narratives and their description of the events which accompanied the death of Christ.

All things above and all beneath the earth quaked with fear at Thy death, as they beheld Thee, O my Saviour, upon Thy throne on high and in the tomb below. For beyond our understanding Thou dost lie before our eyes, a corpse yet the very Source of Life.¹⁵³

... All creation was prostrate with fear * when it saw You hanging on the Cross, * and it groaned in sorrow as it sang the praises of Your long-suffering. * But you descended into Hades and arose on the third day, * granting life and great mercy to the world.¹⁵⁴

Personified Hades certainly had many reasons to share in that fear.

Hell trembled, O Saviour, when he saw Thee, the Giver of Life, despoiling him of his wealth and raising up the dead from every age.¹⁵⁵

O Word, when Hades saw You descend to its depths, * it was seized with fright, * and it set free all the dead * who recognized the strength of your divine power, and joining with them, we extol You.¹⁵⁶

The poets felt free to describe this reaction of Hades in a variety of ways.

Hell was filled with bitterness when it met Thee, O Word, for it saw a mortal deified, marked by wounds yet all-powerful; and it shrank back in terror at

¹⁵³ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, First Ode.

¹⁵⁴ Tone Three, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha 3.

¹⁵⁵ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

¹⁵⁶ Sunday of the Man Born Blind, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

the sight.¹⁵⁷

... When you descended below, * Hades was filled with bitterness as you confronted it; * but the souls of the just received you with great joy. * Adam arose when he saw You, his Creator, down in the depths...¹⁵⁸

Hell was wounded in the heart when it received Him whose side was pierced by a spear; consumed by divine fire it groaned aloud at our salvation who sing, O God, our Deliverer, blessed art Thou!¹⁵⁹

Seeing you O Savior, * Hades was irritated in its infernal depths, * since it was forced to give up those that it formerly had swallowed, * all the dead of whom it is now deprived.¹⁶⁰

Seeing You in the depths, Hades lamented * and hastened to give up all the dead * which it had held in its power through the ages; * and it praised your love for us, O Lord.¹⁶¹

When did the Victory of Christ take place?

As was noted above, it is characteristic of Byzantine theology in general to consider all of the moments of salvation history as part of one continuous process of creative, salvific love. Keeping this unified process in mind, it is still common to find particular hymnographic texts which focus on one moment or another in describing the Destruction of Hades. There are three major moments which are repeatedly mentioned.

You gave us the Cross, O Lord, as a weapon against Satan * who fears and trembles since he is unable to behold its power; * for it raised the dead and

¹⁵⁷ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

¹⁵⁸ Tone One, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha 3.

¹⁵⁹ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode.

¹⁶⁰ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

¹⁶¹ Sunday of the Man Born Blind, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

triumphed over Death. * Therefore we worship you burial and your holy Resurrection.¹⁶²

The Crucifixion

Many texts speak of Jesus' moment of death on the cross as the moment of his victory over death, a theme already developed in the Fourth Gospel. These texts often stay close to the details mentioned in the Passion narratives.

Behold Christ, the Life of all, * who of his own will is seen hanging on the Cross. * Seeing this, both the earth and the prisons of Hades trembled, * and many of the just were raised up in their bodies.¹⁶³

At the moment of your divine Passion, O God of mercy, * according to your will You were placed among the ranks of criminals; * and when You bowed your head, O Creator, * the rocks were split in two and the earth trembled, * and the dead, who were asleep through the ages, were raised up.¹⁶⁴

The Cross is a logical symbol of this moment of victory.

By your cross You have despoiled the dens of Hades, * awakening the dead and crushing the dominion of Death. * We praise your burial, bowing down with all the children of Adam, * and we worship your holy Resurrection.¹⁶⁵

The divine cross shines brighter than the sun * and shows itself to the world as the scepter of Christ the King. * It clearly shines forth to the ends of the world. * It has delivered the human race from Hades. * Having despoiled Hades and overturned the enemy, * it utterly destroyed the arrogance of the demons. * It now declares the resurrection of the Savior * and saves those who cry out: * Give peace to our world and enlighten our souls.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Sunday of All Saints, Matins, At the Praises.

¹⁶³ Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

¹⁶⁴ Thursday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode.

¹⁶⁵ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

¹⁶⁶ From the General Menaion, Feasts of the Holy Cross, At Psalm 140, 3.

The Burial

There are many texts which identify the burial of Christ as the time when his triumph over death took place.

Your burial, O Master, opened Paradise to the human race. * Delivered from Death, we now sing to You: * O our risen God, have mercy on us.¹⁶⁷

When Thou, O Redeemer of all, wast laid for the sake of all in a new tomb, hell was brought to scorn and, seeing Thee, drew back in fear. The bars were broken and the gates were shattered, the tombs were opened and the dead arose. Then Adam in thanksgiving and rejoicing cried to Thee: 'Glory to Thy self-abasement, O Thou who lovest mankind.'¹⁶⁸

Thou who art Life was laid in a tomb, O Christ; by Thy death Thou hast destroyed death and art become a fountain of life for the world.

When Thou was laid in the tomb, O Christ and Creator, the foundations of hell were shaken and the graves of mortal men were opened.¹⁶⁹

One reason this identification is so common is that it is presumed that the Descent of Christ into Hades took place when he was buried.

When you entered with your soul * into the depths of the earth, O Savior, * Hades was forced to give up the souls which it held, * and they sang a hymn of thanksgiving to your power.¹⁷⁰

Finally it is worth emphasizing that even when specific moments are identified, they are still understood as being part of one larger process.

O Christ, * You were crucified of Your own free will, * and by your burial You imprisoned Death. * As God, You rose in glory on the third day, * granting life

¹⁶⁷ Sunday of the Council Fathers, Matins, At the Praises.

¹⁶⁸ Great Friday, Vespers, Aposticha.

¹⁶⁹ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

¹⁷⁰ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, Third Ode.

and great mercy to the world.¹⁷¹

The Resurrection

Finally, as was noted above, the earliest Christian realization of Jesus' victory over death came in the experience of the Risen Christ.

Destroying the power of Death * on the day of his Resurrection, O Virgin,
* your Son and the all-powerful God * made us partakers of his glory and
divinity. * We also bless Christ forever.¹⁷²

Death is trampled down, Hades is imprisoned, * and the captives are
delivered by the Resurrection of Christ. * Let us exalt with joy and clap our
hands; * let us celebrate with gladness.¹⁷³

O Christ, we glorify your Resurrection; * for by rising from the dead *
You freed the race of Adam from the sufferings of Hades, * and as God you
granted eternal life * and great mercy to the world.¹⁷⁴

Risen from the tomb, You raised with you all the dead in Hades; * in your
mercy, You illumine those who glorify your Resurrection.¹⁷⁵

Again it useful to remember that this moment stands in continuity with, rather than in
opposition to, the other moments mentioned.

The rocks were split asunder, O Savior, * when your Cross was planted
on Golgotha; * and the gate-keepers of Hades shook with fear * when your body
was placed in the grave like the dead. * For You abolished the might of Death, *
and in your Resurrection You granted immortality to the dead. * O Lord and

¹⁷¹ Tone Six, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 4.

¹⁷² Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

¹⁷³ Thursday after Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Fifth Ode.

¹⁷⁴ Sunday of All Saints, Saturday Evening Vespers, At Ps. 140.

¹⁷⁵ Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

Giver of life, glory to You!¹⁷⁶

Object of deliverance

Another category which is useful in helping us realize the many ways the poetic imagination of the hymnographers have developed the soteriological teaching of Christianity is to look at the different figures who are described as being the object of the deliverance accomplished by Christ. Sometimes there is a general recognition that "I" am redeemed.

The Lord has raised me from the deepest depths of Hades * to which I had descended * and has glorified me on the throne of the Father...¹⁷⁷

More commonly, however, there is a more specific identification of those who are delivered. Three grammatical "objects" of the deliverance are commonly identified.

Adam

The Pauline parallelism in which all have fallen in Adam, all are raised in Christ has already been mentioned above. Thus it is not surprising to find Adam identified as the object of Christ's redemption.

To earth Thou hast come down, O Master, to save Adam: and not finding him on earth, Thou hast descended into hell, seeking him there.

O Thou who hast fashioned Adam with Thine own hand, Thou hast gone down beneath the earth, to raise up fallen men by Thine almighty power.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Matins, At the Praises = Tuesday after Samaritan Woman.

¹⁷⁷ Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

¹⁷⁸ Holy Saturday, Matins, "The Praises" at Ps 118.

Christ is Risen, destroying our Enemy; breaking the bonds, he has delivered up the human race. In his tenderness He has raised up Adam, our first father, * by extending his hand as the God of goodness.¹⁷⁹

O Lord of All, Creator of heaven and earth, * You are above all understanding. * Through Your passion on the cross * You freed us from the sufferings of Hades. * And, after condescending to be buried, You arose in glory; * and with your mighty arm You also raised up Adam.¹⁸⁰

All the Dead

By far the most common identification of those who are raised by Christ from bondage to Hades and death are all those who have died up to that time. Indeed, the Adam typology just examined reinforces this perspective rather than competes with it.

Thou hast risen on the third day from the tomb as one awakening from sleep, O Lord, and by Thy divine power Thou hast struck down the gatekeepers of hell; Thou hast raised up all our ancestors from the beginning, O God of our fathers, who alone art blessed and greatly glorified.¹⁸¹

O faithful people, rejoice today in honor of the risen Christ. * Vanquished Hades promptly frees its ancient captives * who sing of God's wondrous deeds.¹⁸²

O Christ, You won the victory over Hades, * You ascended the Cross so that you might raise up with yourself * all those who dwelt in the darkness of death...¹⁸³

The Just

Finally there are a few texts which suggest that only the righteous or just ones

¹⁷⁹ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

¹⁸⁰ Tone Eight, Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 4.

¹⁸¹ Sunday of the Cross, Matins, Kanon, Seventh Ode.

¹⁸² Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, First Ode.

¹⁸³ Tone Six, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 1.

from the old dispensation received the benefit of Christ's liberation.

Seeing your soul descend into Hades, O Word, * the souls of the just escaped from the bonds which held them through the ages; * and they praised your power which surpasses every spirit.¹⁸⁴

Direct Speech

Another category which helps us understand how the hymnographers expanded on the biblical narrative is when they create direct discourse which is not in the scriptural accounts. Such imagined dialogue was a favorite rhetorical technique of patristic preachers, and it is one of the primary characteristics of the classical Kontakion form, as the Akathist Hymn still demonstrates.

Within those texts which describe the Destruction of Hades, there are three main speakers. Christ is the main character given new words to speak, while personified Hades is another character often given voice by the hymnographers' imagination. Each of these will be examined, breaking the hymns into groups based on who is being addressed by each character. The third character for whom the Fathers often invented dialogue is Mary. The texts of Great Friday Compline, popularly known as the Lamentations of the Theotokos, provide many examples which relate to our theme. Since some of these texts were used above to illustrate other characteristics, they are not repeated here.

Invented Speech of Christ

By invented speech we mean direct discourse attributed to Christ which is not

¹⁸⁴ Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, Matins, Kanon, Third Ode = Thursday of the same week..

found in the Christian Scriptures. Often within Byzantine Hymnography, such speech is a technique for unpacking or developing themes which were already present within the biblical narrative. The particular examples we will be looking at here, however, have no direct antecedent in the canonical Christian Scriptures.

In hymns which deal with the themes of the Destruction of Hades and have direct speech of Christ, there are four different indirect objects of that speech. Hades and Death are personified objects of Jesus' direct discourse. The waiting dead confined to Hades are also addressed by Christ on the occasion of his descent. Finally Byzantine hymnographers were very fond of imagining dialogue between Christ and Mary.

To Hades and Death

Most of the examples of Christ addressing personified Death or Hades which are found in the current liturgical books relate to our target themes, and thus will be examined in the next chapter. The phenomenon is not restricted to illustrating the resurrection of Lazarus, however.

The Source of Life said to Hades: I have now come to reclaim the dead * which you had formerly swallowed up. * For He is God who has come to redeem the human race from the grave and death.¹⁸⁵

To the waiting dead

In a situation where the hymnographer imagines what took place when Christ

¹⁸⁵ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

descended to Hades, it is easy to imagine him addressing the many souls who have been awaiting their release from the power of death.

Hades is despoiled! Take courage, O People! * The tombs are opened. * Awaken! Christ calls you forth from Hades; * He has come to redeem the human race from the grave and death.¹⁸⁶

It is but a small step to then put words into the mouth of Christ.

Christ descended into Hades and announced to those confined there: * Take courage, for today I have conquered Death. * I am the Resurrection, the One who will set you free. * I have shattered the gates of the realm of death.¹⁸⁷

To Mary

The imagined speech of Christ to his mother is a convenient literary device for the hymnographer to develop dramatic emphases or theological points which he wishes to stress.

'By mine own will earth covers me, O Mother, but the gatekeepers of hell tremble when they see Me, clothed in the blood-stained garment of vengeance: for on the Cross as God have I struck down Mine enemies, and I shall rise again and magnify Thee.'¹⁸⁸

Direct Speech of Hades

Outside of the texts associated with Lazarus Saturday, there is one place in the Triodion where there is an extensive imagined speech of personified Hades. Vespers on Holy Saturday utilizes a series of texts all introduced with the formula, "Today, Hades

¹⁸⁶ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

¹⁸⁷ Tone Three, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 6.

¹⁸⁸ Holy Saturday, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

groans and cries aloud: ..."

Today, Hell groans and cries aloud, 'It had been better for me, had I not accepted Mary's son, for He has come to me and destroyed my power; He has shattered the gates of brass, and as God He has raised up the souls that I once held.' ...

Today, Hell groans and cries aloud, 'My power has been destroyed. I accepted a mortal man as one of the dead; yet I cannot keep him prisoner, and with Him I shall lose all those over whom I ruled. I held in my power the dead from all ages, but see, He is raising them all.'

Today, Hell groans and cries aloud, 'My dominion has been swallowed up; the Shepherd has been crucified and He has raised Adam. I am deprived of those I once ruled; in my strength, I devoured them, but now I have cast them forth. He who was crucified has emptied the tombs; the power of death has no more strength.'¹⁸⁹

Apologetic Motifs

One final category of texts has been separated. Each of these texts speaks of the Destruction of Hades in language which calls to mind the various doctrinal controversies, mostly Christological, which were such a persistent part of life in the Byzantine empire.

Who would steal a dead body, especially a naked one? * This is no myth:
* Christ is risen breaking down the gates and bolts of Hades.¹⁹⁰

Without leaving the vault of heaven, You descended to Hades, O Christ, *
and You raised up with You * humanity which had been given over to the
corruption of the grave; * this same humanity exalts You forever.¹⁹¹

The angels were astonished to see, sitting on the throne of the Father, *

¹⁸⁹ Holy Saturday, Vespers, At Ps 140.

¹⁹⁰ Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women, Sunday Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

¹⁹¹ Sunday of the Council Fathers, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

the human nature which had fallen * and was enclosed in the darkest depths.¹⁹²

Who would not be struck with wonder, O Lord, * in seeing You destroy Death by your Passion, * and destroying corruption by your Cross, * and emptying the treasures of Hades by your death? * Such is the work of your divine power, * O Lover of Mankind who was nailed to the Cross.¹⁹³

Willingly You were lifted on the Cross; * You were buried in the sepulcher as dead, O Christ; * You gave life to the dead and Hades; * and You rose as God all-powerful.¹⁹⁴

You performed unheard of wonders, O Christ: You were willingly raised upon a Cross; * You were counted among the dead even though You are the conqueror of Hades; * and You freed all the captives by your mighty arm.¹⁹⁵

Seeing Him perform miracles and wondrous signs, * the people were filled with jealousy * and put to death the One who despoiled Hades by his Resurrection, O Giver of life; * You performed miracles and gave sight to the blind. * With them we extol You through the ages.¹⁹⁶

Clearly the imagery associated with the Destruction of Hades is widespread in hymns included in the current liturgical books. In the next chapter we shall see how many of the elements associated with this theme come to be focused into the particular expressions of that theme associated with the Raising of Lazarus.

¹⁹² Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, First Ode.

¹⁹³ Sunday of All Saints, Matins, Kanon, Fourth Ode.

¹⁹⁴ Sunday of the Paralytic, Matins, Kanon, Sixth Ode.

¹⁹⁵ Sunday of the Man Born Blind, Matins, Kanon, Eighth Ode.

¹⁹⁶ Sunday of the Man Born Blind, Matins, Kanon, Ninth Ode.

CHAPTER 20

THE DESTRUCTION OF HADES AND LAZARUS SATURDAY

Having provided a context and "baseline" for the theme of the Destruction of Hades in Byzantine hymnography in the previous chapter, we can now turn to a more specific examination of the particular hymns within our target texts which illustrate this theme.

Preliminary Observations

In the light of the previous chapter, the first observation that needs to be made concerning the presence of the theme of the Destruction of Hades within the hymns of Lazarus Saturday is how remarkable it is that the theme is associated with this commemoration at all. There is no real precedent within the Triodion, for as we saw there are only a few isolated allusions to our theme before Holy Thursday, and by far the largest number of hymns dealing with our theme come from the Post-Paschal commemorations in the Pentekostarion. Furthermore there are no explicit cues in John 11 which might have triggered the poetic imagination of the hymnographers to expand on this motif. Nowhere else among all the hymns represented in the Byzantine liturgical books is the Destruction of Hades associated with the Raising of Lazarus.

Given that peculiarity, the second observation becomes even more striking: the theme of the Destruction of Hades is present at every service of the Commemoration,

from Friday Evening Vespers and Compline to Saturday Matins, on to the services associated with Palm Sunday with Saturday Evening Vespers and Sunday Matins. There are even brief allusions, admittedly rather vague, in the Liturgy for Palm Sunday and in Sunday Evening Compline. Four different Kanons attributed to three different hymnographers are included in the texts given for Matins on Lazarus Saturday; each one incorporates elements of our theme.

The third general observation concerns what these hymns of Lazarus Saturday have in common with texts from the other liturgical books which reflect the theme of the Destruction of Hades: the specific images used to convey the theme are the same as those used on other occasions. An assortment of terms describe the victory of Christ and the defeat of Hades; Hades is the abode of the dead, the realm of darkness; the constraints of hell are broken, including the familiar gates, bars, and bolts; the fear of personified Hades is described and articulated in direct discourse; all of these details are already familiar from the texts surveyed in the previous chapter. Consider these examples, all taken from the First Ode of the Kanon of Andrew of Crete at Friday Evening Compline before Lazarus Saturday.

O Savior, calling forth Lazarus from the tomb, * straightaway you raised him; * While Hades below bitterly groaned, * and whining, trembled before your power.

O You who alone are our Savior, in calling forth Lazarus, * you shattered the prison bars of Hades, * and rattled the power of the Adversary, * Forcing him to tremble, even before your Crucifixion.

O Master, you came forth to Lazarus as God, * and set free from his restraints, * the one who was seized and confined by Hades; * for everything submits to your command, O Mighty One.

The final observation relates to what is unique in these texts, that is the association of this dramatic destruction of Hades with the Raising of Lazarus. How to account for this association will be one of the main goals of our study. In order to reach it, more specific observations need to be made.

The Pervasiveness of the Theme

It has already been noted that elements of the theme are found in every service associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. While some elements, notably the Kanons, develop the theme in more depth, those hymns which only contain a passing allusion to the Destruction of Hades are the ones which are of interest here.

Six days before the Passover, O Lord, Thy voice was heard in the depths of hell, and from it Thou hast raised up Lazarus who was four days dead. Then the children of Hebrews cried aloud: 'Hosanna to our God: glory to Thee!'¹

This hymn contains elements specific to Palm Sunday and Lazarus Saturday. The phrase "Six days before the Passover" was discussed in the previous chapter. Assuming the dead Lazarus is in Hades, the abode of the dead, the hymnographer's expansion of the biblical narrative to specify that Christ's voice was heard in the depths of hell seems so obvious it is hardly noticeable.

Trembling at Thy command, hell yielded up Lazarus who was four days dead. For Thou, O Christ, art the resurrection and the life; on Thee the Church is founded, and she cries aloud: Hosanna, blessed art Thou that comest.²

In this hymn, the tomb which surrendered Lazarus is replaced by Hades, which is

¹ Great Vespers on Saturday Evening for Palm Sunday, At the Lite.

² Palm Sunday, Matins, Kanon, Third Ode.

described as trembling at the command of Christ. While the description is now a bit more removed from the narrative of John 11, it is still clearly rooted in that account. When the hymnographer adds more details in the description of personified Hades and its reaction to the raising of Lazarus, the connection to the biblical narrative is more tenuous. Still it is noteworthy that the Destruction of Hades theme is inserted as an integral part of the commemorations of the raising of Lazarus and of Palm Sunday, with explicit mention of the completion of the Lenten Forty-days as well.

Having completed the soul-enriching Forty-days, let us cry out: "Rejoice, town of Bethany, home of Lazarus! Rejoice, Martha and Mary his sisters! Tomorrow Christ will arrive, in order to bring your dead brother to life by his word. On hearing his voice, bitter, insatiable Hades, quivering in fear and groaning mightily, will set Lazarus free, still wrapped in the shroud of death. Astonished at seeing this wonder, the Hebrews come forth to greet him with palms and branches. Although the parents are full of deception, the children will praise him without deception, saying, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel!"³

In other examples, the imagery of the Destruction of Hades seems to be inserted as a simple paraphrase for the soteriological presupposition appropriate to hymns of praise.

With our souls cleansed and in spirit carrying branches, with faith let us sing Christ's praises like the children, crying with a loud voice to the Master: *Blessed art Thou, O Saviour, who hast come into the world to save Adam from the ancient curse*; and in Thy love for mankind Thou hast been pleased to become spiritually the new Adam. O Word, who hast ordered all things for our good, glory to Thee.⁴

O immortal Lord, Thou hast bound hell, slain death, and raised the world: therefore the children, carrying palms, sing praise to Thee as Victor, O Christ, and

³ Friday Vespers, At Ps 140, Now and ever, by Andrew the Blind.

⁴ Palm Sunday, Matins, After the first reading from the Psalter, the Sessional Hymn.

they cry aloud to Thee this day: 'Hosanna to the Son of David! For no more,' say they, 'shall the little children be slain because of Mary's Child; but Thou alone art crucified for all, both young and old. No more shall the sword be drawn against us, for Thy side is pierced by a spear. With great rejoicing, then, we cry: Blessed art Thou that comest to call back Adam.'⁵

The second verse of the first Antiphon at the Liturgy for Lazarus Saturday is taken from Ps 114.3: "The anguish of death encompassed me, the perils of hell beset me." It is a good example of the type of "theme verse" from the Psalms which would seem very appropriate in celebrating the raising of Lazarus, while also providing a very natural conceptual bridge to the imagery of the Destruction of Hades.

The Occasion of the Destruction of Hades

It has already been observed that the distinctive characteristic of the use of the imagery of the Destruction of Hades on Lazarus Saturday is the association of this victory with the raising of Lazarus, something which is not found in any of the other examples surveyed in the first part of this chapter. Those texts which focus on this moment are worth more careful examination.

Identified as the Resurrection of Lazarus

Several texts rather explicitly identify the raising of Lazarus as the moment of

⁵ Palm Sunday, Matins, Oikos. Should the allusion here to the slain innocents from Matthew's infancy narrative (Ware footnotes the reference as Mt 2.16) be understood as a reference to the just who were awaiting the arrival of Christ in Hades? Given the wide range of allusions covered in this chapter, as well as the more specific homiletic examples given below in chapter 25, such an inference seems more than likely. Given the fact that this hymn is the remnant of an Oikos from a Kontakion, only the serendipitous discovery of the original would allow confirmation of that hypothesis.

victory for Christ and devastation for hell.

O Lord, wishing to give your disciples a pledge of your resurrection from the dead, You arrived at the tomb of Lazarus; As you summoned him, Hades was devastated, and set free the one who had been dead for four days, who cried out to you, "O Blessed Lord, Glory to You!"⁶

O death, through Lazarus Christ has already plundered you. O Hades, where is your victory? The mourning which was in Bethany is now transferred to you. Let us all wave branches of victory before him!⁷

The final example recalls those passages which echoed the fear and awe of creation at the Crucifixion, only now the occasion is the raising of Lazarus.

O Lord, the depths are terrified by You, the source of all that is; the waters serve You, the jailers of Hades tremble before You, and the bars of Hades are smashed by your power as Lazarus is raised from the dead by the sound of your voice, O All-powerful Savior who loves us all.⁸

Related to the Paschal Mystery of Christ

Other hymns make clear that this "moment of victory" of Christ must be understood in integral relation with the events of the Paschal Mystery.

O Beloved One, *Desiring to make known the hidden dimensions of your Passion and Cross*, You ripped open the guts of insatiable Hades, and as God you raised up the one who was already dead for four days.⁹

O Christ, *even before your own death you raised Lazarus from Hades*, even though he had already been dead for four days. You destroyed the power of death, and through this one whom you loved, you proclaimed that all would be freed from corruption. Therefore worshipping your all-powerful authority, we cry

⁶ Friday Vespers, At Psalm 140.

⁷ Saturday Morning, Matins, "Another" {Second} Exaposteilarion.

⁸ Saturday Morning, Matins, Fourth Ode, Kanon of Kosmas, 2.

⁹ Friday Evening Complines, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Fourth Ode, 5.

out: "Blessed are you, O Savior, have mercy on us!"¹⁰

The last example here does not make explicit mention of either Lazarus Saturday or Palm Sunday, but it does speak of Hades' inevitable discomfort as Christ freely moves forward to the Passion.

How should death not tremble, O my Saviour? How should hell not crouch with fear, when it meets Thee hastening of Thine own good pleasure to the Passion, and sees Thee, who art righteous, coming to suffer for the unrighteous?¹¹

Another group of texts speaks of the Raising of Lazarus as an "assurance of the general resurrection" or a "pledge" of Christ's own resurrection.

Giving us before Thy Passion an assurance of the general resurrection, Thou hast raised Lazarus from the dead, O Christ our God. Therefore, like the children, we also carry tokens of victory, and cry to Thee, the Conqueror of death: Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord.¹²

Before Thy voluntary Passion, Christ our God, Thou hast given to all men an assurance of the general resurrection; for at Bethany Thou hast raised by Thine almighty power Lazarus who was four days dead, and as Giver of Light, O Saviour, Thou hast made the blind to see. With the disciples thou has entered the Holy City, seated upon the foal of an ass as though upon the Cherubim, and so Thou hast fulfilled the preaching of the prophets. The children of the Hebrews with palms and branches came to meet Thee. Therefore we also, bearing palms and olive branches, cry aloud to Thee in thanksgiving: Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that comes in the Name of the Lord.¹³

O Lord, wishing to give your disciples a pledge of your resurrection from the dead, ...¹⁴

¹⁰ Saturday Morning, Matins, At the Praises.

¹¹ Compline on Palm Sunday Night, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Eighth Ode.

¹² Apolytikion (Troparion) of Palm Sunday.

¹³ Palm Sunday, Matins, Stichera at Lauds.

¹⁴ Friday Vespers, At Psalm 140.

Distinctive Characteristics of the Theme applied to Lazarus

Attention to the details of how the Destruction of Hades imagery is used on Lazarus Saturday calls attention to some characteristic emphases which distinguish these hymns when compared to those examined in the previous chapter.

Emphasis on the voice of Christ

Hymns attributed to a variety of authors focus on the power of Christ's voice in calling Lazarus forth from the tomb, a focus which might easily be suggested by the narrative form of the account given in John 11. Perhaps it could be considered as a specific variant of the "power of Christ's victory" imagery presented above as examples of the soteriological presupposition.

O Lord, your voice annihilated the reign of Hades, and the word of your authority raised from the tomb the one who was four days dead, and Lazarus became the first fruits of salvation for the rebirth of the world. O Master and King of all, everything is possible for you, Grant to your servants conciliation and great mercy.¹⁵

O Savior, your voice demolished every trace of the power of death, even as the foundations of Hades were shaken by your divine power.¹⁶

O Savior, your voice, resounding with your divine power and strength, shattered the gates of Hades and of all-consuming death. Rescue me from my passions as you rescued your friend Lazarus, even though he was already dead for four days.¹⁷

¹⁵ Friday Vespers, At Psalm 140, Idiomela of Leo.

¹⁶ Saturday Morning, Matins, Fourth Ode, Kanon of Theophanes, 3.

¹⁷ Saturday Morning, Matins, Fifth Ode, Kanon of Kosmas, 1.

Hades trembled as it observed one still wrapped in the shroud of death, who immediately raced back to this life at the sound of your voice.¹⁸

The Kanon of Andrew of Crete used at Compline on Friday Evening goes on to speak of Christ's voice as "life-giving" or enlivening,¹⁹ while the decree carried by the voice is "irresistible:"

O Jesus, Hades that had acquired so many, could not get around your irresistible decree, and trembling it gave up Lazarus, already dead for four days, now alive by the sound of your voice.²⁰

Now the mere sound of Christ's voice is enough to accomplish the dramatic defeat of Hades and Death.

O Savior, rattling the gates and iron bars, you frightened Hades with the sound of your voice; Death was terrified as well, seeing Lazarus, whom they had entangled, brought to life by the sound of your voice, and rising up.²¹

As the instrument of Christ's power, his voice becomes life for those imprisoned by death.

You raised Lazarus at Bethany even though he had been dead for four days, as you stood by the tomb, your voice became life for the one who had died. Hades released him in dismay, whining all the while. What a great wonder! O most merciful Lord, glory to You!²²

A closely related set of images focuses on the word of the Word.

¹⁸ Friday Evening Complines, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Second Ode, 5.

¹⁹ Friday Evening Complines, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Second Ode, Now and ever.

²⁰ Friday Evening Complines, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Fifth Ode, 2.

²¹ Friday Evening Complines, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Ninth Ode, 3.

²² Saturday Morning, Matins, At the Praises.

O Word of God, at your word Lazarus springs forth, coming back to life, and the people honor you with branches, O Mighty One, for when all is completed you shall demolish Hades by your death.²³

O Immortal One, by your word you raised up Lazarus even though he was already dead for four days, and by your power you demolished the gloomy reign of Hades.²⁴

O Lord, you rescued your friend Lazarus, from the abode of the dead and the darkness of Hades, even though he was still wrapped in the shroud of death, and You demolish the gates of the Kingdom of death by your all-powerful word.²⁵

O Treasury of Life and Savior, you called to the dead one as if he were asleep, you ripped open the guts of Hades with (only your) word; You raised up (Lazarus) as he sang: "Blessed are you, O God of our fathers."²⁶

Two Natures

Related to this emphasis on the power of Christ's word is another theme which as the last chapter demonstrated is strongly presented in the texts of Lazarus Saturday, that of the two natures of Christ.

As a mortal you asked about the tomb, while as the One who shapes the universe you raised the dead by your authoritative command. Hades was terrified of him as he cried out to you: "Sing hymns, and exalt (the Lord) above all for all time."²⁷

While crying in compassion as a man, as God you raised Lazarus from the tomb; set free from Hades, he cried out: "Blessed are you O Lord our God

²³ Saturday Morning, Matins, Exaposteilarion.

²⁴ Saturday Morning, Matins, First Ode, Kanon of Theophanes, 2.

²⁵ Saturday Morning, Matins, Third Ode, Kanon of Kosmas, 3.

²⁶ Saturday Morning, Matins, Seventh Ode, Kanon of John the Monk, 2.

²⁷ Saturday Morning, Matins, Eighth Ode, Kanon of Kosmas, 2.

forever."²⁸

Extensive use of Direct discourse

One characteristic of the Kanon attributed to Andrew of Crete which is prescribed for Compline on the Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday is the extensive use of imagined dialogue among three main characters: Christ, Lazarus, and personified Hades. In the current arrangement of the hymns, this takes the form of a series of monologues, where the direct speech of a character will be included within a particular hymn. In the narrative of John 11, of course, Christ is the only one of these three characters to speak, in fact commentators have often noted the silence of Lazarus. Given the fact that the character of personified Hades is not even present in the biblical account, it is striking how much speech is attributed to him.

Christ

In the previous section attention was drawn to the significance which the texts give to the word or voice of Christ. The text of John 11 does report several sentences as having been said by Christ, and within the overall texts of Lazarus Saturday, these are prominently reflected in the hymns. Here we are only concerned with speech of Christ which reflects images associated with the theme of the Destruction of Hades.

O Lazarus, Jesus ordered them to take away the stone which they had placed over you when they buried you, and immediately He raised you, calling out:

²⁸ Saturday Morning, Matins, Seventh Ode, Kanon of Kosmas, 1.

"Lazarus, rise up and come to me, that hell may quiver at your voice."²⁹

Hades

Much of the speech placed in the mouth of Hades by the hymnographer is of the "talking to myself" variety, a literary device to make explicit themes which are elsewhere presented in a descriptive mode.

"Woe is me! Now I am annihilated!" shrieked Hades, calling out to death and saying, "Behold, the Nazarean rattles the depths, ripping open my guts! He speaks to a lifeless corpse and raises it up."³⁰

When the gates were rattled, the bars demolished, and the bonds of the dead unshackled, Hades groaned bitterly on hearing the powerful voice of Christ and shrieked, wailing: "Woe is me! What is this voice? Where does it come from, that it gives life to the dead?"³¹

In other examples Hades addresses Lazarus, although again the content of the direct discourse is often the same as was presented in descriptive presentations of the theme elsewhere.

"Lazarus, I beg you," says {Hades}, "Rise up, quickly leave my constraints behind, and be off! It is better for me to bitterly grieve over one who escapes than {to lose} all those I have ravenously devoured."³²

"Lazarus, why do you dally?" says Hades. "You friend stands shouting to you, 'Come out!' "Depart then, so that I may also experience relief, because ever

²⁹ Friday Evening Compline, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Second Troparion, Third Ode. All of the examples of direct discourse given here are taken from this Kanon, therefore the following citations will simply give the number of the Troparion and the Ode.

³⁰ Fifth Troparion, Third Ode.

³¹ Fifth Troparion, Ninth Ode.

³² Fourth Troparion, Seventh Ode.

since I devoured you, all other food makes me sick."³³

"O Lazarus, why don't you rise quickly?" Hades shrieks in pain, "Why don't you rise up and bolt from here this instant? Unless you do, Christ may capture others after raising you."³⁴

In the final example given here, it is not clear if it is the hymnographer or Hades who is speaking, which is perhaps an appropriate way of remembering that it is the hymnographer's imagination which is ultimately responsible for all of this speech.

Rise up now! Give heed to the voice; for your friend is outside calling to you. This is the one who raised the dead in earlier times, for when Elijah and Elisha raised the dead, this is the one who spoke and acted through them.³⁵

Lazarus

The other character given speech by the poet is Lazarus, who is noticeably silent in the Fourth gospel. The one person addressed by Lazarus in this Kanon is Christ.

O Savior, Lazarus cried out to you when you freed him from Hades, "You called me from the depths of Hades, and you raised me from the dead by your command."³⁶

O Savior, you have ripped open the the guts of Hades which devours all within its grasp, and by your power you snatched me out, and you raised me from the dead by your command.³⁷

Lazarus cried from below to the one who set him free, "Even if I am bound in restraints, O Savior, I shall not be left forever in the depths of Hades, if

³³ Fifth Troparion, Seventh Ode.

³⁴ Sixth Troparion, Seventh Ode.

³⁵ Sixth Troparion, Ninth Ode.

³⁶ Second Troparion, Sixth Ode.

³⁷ Fifth Troparion, Sixth Ode.

only you will call to me, 'Lazarus come out!' You who are my Light and my Life."³⁸

The Burial Shroud

One other detail is prominent in the imagery associated with Lazarus Saturday which is not found in the other hymns which image the Destruction of Hades, that is the prominence given to the burial shroud as a symbol of the constraints of death. This is another detail which many have noticed within the Johannine narrative, and the hymnographer is simply making explicit a theme already present in the biblical text.

O Lord, you rescued your friend Lazarus, from the abode of the dead and the darkness of Hades, even though he was still wrapped in the shroud of death, and You demolish the gates of the Kingdom of death by your all-powerful word.³⁹

Lazarus came out at the Master's word, still wrapped in the burial shroud, and escaping from the chaos and darkness of Hades he screamed out: "Blessed are you O Lord our God forever."⁴⁰

O Master, you raised the dead, who reeked of death and was still bound in the burial shroud; I too am held captive in the shackles of sin, raise me up so that I may sing: "Blessed are you, O God of our fathers."⁴¹

Hymns of the Sixth Week

Turning to the hymns of the Sixth Week of the Fast, we find texts which represent both the broader imagery of Christ's victory over death as well as those focusing on the

³⁸ Third Troparion, Seventh Ode.

³⁹ Saturday Morning, Matins, Third Ode, Kanon of Kosmas, 3.

⁴⁰ Saturday Morning, Matins, Seventh Ode, Four-Ode Kanon of Kosmas, 2.

⁴¹ Saturday Morning, Matins, Seventh Ode, Four-Ode Kanon of John the Monk, 3.

destruction of Hades wrought in connection with the resurrection of Lazarus and the Passion. As representative of the wider thematic victory, the following hymn is based on the insight that Jesus' very presence is life-giving.

My soul is sick, and despair has brought me near to death. Come to me, O Jesus, I implore Thee, for Thy visitation gives life to those that call upon Thee.⁴²

In the hymns proper to Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, a repetitive motif was the "assurance of the Resurrection" given in the raising of Lazarus, and that theme is present in hymns of the previous week also.

Today, Lazarus has died and Bethany laments for him; but Thou, our Saviour, shalt awake him from the dead. Through the raising of Thy friend, Thou hast given us in advance an assurance of Thine own dread Resurrection, of hell's death and Adam's restoration to life; and we therefore sing Thy praises.⁴³

The particular "spin" characteristic of the hymns of the Sixth Week, however, is the idea of anticipation of that assurance.

Let hell expect its own destruction. For the Life comes to raise up Lazarus, who cries aloud: Bless, praise, and exalt ye the Lord above all for ever.⁴⁴

'Let us go,' Thou hast said beforehand to Thy friends. 'Lazarus My friend has already fallen asleep. But by awakening him I shall destroy forever the evil and destructive power of death.'⁴⁵

⁴² Troparion at the Eighth Ode, first Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 244; *AT*, 348.

⁴³ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Three, attributed to Theodore, Vespers, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 247-8; *AT*, 350.

⁴⁴ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 260; *AT*, 358.

⁴⁵ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, First Kanon attributed to Joseph, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 260; *AT*, 358.

When Thou wast journeying in the flesh, O Jesus, on the other side of the Jordan, Thou said to Thy companions: 'My friend Lazarus is already dead, and now has been committed to the tomb. And so for your sakes I rejoice, my friends, for by this ye shall learn that I know all things, since I am God, inseperable from the Father, though in my visible appearance I am man. Let us go then, to bring him back to life, that death may feel the defeat and utter destruction that I bring upon it, bestowing my great mercy on the world.'⁴⁶

Lazarus is buried now, and Martha and her companions lament and weep around the grave, and they long for Thee, the giver of life, to come. Seeing Thee draw near, O Christ, death begins to be afraid. For Thou, who art Life, shall banish him to the ends of the earth.⁴⁷

When the poetic imagination presents this anticipation in the form of speech addressed by or to Hades, the result is very close to the hymnographic images most characteristic of Lazarus Saturday.

O all-destroying death, expect now thine own dissolution. Let thy door-keepers look to the bolts and bars: for Christ shall raise up Lazarus and shatter thy gates by His word. With us the Prophet cries to thee, 'O hell, drink this first.'⁴⁸

As Thou wast approaching Bethphage, hell our adversary heard the sound of Thy feet, and he touched the feet of Lazarus, saying: 'If the Life calls thee, delay not, but go out: for I know that my destruction will come swiftly.'⁴⁹

Theodore is even willing to imagine what the experience in Hades was like for Lazarus, descriptions which our Synaxarion notice for Lazarus Saturday was explicit in denying to

⁴⁶ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Five, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 256; *AT*, 355.

⁴⁷ Troparion of the Fourth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 259; *AT*, 358.

⁴⁸ Troparion of the Ninth Ode, Second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 261; *AT*, 359. A Footnote in *LTSup* refers us to Isaiah 9.1.

⁴⁹ Troparion of the Eighth Ode, First Kanon, attributed to Joseph, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 268; *AT*, 363.

Lazarus himself.

Lazarus has now been two days in the tomb, and he sees the dead from all the ages. There he beholds strange sights of terror, a multitude that none can number, the prisoners of hell. His sisters bitterly lament, looking upon his tomb. But Christ comes to bring his friend to life, that a single hymn of praise may be offered up with one accord by all: Blessed art thou, O Saviour, have mercy upon us.⁵⁰

Theodore includes the theme in a hymn addressed to Bethany.

Be glad, O Bethany, for Christ shall come to thee, performing in thee a great and fearful miracle. Binding death with fetters, as God he will raise up Lazarus who was dead and now magnifies the Creator.⁵¹

There is also one hymn which uses the spiritual allegory approach, implicitly comparing "my soul" to the lifeless Lazarus, offering it hope through the power of the cross.

Ruled by many passions, weakened by all the assaults of the evil one, my heart lies shamefully in the tomb of slothfulness, and it is crushed by lack of feeling as by a stone. O Saviour, who by the Wood of Thy life-giving Cross hast brought to life all in hell, awaken me and give me life, that in fear I may glorify Thy divinity.⁵²

There is only one hymn which unpacks the imagery of the Lukan parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus with images associated with the Destruction of Hades.

Fallen into transgressions and bound fast by the cords of sin, why art thou slothful, O my soul? Why art thou careless? Flee at all times from the burning of

⁵⁰ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Six, attributed to Theodore, Vespers, Wednesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 257; *AT*, 355-6.

⁵¹ Troparion at the Ninth Ode, second Kanon attributed to Theodore, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 245-6; *AT*, 349.

⁵² Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Two, attributed to Joseph, Vespers, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 247; *AT*, 350.

lasciviousness as Lot fled from Sodom and Gomorrah; turn not back, lest thou become as a pillar of salt. Take refuge in the mountains of the virtues; run always from the flames that burnt the rich man because he was merciless and cruel. With the steps of humility advance like Lazarus, and go to dwell with Abraham, crying: My hope and refuge, O Lord, glory to Thee (twice). {Gen 19}⁵³

It is interesting that this hymn develops the theme through totally unrelated biblical images, when the parable itself offered several striking possibilities for imagining the torments of Hades. An *a priori* assumption would predict that in texts like those of the Sixth Week, which often juxtapose the Lucan and Johannine accounts of Lazarus, the imagery of Hades from the Lukan Parable could provide the inspiration for the Destruction of Hades themes associated with Lazarus. Such an assumption finds no support in our texts.

We have commented several times that it is unusual in the Triodion for the Heirmoi of the biblical Kanons to reflect themes proper to the season of the Fast, or to the particular commemorations celebrated within it. Two such unusual examples are found in the Matins Kanons of the Sixth Week.

O Christ my God, Giver of Light, who hast driven out the primeval darkness of the abyss, disperse, O Word, the darkness from my soul, and give me the light of Thy Commandments, that early in the morning I may glorify Thee.⁵⁴

See now, see that I am God. By my own will was I clothed with flesh to

⁵³ *Aposticha* hymn in Tone Five, Matins, Tuesday of the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 246; *AT*, 349.

⁵⁴ *Heirmos* or Linking-verse of the Fifth Ode, Matins, Friday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 268; *AT*, 363.

save from error Adam who had fallen into sin through the deceit of the serpent.⁵⁵

There would seem to be only one hymn of the Sixth Week where the Destruction of Hades imagery is associated with themes of Palm Sunday, and it is one which incorporates several other thematic elements as well.

O Christ, who art borne on high by the dread seraphim, as God and Creator of all Thou dost make haste to ride on earth upon a colt, as a man like us. Bethany rejoices greatly to receive Thee, O Saviour, and Jerusalem is glad as it awaits expectantly to welcome Thee. Death has been slain, and as a foretaste of the coming Resurrection it sees Lazarus return from the dead. In joy we go to meet Thee with palms, praising the power of thy Love, O Lord.⁵⁶

Concluding Remarks for Part Three

The ten chapters of Part Three have all tried to examine in more depth some of the more striking elements associated with Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine Tradition. Some elements have been treated more extensively than others, while others have not even been addressed at all. Within the broad goal of a fuller understanding of the Lenten Triodion, the more specific objective of this study has been to illustrate the usefulness of the method of Structural Analysis to the study of Byzantine hymnography. In line with this goal, Part Four of our study will examine a selected few historical sources with the same methodological approach. Unfortunately we must also exercise the same methodological selectivity, choosing only a few sources and within the discussion of each

⁵⁵ *Heirmos* of the Second Ode, Matins, Tuesday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 244; *AT*, 348.

⁵⁶ Sticheron at Ps 140 in Tone Four, attributed to Theodore, Vespers, Thursday in the Sixth Week, *LTSup*, 264; *AT*, 360-61.

source choosing only a few elements which have direct connections to our target texts.

Even within these limitations, however, there is much that can illustrate the history of the commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus in the Byzantine tradition.

CHAPTER 21

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS IN CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

There can be no question that the account of the raising of Lazarus given in Chapter 11 of the Fourth Gospel is the core element on which all subsequent developments are based. This entire study could be understood as an attempt to compile and examine the *Nachlebenforschungen* of John 11. This chapter will thus provide a review of the literature on John 11. This seemingly straightforward task soon encounters the practical difficulty of the sheer volume of material relevant to our search. In the words of Alain Marchadour, who will be one of our main guides through this literature,

The story of the resurrection of Lazarus is one of the texts which has undergone the most {extensive} interpretation in the history of the Church. Exegesis, spirituality, theology, painting, and above all during the twentieth century literature, have been attracted to this strange text in the attempt to reduce its obscurities or to penetrate its mysteries.¹

The search for criteria by which to sift through all this interpretation revisits some of the methodological concerns that were raised in the first chapter. Thus before attempting a survey of what modern scripture scholars say about our text, a few comments on the choices inherent in such a survey are appropriate.

This chapter will limit itself to contemporary scripture scholars, while a later chapter will attempt to summarize the Patristic use and explanation of the Lazarus

¹ Marchadour, *Lazare*, 15.

account. Such a separation inevitably privileges contemporary interpretation over "traditional" ones, even when the results of our summary would seriously question such modern hubris.

There are many ways of approaching the Fourth Gospel. . . . What the Gospel reveals of itself will be coloured, even controlled, by the interest one brings to it. There is no disinterested reading. Nor, by the same token, is there any disinterested writing.²

The attempt to evaluate or even categorize scholarly opinions on John 11 quickly evolves into a judgement (some would suggest an act of faith!) concerning the methodologies used by each author. The standards of academic responsibility usually ensure a certain degree of accuracy and consistency in evaluating how a particular author applies the preconceptions of their method to a particular text or body of evidence, however judgments about these methodological assumptions have only recently become explicit. This study will attempt to make such assumptions explicit without getting sidetracked into the thorny paths of choosing among them.³

² John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 3. Ashton offers a footnote to the 3rd sentence quoted here, which eloquently images a key element of our own study: "With John's Gospel we are also deep in what Hugh Kenner calls 'the whispering forest of all traditional poetics, where the very words to which millions of minds respond have helped to form the minds that respond to them' (*The Pound Era* (London, 1972), p. 521.) But to examine this truth any further would involve questions of high hermeneutics beyond the scope of this book." *Ibid.*

³ This chapter will lean heavily upon the opinions of Alain Marchadour in *Lazare*, primarily because it is the most recent survey focused on our primary text, but also because it takes account of almost all of the previous scholarly literature, and because it represents a balanced, well thought-out judgement which is often consistent with the understanding of the text presented in other chapters of this study. Jacob Kremer's *Lazarus. Die Geschichte einer Auferstehung. Text, Wirkungsgeschichte und Botschaft von John 11,1-46* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985) devotes 100 pages of

The Fourth Gospel

Any attempt to deal with specific passages within the Gospel of John quickly requires judgments about the nature of the work itself, and no passage is more immersed in the broader problematics of the Fourth Gospel than the account of Lazarus. This section will limit itself to the broader issues concerning the Fourth Gospel which are directly relevant to our consideration of John 11.

St. John's narrative of the raising of Lazarus raises in an acute form some of the most perplexing problems of his gospel, both internally and externally in relation to the synoptics.⁴

The four issues chosen for further discussion are consideration of the author, structure, formation and formative influences, and "historicity" of the Gospel of John.

Part One to the text of John 11.1-46. Kremer's work was examined by Marchadour, and tends to focus on the search for sources of the text which Marchadour (successfully in my opinion) critiques. Both Kremer and Marchadour utilised A.-L. Descamps *et. al.*, *Genèse et Structure d'un Texte du Nouveau Testament. Étude Interdisciplinaire du Chapitre 11 de l'Évangile de Jean = Lectio Divina* 104, (Paris: Le Cerf, 1981), a collection of studies which are primarily concerned with methodological issues, for which John 11 acts as a most appropriate test case. Less focused on our text, but somewhat deeper in its treatment of specifics, is Gerard Rochais, *Les récits de résurrection des morts dans le Nouveau Testament = SNTSMS* 40 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1981). The most recent commentary on the Fourth Gospel utilized was the brilliantly idiosyncratic synthesis of John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* cited above. Still useful for their encyclopedic accounts of previous research are the Commentaries on John of Raymond Brown (*The Gospel according to St. John*, 2 volumes in the *Anchor Bible* Series, Vol. 1 1966, Vol. 2 1970. [Garden City: Doubleday] where the account of the raising of Lazarus is discussed on pp. 419-454 of Volume 1), and Rudolf Schnackenburg (3 volumes in *Herders theologische Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, ET London: Burns & Oates, 1968, 1980, 1982). Specific studies dealing with John 11 will be cited as appropriate in the remainder of the chapter.

⁴ T. Evan Pollard, "The Raising of Lazarus," *Studia Evangelica* Vol. 6 (1973), 434.

Author

We can avoid the broader implications of speculations about the author of the Fourth Gospel,⁵ and focus on the suggestion of "a surprising number of scholars"⁶ that Lazarus was the evangelist.

The identity of Lazarus as "the beloved disciple" (and thus through John 21.20 as the author of the gospel) was promoted vigorously by Floyd V. Filson in 1949.⁷

There was but one person named in the Gospel who could be identified as the Beloved Disciple. Moreover the writer of the Gospel had taken sufficient pains to make clear who this Beloved Disciple was. It was Lazarus. No other person who appears in the gospel can be regarded as a serious rival for the honor, and the gospel, read by itself, leaves no real doubt concerning the identity of Lazarus and the Beloved Disciple.⁸

Eckhardt's thesis is more complicated, for he suggests that Lazarus is a

⁵ Any of the commentaries will include discussion of "authorship" (Brown's typically comprehensive overview of previous scholarship on this issue is found on pp. LXXXVI to CIV) and how it influences the authority and reliability of the text. For a lucid account of how the issues of authorship and credibility were often linked in scholarly discussions of the Fourth Gospel, see Ashton, *op. cit.*, 15-27.

⁶ The surprise is asserted by Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 5 note 5, where he names F.V. Filson, K.A. Eckhardt, and J.N. Sanders, each of which is considered below. Carson (*op. cit.*, 72) cites Filson and Vernard Eller, *Beloved Disciple: His Name, His Story, His Thought* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988). Brown considers the identity of Lazarus with the beloved disciple on p. XCV.

⁷ Floyd V. Filson, "Who was the beloved disciple?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 68 (1949): 83-88. Filson (p. 84) cites two others who agree with this identification: J. Kreyenbuhl, *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit, I* (Berlin, 1900), 157 ff. and Robert Eisler, *The Enigma of the Fourth Gospel* (London, 1938), 190 ff. He also refers to the "cautious discussion" of A.E. Garvie in *The Beloved Disciple* (London, n.d.), 231 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*.

pseudonym for John the son of Zebedee after he is raised from the dead,⁹ or as Schnackenburg summarizes the main thesis of the book, "the name Lazarus is a later interpolation; in reality this man raised from the dead was John the Son of Zebedee."¹⁰ More complex still is the thesis of Sanders that the Fourth Gospel was written by Lazarus in Aramaic, then later translated and edited by John Mark.¹¹

Whatever the merits of these arguments,¹² there is no evidence they were held in any way by those responsible for the development of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition, and thus they do not directly influence the current study.

Structure

Clearly the understanding of the Fourth Gospel's account of the raising of Lazarus

⁹ K.A. Eckhardt, *Der Tod des Johannes* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1961). Brown, p. CIV notes the review in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 24 (1962): 218-19.

¹⁰ Endnote 18 to Schnackenburg, II:322, found on II:514.

¹¹ J. N. Sanders, "St. John on Patmos," *New Testament Studies* 9 (1962-3): 75-85. The theory is conveniently summarized, in a slightly nuanced version, on pages 50-51 of the Commentary on John which was written by Sanders, and then completed and published after his death by B.A. Mastin in the Series of *Black's New Testament Commentaries* as J.N. Sanders and B.A. Mastin, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968.) The evidence both internal and external concerning authorship of the Fourth Gospel is presented at some length on pp. 24-51 of that work, while pp. vi and vii of the Preface list Sanders' previous publications exploring the issue.

¹² None of the Commentaries cited in this chapter accept the identification, although all feel compelled to mention it. Schnackenburg repeats his rejection of theory that Lazarus was the beloved disciple, explicitly taking account of the 10 years that passed between publication of Volumes I and III of his commentary, at III:385, in Excursus 18 on "The Disciple Whom Jesus Loved." A recent popularization of the arguments that Lazarus was the beloved disciple can be found in V. Ellul, *The Beloved Disciple* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987.)

will be influenced by how it seen to fit within the larger context of John's Gospel. Wayne Meeks has suggested that

The major literary problem of John is its combination of remarkable stylistic unity and thematic coherence with glaringly bad transitions between episodes at many points.¹³

The variety of ingenious "solutions" which scholars have proposed for this "Johannine problem" occupies a large part of the prodigious attention paid to the Fourth Gospel over the last 100 years.

The Fourth Gospel exhibits a wide array of perplexing literary features, generally termed "aporias". These include duplications, inconsistencies, and rough connections. To account for these literary difficulties, scholars have proposed various source and redaction theories.¹⁴

Pollard focuses this issue for the account of the raising of Lazarus:

Why should John place this incident at the crucial turning point in the ministry of Jesus? ... The answer to this question can be found only by exegesis of the narrative in its context within the gospel as a whole.¹⁵

Schnackenburg agrees, "Wherever he found the story, the evangelist has placed this greatest of signs of Jesus as bringer of life quite deliberately at this point in his gospel."¹⁶

Marchadour has conveniently grouped the various positions scholars have suggested for the place of the Lazarus narrative within the Fourth Gospel within three categories:

¹³ "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," *The Interpretation of John*, ed. J. Ashton, p. 144 = *Journal of Biblical Literature* 91 (1972): 48. Cited in Ashton, *op. cit.*, 27.

¹⁴ Delbert Burkett, "Two accounts of Lazarus' Resurrection in John 11," *Novum Testamentum* 31 (1994): 209.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 435.

¹⁶ Schnackenburg, II:316.

John 11 at the center of the Gospel;
 John 11 as the conclusion of a section;
 John 11 as the opening of the Passion.

While Marchadour does offer a summary of scholars who argue for each of these categories, he questions how useful such a categorization is:

Is it necessary to propose a definitive structure which chooses among the different proposals? When dealing with ancient texts, one should be cautious of being too rigid in the order which we would impose on a text. Van den Bussche justly notes: "One must constantly undo our modern conceptions on the subject of the composition of an ancient book. The gospel writer was not obligated to hold to our approaches or to respond to our needs."²⁹ The hesitations of specialists are enlightening, because they witness, each in their own fashion, to the cardinal role which the episode of Lazarus has in the narrative strategy of the author.

²⁹ Van den Bussche, "La structure de Jean 1-12", *L'Évangile de Jean*, p. 63.¹⁷

Schnackenburg offers a similar caution.

The sharp-sighted criticism which has scrutinized the Gospel chapter by chapter for tensions, contradictions, and "aporias", seems to overlook the fact that the author could have envisaged his task differently from us, that he was not bound to apply the strict rules of logic, continuous development and unimpeachable history in his presentation, and that he could have proceeded in a way strange to us, but adapted to his own form of thought and kerygmatic intention.¹⁸

Delbert Burkett provides articulates another possibility, although in this case it is something of a straw man whose rejection is intended to make Burkett's own hypothesis seem more credible.

One such hypothesis would make a single author responsible for the aporias in the passage, an author who was either senile, incompetent, or unable to finish the work. Certainly it is possible for a single author, whether ancient or modern, to

¹⁷ *Lazare*, 109.

¹⁸ Schnackenburg, I:44-45.

write without lucidity or even without consistency. We must therefore beware of seeking to impose lucidity or consistency where it never existed.¹⁹

Whatever position a scholar takes on the specific structure of the Fourth Gospel, a central and integral role for Chapter 11 cannot be avoided.

The episode of Lazarus certainly is part of a much larger narrative project. In the great book elaborated by the author, it occupies a pivotal place, at a point where only with difficulty could it be detached from the first part, but it would be equally unjust to cut it off from the second.²⁰

It is in the context of attempting to understand the Fourth Gospel on its own terms that an increasing amount of scholarly attention has been paid to the chiasmic structure often found in ancient texts.

John Gerhard S.J. has proposed the hypothesis that the Gospel has suffered neither displacements nor disarrangements but stands now as it came from the hand of the author. Gerhard bases this proposition on the contention amply demonstrated in his thesis that the Gospel was composed according to the laws of chiasmic parallelism rather than according to the ordinary laws of narrative composition. If one presupposes, on the contrary, that the Gospel was composed according to the laws of chiasmic parallelism, every part, sequence, section, and element is precisely where it belongs.²¹

Table 8 presents a simplification of John Breck's adaptation of Ellis' elaboration of Gerhard's chiasmic outline of the Gospel of John. The Gospel is divided into 21

¹⁹ Burkett, *op. cit.*, 230.

²⁰ *Lazare*, 110.

²¹ Peter F. Ellis, *The Genius of John: A Composition-critical Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Collegeville MN.: The Liturgical Press, 1984), 12. Ellis notes in endnote 22 that his own treatment is based on a first draft of Gerhard's doctoral dissertation entitled *The Literary Unity and Compositional Methods of the Gospel of John*. Endnote 27 on p. 314 of Ellis gives an extensive list of previous studies which have discerned a chiasmic structure in other biblical writings.

sequences, all except the central one having a mirror in the structure of the work. Ellis explains,

According to Gerhard, John divided his Gospel into twenty-one sequences, with the first mirrored back by the twenty-first, the second mirrored back by the twentieth, the third by the nineteenth, and so through the whole Gospel, with the eleventh sequence (6:19-21) standing alone in the middle.²²

In addition to this primary breakdown of the gospel into sequences, these elements themselves are organized into a chiastic structure of 5 main parts of the Gospel, each of which is made up of 5 sequences.²³ These are indicated at the left of the outline.

The five major parts of the Gospel are: part I: 1.19 - 4.3; part II: 4.4 - 6.15; part III: 6.16-21 (the center); part IV: 6.22 - 12.11; part V: 12.12 - 21-25. Each of these five major parts has five sequences, with the fifth mirroring the first and the fourth mirroring the second.²⁴

²² *Op. cit.*, 14.

²³ Technically, the central sequence has no mirror, the entire structure serving to focus attention on it. In the outline given, Breck has broken down this third part of the Fourth Gospel into a chiastic structure, although it remains only one sequence.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, 15.

Table 8: A Chiastic Outline of the Gospel of John

<i>Chiastic Structure</i>		<i>Sequence & Mirror</i>	
A	a: 1.19-52	1	(21)
	b: 2.1-12	2	(20)
	c: <u>2.13-24</u>	3	(19)
	b': 3.1-21	4	(18)
	a': 3.22-36	5	(17)
B	a: 4.1-38	6	(16)
	b: 4.39-42	7	(15)
	c: <u>4.43-52</u>	8	(14)
	b': 5.1-47	9	(13)
	a': 6.1-15	10	(12)
C	a: 6.16-17a	6.16-21	11
	b: 6.17b-18a		
	c: <u>6.18b</u>		
	b': 6.19-21a		
	a': 6.21b		
B'	a: 6.22-72	12	(10)
	b: 7 - 8	13	(9)
	c: <u>9.1 - 10.21</u>	14	(8)
	b': 10.22-39	15	(7)
	a': 10.40 - 12.11	16	(6)
A'	a: 12.12-50	17	(5)
	b: 13 - 17	18	(4)
	c: <u>18 - 19</u>	19	(3)
	b': 20.1-18	20	(2)
	a': 20.19 - 21.24	21	(1)

The account of the raising of Lazarus is found in sequence 16 of Gerhardt's structure. The chiasmic analysis suggests it must be understood in relation to its mirror sequence, the account of the Samaritan woman in Jn 4.1-38. Sequence 16 also has a structural role within part IV of the Gospel, what is represented in Table 8 as B'. Within this part IV of the Gospel, it forms an inclusion with sequence 12, Jn 6.22-72, the discussion of the bread of life.

Critical evaluation of this chiasmic structure of the Fourth Gospel is beyond the scope of our current study. Raymond E. Brown cautions against, "the exaggerated chiasm detection that plagues modern scholarship,"²⁵ although he provides two analyses of elements in the Fourth Gospel on the basis of what he considers to be more solid evidence for chiasmic structure.²⁶ As we shall see below when unpacking its application to the raising of Lazarus, chiasmic analysis does offer a number of suggestive insights which are relevant to our focus.

Another contemporary approach which assumes that the ancient author DID have a rational organizational scheme in mind which it is our task to discover and respect is often referred to as "rhetorical criticism." This approach can be well illustrated below through those specific studies which deal with the raising of Lazarus.

²⁵ *The Death of the Messiah* in Two Volumes (New York: Doubleday, 1994), I:182.

²⁶ See *Death of the Messiah*, I:758 for "Chiasmic Structure of John's Account of the Roman Trial," and II:908 for "Chiasmic Structure of John's Account of the Crucifixion and Burial."

Formation

Much of Johannine scholarship of the last century has been driven by a desire to account for the *aporia* or problem areas. Ashton notes that "No one theory can satisfactorily account for all of these; and it has to be said that there is still no general agreement among scholars as to the best explanation."²⁷ He offers a useful framework of four types of theories (the displacement theory, the *Grundschrift* theory, the multiple source theory, and the multiple stage theory) and then discusses specific authors within those categories.²⁸ Wilkens began his 1959 discussion of John 11 with this confident citation:

The great positive importance of historical critical research, as stated below by H. Diem¹, is that it can help one to read the biblical texts as witnesses to a previously existing history of proclamation [vorhergegangenen Verkuundigungsgeschichte]. "When we encounter the history of revelation only through a history of proclamation, and this is above all in the history of biblical texts, then one can not remain standing there, treating the biblical book only as a whole, rather one must always also inquire more deeply [zuruuckfragen] for a particular meaning under the canonical text."²

¹ H. Diem, *Theologie als kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 2. Dogmatik (1955), S. 128 ff.

² A.a.O., S. 130.²⁹

The limitations of such an approach are now rather widely recognized. Brodie begins his Commentary with a review of "Johannine Studies: The Three Ages of

²⁷ Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

²⁸ The most succinct version of this summary is found on pp. 160-162; more detailed literature reviews are given in the appropriate sections of the three chapters of Part One.

²⁹ W. Wilkens, "Die Erweckung des Lazarus," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 15 (1959): 22.

Interpretation," specifically the Theological Emphasis (until the Eighteenth Century), the Historical Emphasis (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries), and the Literary Emphasis (Twentieth Century).³⁰ After observing that a sociological emphasis, canonical criticism, and literary theory have each flourished in reaction to the weaknesses of an over-dependance upon historical methodologies, Brodie notes that all three approaches have "limitations and strengths," moreover, "All three methods include some degree of incompleteness."³¹ Marchadour offers a balanced assessment of the results of the historical critical approach:

One of the merits of the historical critical method is its ability to detect indications of linguistic, stylistic, and theological breaks in a story which seems continuous. But this sensibility at times is accompanied by a certain misunderstanding of the narrative logic which is at work in a text.³²

Specific examples of these limitations will be offered below in the discussion of issues specific to John 11.

Formative Influences

There has been no shortage of speculation about the formative influences on the Fourth Gospel,³³ however this study need only consider one area which might offer

³⁰ Thomas L. Brodie, *The Gospel according to John. A Literary and Theological Commentary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3-9.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, 9.

³² *Lazare*, 60.

³³ Ashton's discussion of "Origins: Influences, Background, Traditions" within the chapter surveying scholarship "After Bultmann" (*op. cit.*, 90-101) is particularly lucid in sorting through this topic.

insights into the ways the text was received by Christians within Late Antiquity, i.e. the ways the Jewish scriptures may have been utilized or presupposed by the author of the text of John 11.

"The fundamentally Jewish and Old Testament background to John's Gospel is increasingly recognized."³⁴

The O.T. quotations in John are far from being as numerous as in the Synoptics, but they have several instructive features. Attention is called expressly to O.T. texts, by a wide variety of formulae introducing a quotation, at the following places: 1.23; 2.17; 6.31, 45; 7.38, 42; 8.17; 10.34; 12.15, 38, 40; 13.18; 15.25; 17.12; 19.24, 28, 36, 37 - eighteen times in all... .

Only five of these texts have a clear parallel in the Synoptics... .

... It is not too bold to conclude from all this that John did not pick his texts at random, but conformed to a primitive teaching tradition in which certain parts of the O.T. and not just isolated verses, were used as the scriptural basis of Christology.³⁵

Before looking at issues specific to John 11, there is one more issue which deserves comment. It is itself a reflection of the historical-critical method which has been prominent in Johannine studies over the last century, the concern with "historicity."

Historicity

Even a cursory survey of Johannine scholarship is forced to recognize how much energy has been spent on this question. Carson states the issue succinctly, "As for the approach of modern commentators to the question of the historical value of the Fourth

³⁴ D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 59-60.

³⁵ Schnackenburg, I:38-39.

Gospel, there is no consensus at all."³⁶ Hans Frei's insightful work *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative. A Study in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Hermeneutics*³⁷ chronicles how deeply the pre-occupation with history was imbedded in the intellectual pre-suppositions of the age. Northrup Frye articulates a broader dissatisfaction with this approach to biblical studies:

Biblical scholars ... are well aware that the Bible will only confuse and exasperate a historian who tries to treat it as a history. One wonders why in that case their obsession with the Bible's historicity does not relax, so that other and more promising hypotheses could be examined... . When it [the Bible] shows such an exuberant repudiation of everything we are accustomed to think of as historical evidence, perhaps we should be looking for different categories and criteria altogether.³⁸

Dissatisfaction with the shortcomings of previous studies does not automatically disqualify any concern for historical accuracy.

Of course, there is no *necessary* connection between source-criticism and historical value... . But as it is actually practised it is rarely an end in itself... . However insightful some of these studies may be, at times it is necessary not only to question source-critical methods, but to demonstrate the remarkable fragility of the underlying assumptions.³⁹

R.A. Culpepper seeks to utilise the insights of literary criticism in addressing the fourth gospel. Concerning this issue of historicity he notes:

The future of the Gospel in the life of the church will depend on the church's ability to relate both story and history to truth in such a way that neither has an

³⁶ Carson, *op. cit.*, 44.

³⁷ (New Haven: Yale University, 1974).

³⁸ *The Great Code. The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harvest/HBJ, 1983), 42.

³⁹ Carson, *op. cit.*, 37.

exclusive claim to truth and one is not incompatible with the other.⁴⁰

The discussion of the historicity of the raising of Lazarus below will serve as an example of how the concern for "historicity" must now recognize the limits of all historical inquiry, and the questions and methods by which we seek to arrive at "historical truth" need to be more sophisticated and nuanced than has often been the case in the past.

Issues specific to John 11

Turning to the particular text at hand, three of the general issues discussed above deserve more specific application. Thus the next section discusses the formation of John's account of the raising of Lazarus and formative influences scholars have discerned within that account. The consideration of Structure then surveys various decisions about the parameters of the pericope before discussing theories concerning the literary structure of the existing narrative. These literary concerns lead to a section which discusses the Characters of John 11, followed by a section on the themes or "Semantic Fields" within the text. Finally, the "historicity" of the raising of Lazarus will be addressed.

Formation and Formative Influences

Theories on the Formation of the Lazarus Narrative

Almost every author who has considered John 11 in depth has asserted that the text as we have it is the result of a process of development, and each of the four types of

⁴⁰ *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Fortress, 1983), 236, cited by Carson, *op. cit.*, 64.

theories which Ashton identified as being applied to the Gospel as a whole have been applied to this passage.

The Lazarus narrative in John 11.1-44 provides an excellent test case for source-critical study, since it contains numerous examples of the different types of literary problems found throughout the Fourth Gospel. As Fortna notes, "the passage abounds in aporias."⁴¹

Marchadour unpacks the reasons why this particular text has so often been the focus of such analysis.

{Chapter 11 of John ...} seems to be a perfect text to illustrate the risks of certain readings which are too systematic. It must be recognized that it is a perfect field of application for this method. The text presents itself as a complex story, with many narrative elements, commentaries, parenthetical comments and theological developments; in short, it is a miracle story which is unparalleled in all of the new testament literature, including the synoptics and even the Johannine writings. There, miracle stories usually have a rather stereotypical structure, with few personalities; here we have a family unit, 2 sisters and a brother, known by name and described as close friends of Jesus. We also find ourselves in the presence of a rather elaborate plot (intrigue) with important geographic displacements, a phenomenon of suspense which creates a very pronounced effect of waiting.

Exegetes, fascinated by this complexity, encouraged by the discovery of inconsistencies (frottements) in the story, have sought to imagine the possible origins in searching for the various steps through which it had to pass. They set off in search of the primitive nucleus, the original story, the famous Ur-text, the primitive text so dear to German exegesis. I have reviewed most of the hypotheses proposed since the beginning of the 20th century. What is striking in reading these commentators, is the relative consensus which has emerged in all their research. In effect, the majority of exegetes divide the story of Lazarus into 2, 3, 4, or 5 different strata, which they work to successively isolate in order to arrive at the primitive level of the story.⁴²

Wilkens' 1959 study "Der Erweckung des Lazarus" cited above is a classic example of this approach. Since Brown's *Anchor Bible Commentary* on John has been so

⁴¹ Burkett, *op. cit.*, 215. The quotation is from Fortna, *Gospel of Signs*, 74.

⁴² *Lazare*, 18.

influential, his summary of the matter is worth quoting at length.

From the contents of the Johannine account, then, there is no conclusive reason for assuming that the skeleton of the story does not stem from early tradition about Jesus. What causes doubt is the importance that John gives to the raising of Lazarus as the cause for Jesus' death. We suggest that here we have another instance of the pedagogical genius of the Fourth Gospel. The Synoptic Gospels present Jesus' condemnation as a reaction to his whole career and to the many things that he had said and done. In the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, we are told in Luke xix 37 that, much to the discontent of the Pharisees, the people were praising Jesus because "of *all the mighty miracles* they had seen." The Fourth Gospel is not satisfied with such a generalization. It is neither sufficiently dramatic nor clear cut to say that all Jesus' miracles led to enthusiasm on the part of some and hate on the part of others. And so the writer has chosen to take *one miracle* and to make this the primary representative of all the mighty miracles of which Luke speaks. With a superb sense of development he has chosen a miracle in which Jesus raises a dead man. All Jesus' miracles are signs of what he is and what he has come to give man, but in none of them does the sign more closely approach the reality than in the gift of life. The physical life that Jesus gives to Lazarus is still not in the realm of the life from above, but it is so close to that realm that it may be said to conclude the ministry of signs and inaugurate the ministry of glory. Thus the raising of Lazarus provides the ideal transition, the last sign in the Book of Signs leading into the Book of Glory. Moreover the suggestion that the supreme miracle of giving life to man leads to the death of Jesus offers a dramatic paradox worthy of summing up Jesus' career. And finally, if a pattern of sevens had any influence on the editing <p. 430> of the Gospel (p. CXLII), the addition of the Lazarus miracle gave the seventh sign to the Book of Signs.

We suggest then that, while the basic story behind the Lazarus account may stem from early tradition, its causal relation to the death of Jesus is more a question of Johannine pedagogical and theological purpose than of historical reminiscence; and this explains why no such causal connection is found in the Synoptic tradition. A miracle story that was once transmitted without fixed context or chronological sequence has been used in one of the later stages in Johannine editing as an ending to the public ministry of Jesus.⁴³

In a similar vein Schnackenburg begins his analysis of the passage with his own approach to literary analysis.

⁴³ Brown, *AB* I:429-430.

Our investigation will try to establish what earlier material was available to the evangelist - perhaps in a 'sign source' - how he may have supplemented this from other traditions, and finally worked the whole into our present narrative.⁴⁴

Marchadour acknowledges that the scholarly consensus which seeks to find the underlying strata of the Fourth Gospel is formidable, but he then articulates the methodological concerns raised above, focused here on their application to John 11.

This agreement (within the disagreements) is striking and cannot be under-estimated. Nevertheless it remains to ask if {this consensus} is not already presupposed by {the choice of} methodology. It is said that research is often done in such a way that one finds what one is looking for. Is it possible that the consensus noted above results from the choice of methodological starting point?

I would like to underline the problematic and unverifiable character of these reconstructions. In reality, a method is only a point of view on an object: in this way, the diachronic approach contributes to bringing to light a certain truth of the text, in reconstructing the lost connections to arrive, if possible, at the primitive text when it first emerged. But it is clear that the choice of a different point of view will lead to different results.⁴⁵

After reviewing various forms of the "historical-critical" approach of looking for various strata in John (pp. 33 - 54), Marchadour makes explicit 2 presuppositions of this hypothesis (p. 56 - existence of a Semeia-Quelle and the existence of a genre of "miracle story"). He then offers a series of cautions on this approach.

The reconstruction of various redactional stages of Chapter 11 of John seems to us to have many problematic aspects... What has led me to explore other paths of explaining the text is not the systematic rejection of the {historical critical} method utilized, it is rather the observation that the application of this method to John and more especially to the story of Lazarus seems too uncertain when it comes to results, and above all too "reductional" of the text itself with regard to

⁴⁴ Schnackenburg, II:317.

⁴⁵ *Lazare*, 19.

the method itself.⁴⁶

Two practical implications of these criticisms deserve to be made explicit. One concerns the inherent untestability of any of these source theories. "Certainly it is possible that the story existed under other forms, but we are condemned to never know them."⁴⁷ The other is that the evidence we do have, in the form of the textual traditions of the Fourth Gospel, offers no witnesses to a preliminary stage of the Lazarus narrative.⁴⁸

Burkett's article provides a variant on earlier source-critical studies.

The present study agrees with the widespread view that a signs source or Gospel provided one source for the Fourth Gospel. It calls into question, however, the theory that the non-signs material represents a redaction of this source. It suggests instead that, at least in the Lazarus story, the non-signs material represents a distinct narrative source in its own right; i.e. the aporias in the present form of the Lazarus narrative resulted not from the redaction of a single source but from the combination of two distinct accounts of the story.⁴⁹

Burkett separates the canonical narrative into two hypothetical source accounts, presenting them in two parallel columns. He explains,

... these duplications, inconsistencies, and rough connections form the basis for separating the two accounts set out above. Additionally, recurrent motifs that can be assigned to one account or the other help to identify related material within each account.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Lazare*, 57.

⁴⁷ *Lazare*, 62.

⁴⁸ "In fact, the textual tradition is, in its essentials, unanimous; no intermediate versions of our text are known." *Lazare*, 58. For one suggestion of an exception, see the discussion of Boismard's use of Morton Smith's "Secret Gospel of Mark" below on pp. 522 ff.

⁴⁹ Burkett, *op. cit.*, 210.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, 215.

We have already suggested chiastic analysis as an alternative way of explaining these aporias, and this will be applied to these same examples below. Rhetorical analysis is another methodological strategy which will take account of the same phenomenon within the text of John 11, but will interpret them quite differently.

The coherence of the narrative strategy of John 11 can be seen in such seemingly incoherent appearances as (1) the textual gaps ... ; (2) the textually surplus features, such as the seemingly superfluous adverbial or adnomial qualifiers in 11:1-2, 11.18, or the details of the body and face wrappings in 11.44, to name only a few; and (3) the thematization and [uncertain] closure, and with it the intended allusion to other texts ... as clues for God's continuing action in, and disruption of history, and of representatives of God's own people habitually responding to God's agent ambiguously.⁵¹

Let us turn, then, to consideration of the structure of John 11.

Structure

Parameters of the Pericope

So far in this study, the terms "John 11" and "the account of the raising of Lazarus in the Fourth Gospel" have been treated as synonyms which clearly refer to the same specific textual entity. On closer analysis, this convenient generalization cannot be taken for granted.

Robin Jensen noted, "As a literary creation, the Lazarus story forms the longest continuous narrative in John's Gospel apart from the account of the Passion."⁵² Just where this continuous narrative begins and ends is not, however, self evident.

⁵¹ Wuellner, "Life," 124.

⁵² "Raising," 21.

As clearly defined rhetorical unit the Lazarus story contains within itself smaller rhetorical units (e.g., 11.5-16), but it is contained in turn within other rhetorical units preceding (what led to the forced hiding, and, as 11.37 signals the healing of the blind man in John 9) and rhetorical units following (as signaled by the narrator in 11.2, the anointing of Jesus for his own burial in John 12). This intertwining of rhetorical units is "building up a structure which embraces the whole (narrative)" (Kennedy 1984:34).⁵³

It must be remembered that our modern system of dividing the books of the bible into chapters and verses is a much later interpretive framework which was imposed on the biblical texts,⁵⁴ and almost all modern translations will offer alternative interpretive frameworks in their layout, punctuation, and divisions of the text.

Obviously, the parameters of a pericope will shape how the text is understood.⁵⁵ Nowhere is this clearer than in liturgical selections, and in some of the hybrid readings which later come to be the norm in the Byzantine tradition, the thematic principle which determined what would be left out is not too difficult to discern. Similarly in surveying the long list of Commentaries on the Fourth Gospel, it is not too difficult to reconstruct an author's main emphases simply by looking at the way the text is divided for analysis.

⁵³ Wuellner, "Life," 116.

⁵⁴ Ellis notes, "The division of our New Testament into chapters and verses was done by Stephen Langton in 1226 A.D." (*op. cit.*, Endnote 16 on p. 313.) There were earlier attempts to provide chapter divisions, and the differing systems in use for the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Jewish scriptures continue to cause confusion today.

⁵⁵ See, e.g., Marchadour, *Lazare*, 68-9.

The methodological sensitivities mentioned in our first chapter have led scholars to pay more attention to the task of discerning what the author's intended structure was, rather than using the text as a pretext for whatever ideological issues a commentator brings to the text. Recognition of an oral stage which preceded the process of forming written gospels has been common in biblical scholarship for over 100 years, but only recently has more attention been paid to some of the more subtle ways this "oral culture" has influenced the written artifacts of our texts.

In effect, among people of an oral tradition, these aural signals play the role which punctuation, titles, paragraphs, and lines play in a written culture; they are the indications of meaning which can only be preserved when they are confirmed by narrative and semantic analysis.⁵⁶

Few dispute the literary unity of 11.1-44, from the introduction of Lazarus and his illness to his emergence from the tomb. Increasingly, the "transitional passage" of 10.39-42 is being linked by scholars to the Lazarus narrative, without denying that these verses also conclude Jesus' escape from the Jews as the fulfillment of the episode in 10.22ff.

From the perspective of rhetorical analysis,

As a rhetorical unit, the Lazarus story has a certain beginning and uncertain ending. The beginning comes in two steps: one is the closure of the preceeding portion of John's narrative, ending in Jesus' forced hiding (10:39-42). A similar overlap of two episodes in John can be found in 11.54-57, which is both closure of the Lazarus episode and the overture to another episode at Bethany and the triumphal entry in John 12 (Tsuchido:610, n. 10).⁵⁷

Marchadour calls attention to the significance of considering these opening verses in

⁵⁶ Marchadour, *Lazare*, 70.

⁵⁷ Wuellner, "Life," 116.

understanding John's placement of the raising of Lazarus.

It has not been sufficiently recognized that the retreat to and return from "beyond the Jordan" is not simply a pause before a narrative development, a sort of "zero-time" for the story. In effect, it is in this place that one must place the meeting of Jesus and the messenger from the two sisters, it is here that Jesus mysteriously chooses to "remain" for two days (v. 6) and again it is here that the exchange between Jesus and the disciples takes place over the advisability of leaving for Bethany (v. 7-16).⁵⁸

Similarly, expanding the end of the passage beyond 11.44 simply picks up on several of the cues offered by the Evangelist.

The integration of the sequence of the condemnation of Jesus has as an effect that the apparent unimportance of Lazarus is no longer seen as a narrative anomaly. The resurrection of Lazarus remains an important episode, but it oriented towards something else. The current status of Lazarus is perhaps not the debasement of successive narrative developments: from the beginning Lazarus could only have been a transitional personality (*personnage en creux*), dead for most of the story, and textually dead from the moment of his resurrection. Within the larger story, thus delimited, the figure of Lazarus is completely coherent.⁵⁹

... John makes the Lazarus miracle the direct cause of the death of Jesus, for it provokes the decision of the Sanhedrin (11.46-53) which reaches a decision to kill Jesus. The theme of the Lazarus miracle is also found in Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem (12.9-11).⁶⁰

Insights from Chiastic Analysis

We have already been introduced to Peter Ellis' popularization of Gerhard's chiasmic analysis of the structure of John. Within this schema, the raising of Lazarus is included in Sequence 16, which runs from 10.40 to 12.11, parameters which are

⁵⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, 73.

⁶⁰ Brown, *John*, II:428.

suggested by an inclusion formed by the references to the two Bethanys and explicit reference to many believing in Jesus. I would suggest that there are good reasons for considering 12.12-19 as the closing inclusion of this sequence, but before making that argument it will be useful to present some of the other implications of the chiasmic structure of the Fourth Gospel as presented in Ellis.

Chiastic parallels of Sequence 16 with Sequence 12

As presented in Table 8 above, the 21 sequences of the Fourth Gospel are arranged into five "parts." Part IV runs from 6.22 - 12.11, where the introductory sequence 12 (6.22-71) forms a grand inclusion with the concluding sequence 16 (10.40-12.11). According to this analysis, there should thus be significant parallels between the discussion about the bread of Life in John 6 and the raising of Lazarus in Jn 11. Ellis presents these parallels as follows:⁶¹

A. Repetition of themes

- 1) eternal life and raising upon the last day
6.27, 39, 40, 44, 47, 51, 54, 58;
11.25-6, 43-4
- 2) many coming to Jesus
but not believing: 6.22-71 *passim*
and believing: 10.40; 12.11
- 3) the passion of Jesus
implicit in Eucharistic symbolism 6.44-58, 64, 71
explicit in 11.45-57; 12.7-8
- 4) Judas
6.64, 70-71
12.4-6

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, 191-2. The organization of the argument is mine, although I have attempted to be faithful to Ellis' presentation.

B. Echos, parallels

1) Time

6.4 "The Passover was at hand;" 6.22 "the next day."

11.55 "The Passover of the Jews was at hand"

2) Signs motif

6.26 "... you seek me, not because you saw signs;"

6.30 "What sign do you do?"

10.41 "John did no sign..."

11.45 "Many of the Jews who ... had seen what Jesus did put their faith in him."

11.47 "This man is performing many signs."

3) Numeral one *εἷς* used to single out an individual

6.70 "... one of you is a devil?"

11.49 "One of them, Caiaphas, who was high priest that year ..."

4) Jews come looking for Jesus

6.24

11.56

5) The many who believe (or don't!)

6.66

10.41

contrasted with few who take the opposite position

6.22-71 many refuse to believe

but the twelve remain

many believe in Jesus in Bethany beyond the Jordan (10.40-42)

and in Jerusalem (11.45.48; 12.10-11)

only leaders do not (11.46-54)

6) Allusions to destiny of Jesus as sacrificial victim

11.50-51 Caiaphas

6.59-71 two references to Judas as Jesus' betrayer (6.64, 70-71)

6.62 "Son of man ascending"

6.69 "God's holy one"

7) 11.61, Thomas says, "Let us also go, that we may die with him."

6.68-69 Peter says, "Lord, to whom shall we go?"

Chiastic Parallels with Sequence 6 (4.4-38, the Samaritan woman)⁶²

1) Jesus arrives from afar

4.4ff from Galilee

10.40ff from Bethany beyond Jordan

⁶² Cf. Ellis, *op. cit.*, 192-3.

- 2) Jesus is placed outside of town
4.8, 30
11.30
- 3) Women are the central characters, who speak of Jesus as the Christ
4.25, 29
11.27
- 4) Reference to temple in Jerusalem
4.20 "You say that in Jerusalem is the place (ὁ τόπος) where people should worship."
11.48 Pharisees fear Romans will destroy "our holy place" τὸν τόπον ἡμῶν ἅγιον
- 5) Disciples are concerned about Jesus
4.31 that he should eat
11.8 for his safety in Judea
- 6) "People associated with the women come out to meet Jesus and believe in him."
- 7) Strong emphasis on eternal life
4.9-15, especially 14
11.25
- 8) Concern for "children of God who are scattered abroad" 11.51-2
concern for Samaritans, not part of Israel in ch.4.

Chiastic Structure of Sequence 16 (10.40-12.11)

Ellis proposes a chiastic structure within sequence 16, dividing the text into five elements.

- a: 10.40-42
- b: 11.1-44
- c) 11.45-57
- b': 12.1-8
- a': 12.9-11

As Table 9 below shows, these units are widely recognized in the commentaries of other authors, although there is some variety in how they list the "transitional verses" which are so common in the Fourth Gospel. The parallels which Ellis sees between a and a' are those which were already mentioned as forming the inclusion which defines the

sequence. An alternative is presented below.

The proposed parallels between the raising of Lazarus in b and the anointing at Bethany in b' were the primary reasons this chiastic analysis was examined more closely, since in the elucidation of the elements associated with Lazarus Saturday which was undertaken in Part Two of this study, both elements are prominent, even if the relationship between them is not always clear. Ellis suggests,

In (b) and (b'), he parallels the same people - Jesus, Lazarus, Martha, and Mary - and makes a cross reference in 11.1 to the account of the anointing in 12.3. Also both deal with burial: the burial of Lazarus in (b), the burial of Jesus in (b'), where Jesus says, "Let her keep it for the day of my burial"(12.7).⁶³

Evaluation of Chiastic Analysis

Examination of the details of this chiastic analysis discloses that much of it is based on weak argumentation. The parallels listed by Ellis are often at such a level of abstraction that parallels could be postulated with almost any passage of the Fourth Gospel.⁶⁴ Focusing on them ignores some rather obvious cues which clearly are in the text.⁶⁵ Acceptance of a structure based on these often nebulous parallels obscures some

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, 179.

⁶⁴ For example, the allusions to eternal life, or coming and going, or faith, or signs, all of which are found throughout the Fourth Gospel. Categories such as "mysterious allusions to the destiny of Jesus as sacrificial victim" or "the passion of Jesus implicit in the symbolism of the Eucharist" owe much more to the theological presuppositions of the commentator than of the Fourth Gospel.

⁶⁵ To give just one example, in 6.60 it is "many of his disciples" who say "This is more than we can stomach." (6.66) "From that time on, many of his disciples withdrew and no longer went about with him" This group is contrasted with Peter as spokesperson for the Twelve, "We have faith. . ." (6.69).

of the more solidly established parallels which other scholars have detected in the text.

We may notice one final effect that the present sequence of the gospel has produced. In 11.37 the Jews associate the healing of the blind man (ch.9) with the Lazarus story, and we suspect that the writer intended such an association. There are some interesting parallels in format between the two stories. In ch. 9 the healing of the blind man was a dramatization of the theme of Jesus as the light: the raising of Lazarus in 11 is a dramatization of the theme of Jesus as the life (11.25). The two themes of light and life were mingled in the prologue in describing the relationship of the Word to men (1.4). Just as the Word gave life and light to men in creation, so Jesus the incarnate Word gives light and life to men in his ministry as signs of the eternal life that he gives through enlightenment gained from his teaching (and from Baptism).⁶⁶

Wuellner's analysis of the passage with the tools of rhetorical criticism provides several observations which seem much closer to the biblical text.

Jesus provides a coherence of his own by continuing the pattern of hiding followed by choices of public disclosure three more times following John 11: (1) The disclosure at the Bethany anointing (for burial!), the triumphal entry into Jerusalem and subsequent public teaching (12.1-36) followed by another departure into hiding (12.36b). (2) The in-door activities, beginning with the footwashing, Judas' betrayal which would force his hand, and the farewell discourse about "going [to a place] where you cannot come" (first announced in 7.34, then 13.33), followed by the voluntary arrest (18.6-8). (3) The semi-incognito appearances prior to his ascent to the Father (as presumed gardener [20.11-18]; as bread and fish-serving host on the beach in Galilee [21.1-14]) and subsequent hiddenness "till I come."⁶⁷

Once again three elements which were associated with the celebration of Lazarus

Saturday emerge from a totally different analysis of the Fourth Gospel.

There seem to be several good reasons for including 12.12-19 within the same structural element of the Fourth Gospel as the raising of Lazarus. In 12.16-19

⁶⁶ Brown, *John*, II:430.

⁶⁷ Wuellner, "Life," 124.

Ellis had noted the parallels between 6.4 "The passover was at hand;" 6.22 "the next day," and 11.55 "The passover of the Jews was at hand." Note however that the anointing at Bethany takes place "Six days before the Passover" (12.1) while the triumphal entry described in 12.12ff. takes place "The next day." Furthermore Jn 12.16-19 explicitly ties the events of the triumphal entry to what had been described earlier in making explicit a) the disciples lack of understanding of the meaning of these events as they happened; b) "the crowd" as a way of connecting the raising of Lazarus with the triumphal entry; and c) the Pharisees concern over Jesus' popularity.

Structure of the Account of the Raising of Lazarus

Obviously decisions made about what should be considered as a literary unit directly influence speculations about the literary structure of the text. Similarly methodological presuppositions shape decisions made, a factor explicitly discussed by Marchadour, Wuellner, and Ellis in introducing their own divisions of the Johannine account. Schnackenburg's observation explains both the commonalities and the differences we find among the organizations schemes proposed by these authors.

The structure of the chapter in its current form is clear and logical. It is a coherent narrative, though smaller units and individual scenes are recognizable within it. This is in keeping with the evangelist's literary method (cf. Chapters 4, 7, 9). The boundaries between individual units are, however, uncertain, because they are closely connected by linking verses (cf. 5-6, 17ff, 28, 33, 46). With this reservation, we propose the following division.

1. The setting for the raising from the dead: the news of the illness of Lazarus of Bethany (1-5);
2. The journey to Judea and Bethany; Jesus' conversation with his disciples (6-16);
3. In Bethany. Jesus' conversation with Martha (17-27);
4. Jesus' meeting with Mary (28-32);

5. The visit to the tomb and the opening of the tomb (33-41a);
6. The raising of the dead Lazarus (41b-44);
7. The Council's decision to have Jesus killed and Jesus' return to Ephraim (45-54)⁶⁸

Table 9 compares the structural divisions proposed by 5 of the authors we have been using in this chapter. The linking verses identified by Schnackenburg explain some, but not all, of the differences among them.

Table 9: Structural divisions proposed for the Account of the Raising of Lazarus

Brown	Schnackenburg 10.39-42	Marchadour 10.40-42	Wuellner	Ellis
11.1-44				
1-6	1-5	1-6	1-6	11.1-44
7-16	6-16	7-16	7-16	1-19
17-19				
20-27	17-27	17-27	17-27	20-22
				23-27
28-33	28-32	28-38	28-37	28-32
33-40	33-41a	33-44	38-44	33-44
41-44	41b-44			
45-54	45-54	45	45-53	45-57
55-57			54-57	
12.1-8				12.1-8
9-19				12.9-11
20-36				

Ellis also proposes a Chiastic structure of 11.1-44:

aa: 1-19
 bb: 20-22
 cc: 23-27
 b'b': 28-32
 a'a': 33-44

⁶⁸ Schnackenburg, II:317.

For the purposes of our analysis here, which is simply to call attention to elements of the Gospel account which may be related to elements in the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus in the Byzantine tradition, the differences over exactly where to divide the main scenes of John 11 need not detain us, for all agree on the flow of the story.

Similarly, the prodigious efforts which scholars have devoted to discerning and then analyzing various stages in the formation of the Lazarus story need not occupy us in this study, for there is no indication that such hypothetical stages influenced the subsequent reception of the account of John 11. We will, however, utilize observations of authors using a source-critical method if they draw attention to elements of the biblical narrative which are also significant in the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus.

Characters

Preoccupation with the characters of the biblical narrative is one of the areas where a traditional, "theological" reading of John 11 and contemporary approaches rooted in literary criticism share a common focus, even when the methods used to study the characters are dramatically different. Jensen observed that, "The characters also have distinct personalities and reveal themselves in dialogue."⁶⁹ Marchadour's framework of looking first at the anonymous groups of the narrative before considering those who are named will be followed here.

Anonymous Groups

⁶⁹ "Raising," 21.

Many - οἱ πολλοί

The term for many - πολλοί - used by itself is not found at all in the core account of John 11.1-44, although within this passage an otherwise unspecified group of Jews fulfills the same function (see below for discussion of the phrases "many of the Jews" 11.19; "the Jews who were with her" 11.31, 33; "the Jews" 11.36; and "some of them" 11.37).

The account of the reaction to the miracle begins at 11.45 with reference to "many of the Jews," "some of them" report to the Pharisees, who are concerned that "all πάντες will believe in him." The concern seems justified, for "many people" arrive Jerusalem for the Passover and look for Jesus according to 11.55-6; after the anointing in Bethany "a great crowd ὄχλος πολὺς of the Jews" was seeking Jesus and Lazarus, which leads the chief priests to plan to murder Lazarus also, "since it was on account of him that many πολλοὶ of the Jews were going away and believing in Jesus." (12.11) "The great crowd" ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς provides Jesus with his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, while 12.17-18 explains that this "crowd" went to greet him because of the testimony of "the crowd that had been with him when he called Lazarus out of the tomb." The anxiety of the Pharisees increases because of their perception, "Look, the world ὁ κόσμος has gone after him" (12.19).

Similarly in 10.41-2, the transitional introduction to the raising of Lazarus, "many" come to Jesus across the Jordan, where John had been baptizing, and "many believed in him there."

In 11.42, Jesus glosses his prayer to the Father with the comment, "I have said this

for the sake of the crowd διὰ τὸν ὄχλον standing here..."; similarly "The crowd standing by" hears the response to Jesus' prayer in 12.29; some of them interpret it as thunder, others as an angel speaking to Jesus. "The crowd" answers and questions Jesus' claim to be lifted up in 12.34. "Nevertheless, many, even among the rulers, believed in him. But because of the Pharisees, they did not confess it, for fear they would be put out of the synagogue. (12.42)

Given the prominence of this crowd of participant observers in the Johannine narrative, it is striking that there is nothing comparable in the Byzantine hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. This is because that role has been taken over by the hymnographer/worshiper, and it is precisely this "participant/observer" role which should underlie an authentic understanding of the descriptions of "the Jews" during those services.

The Disciples

The anonymous group of disciples plays a rather visible role, at least in verses 7-16 of the Lazarus narrative, yet for all practical purposes they disappear from the latter scenes of the account.

The whole section vv. 7-16 looks suspiciously like an addition by the evangelist {to a hypothetical source account} since the disciples of Jesus appear only here in the story and play no further part at all.⁷⁰

Wuellner observed concerning vv. 28-37 & 38-44, "The disciples are a conspicuous non-

⁷⁰ Schnackenburg, II:319.

entity in this and the following scene."⁷¹ They will not explicitly re-appear in the text until 12.16, where the narrator briefly reminds us that "At the time his disciples did not understand this, but after Jesus had been glorified they remembered that this had been written about him, and that this had happened to him." The disciples as a group do not then re-emerge until Chapter 13, for the account of the washing of the feet and the subsequent "last discourse." (Philip and Andrew have a brief and essentially passive role in 12.21-22.) In these chapters it is individual followers who are singled out to represent the range of responses to Jesus' startling actions and words: Simon Peter (13.6-9, 24, 36-38), Judas (13.26-30), and the other Judas (14.22). The disciples as a group are mentioned only at 15.29ff., until they again become "participant observers" in 18.1ff, although at 13.33 Jesus addresses them as "My children..." .

Such a role for the disciples is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel.

The disciples often have a secondary role in the Fourth Gospel; the author uses them to introduce his own thoughts or to advance the progress of a discourse. This is the case in chapters four and nine, where the disciples appear only when he has need of them, and this is the case also in chapter 11, in verses 11b-15. These verses are a catechesis on the problem of death. They are the translation into Johannine terminology of the remark of Jesus before the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus, "She is not dead, she sleeps" (Mk 5.39).⁷²

Rochais identified the play on the words sleep and death as one of the unique characteristics of the New Testament accounts of resurrection, and he devotes a lot of

⁷¹ Wuellner, "Life," 119.

⁷² Rochais, *Les récits*, 121.

attention to this theme.⁷³ Schnackenburg's commentary unpacks how the disciples function in this development.

Jesus tells the disciples that his friend and theirs ..., Lazarus, has fallen asleep. This is the same supernatural knowledge which characterizes the Johannine Jesus from the beginning (1.47-48; 2.24-25, etc.) and also makes him aware of his own fate (6.64; 12.33; 13.3, 18, 26 etc.) The saying, however, is worded ambiguously and leads to a misunderstanding on the part of the disciples... The view of the disciples' behaviour, their attempt to keep him from going to Jerusalem (v. 8) and their incomprehension, is essentially the same as that of the synoptics, particularly Mark, but it is translated into John's attitude and language... .

The disciples take Jesus' saying to refer to natural sleep. In the situation this is understandable, but nevertheless disappointing. The deeper meaning of Jesus' announcement that he was going to 'awake him out of sleep' has inevitably passed them by, but they themselves are stupefied by idle thoughts and reply naively, 'Then he will recover'.⁷⁴

The Jews

The distinctive portrayal of the Jews within John has caught the attention of many commentators.

It is immediately noticeable that "the Jews" are spoken of very frequently (71 times in John), with a special shade of meaning, but that often no distinction is made between the various groups in Judaism in the time of Jesus, particularly with regard to the leading circles, whom in fact the evangelist prefers to speak of simply as "the Jews". In the synoptic Gospels the expression οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is used much less often as a collective term (5 times in Matthew, 6 times in Mark, 5 times in Luke). They mention instead all the more frequently the Pharisees (Matthew 29 times, Mark 12 times, Luke 27 times, John 19 times), doctors of the law or scribes (Matthew 22 times, Mark 21 times, Luke 14 times, John never), Sadducees (Matthew 7 times, Mark once, Luke once, John never), "ancients" {elders} (the lay nobility in the Sanhedrin - Matthew 11 times, Mark 5 times, Luke 4 times, John never) and then the Herodians (Matthew once, Mark twice, Luke and John never). John does indeed also use the term οἱ ἄρχοντες for the

⁷³ Rochais, *Les récits*, 192-199.

⁷⁴ Schnackenburg, II:326.

members of the Sanhedrin (7.26, 48; 12.42; 3.1 in the singular). But the generalizing description of the leaders as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is remarkable, as is the relatively frequent mention of the Pharisees. The reason can hardly be lack of "historical" knowledge of the situation. But another suspicion springs to the mind: that the evangelist is guided by a certain judgement he has formed on Judaism. Historically speaking, the leaders are made responsible for the unbelief of the Jewish people and Jesus's failure among them (cf. 11.47-53); but at the same time this circle is to appear, theologically, as the representatives of the unbelief and hatred of the "world" hostile to God (cf. 15.18ff.). They continue to live as contemporaries of the evangelist in the unbelieving Judaism of his day which persecutes the disciples of Christ (cf. 16.1-4) and which is led by the rabbinate of the Pharisees...

... In all this, there must have been a polemical intention against the Pharisee rabbinate of the time of the evangelist. Judaism, especially in the towns of the diaspora possessing large Jewish colonies, had soon grown strong again and was a threat to the Christian communities (cf. also Rev 2.9; 3.9 "synagogue of Satan"). Thus the presence of an anti-Jewish tendency in John, occasioned by the contemporary situation, can hardly be doubted.⁷⁵

Turning specifically to John 11, we find that "The Jews are mentioned in verses 8, 9, 31, 33, 36, 37, 45, 46. They are mentioned again in 12.9, 11."⁷⁶

'The Jews' are important to {the evangelist} as the judging public (vv.36-7), witnesses of the happening who carry the news (v.45) and lastly as representatives of the popular religion (cf. 12.9, 17).⁷⁷

The use of the term in our target texts, however, seems to differ from that in the rest of the Fourth Gospel.

Yet in the use of the term "the Jews," these chapters {11 & 12} differ noticeably from what we have seen in chapters 1-10. In 11.19, 31, 33, 36, 45, 12.9, 11 the Jews are not the hostile Jewish authorities but the ordinary people of Judea and

⁷⁵ Schnackenburg, I:165-167. See also Appendix V, "Jewish Groups and Authorities mentioned in the Passion," in Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, II:1419ff.

⁷⁶ Rochais, *Les récits*, 115.

⁷⁷ Schnackenburg, II:329.

Samaria who are often sympathetic to Jesus and even believe in him.⁷⁸

This observation is one of the criteria source-critics use when attempting to reconstruct hypothetical sources which might underlie the gospel story.

The word "Jews" in v. 8 does not have the same meaning as in the rest of the story, inasmuch as here it refers to the Jewish authorities hostile to Jesus, whereas in the rest of the story the word "Jews" designates the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the crowd.⁷⁹

After a more detailed examination of the particulars of each occurrence of the word "Jews" in Jn 11, Rochais concluded,

The mention of the Jews is not essential to the story. It serves primarily to make a connection among the stories. Several indications demonstrate that they were inserted into a story already composed when the author tied the account of the resurrection of Lazarus to that of the plot of the Jewish authorities against Jesus (Jn 11.47-53), and these two stories become the prelude to the account of the passion of Jesus.⁸⁰

Named Actors

Thomas

The anonymous group of disciples mentioned above is personified only once in the account of the raising of Lazarus, and that is in the person of Thomas.

Schnackenburg observed concerning Jn 11.16:

The disciples' reaction to these words now brings Thomas into the discussion. He is one of the disciples singled out by name in the Johannine circle,

⁷⁸ Brown, *John*, II:427-8.

⁷⁹ Rochais, *Les récits*, 114.

⁸⁰ Rochais, *Les récits*, 117-18.

and is mentioned for the first time in this passage... .

Elsewhere in the New Testament Thomas is mentioned only in the lists of apostles, in Acts 1.13, and in Jn 14.5-8 in association with Philip... . In the other Johannine passages he is distinguished by slowness of understanding (14.5) and reluctance to believe in Jesus' resurrection (20.24-25), but in the end makes a full model profession of faith in Jesus (20.28). The same contrast occurs in his remark to his fellow disciples.⁸¹

The character portrait of "doubting Thomas" receives a great deal of attention in the Byzantine hymnographic compositions based on the theme gospel of the first Sunday after Pascha, but the hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday have chosen not to take any account of his role in the raising of Lazarus. In Wuellner's rhetorical analysis, however, rhetorical power of the passage comes precisely from the juxtaposition of the death of Lazarus, the death of Jesus, and the death of the disciples, and it is this brief comment attributed to Thomas which injects this final motif into the narrative and provokes the reader to apply the lessons of the story to our own experiences of the tragedy of death.

The Family of Bethany

Feminist scholars have been in the forefront of those who call attention to the significance of who is, or is not, named in a particular narrative account, and since Martha and Mary are among the few named women who emerge in more than one text of the canonical gospels, they have received a fair amount of attention. What many commentators notice, but few agree on explaining, is that the family members are often introduced in relationship to each other, or to the town of Bethany (discussed below).

⁸¹ Schnackenburg, II:327-8.

The fact that this particular configuration of names is found only one other time in the canonical scriptures also invites comparison of the Johannine and Lukan portrayals of this family.

Taking the Martha and Mary incidents as they now appear in the Gospel, we find that the two women are true to the portrait painted of them in Luke 10:38-42. There, Martha is busy serving, while Mary sits at the Lord's feet listening to his words. In John, Martha rushes out to meet Jesus, while Mary *sits* quietly at home. But when Mary hears that the Teacher has come, she hastens out and falls *at his feet*. Obviously there is some cross-influence between the Lukan and Johannine portraits of the two women, but the direction of the influence is not easy to trace.⁸²

In the context of explicating some of the points of contact between the Third and Fourth Gospels, Schnackenburg deals with the common portraits of the family of Bethany in two events.

c) The anointing. In the anointing done by the unnamed sinner (Lk 7.36-50) there are two features which also stand out in the Johannine story of the anointing of Jesus in Bethany by Mary, the sister of Lazarus and Martha. The sinner wets Jesus' feet with her tears and dries them with her hair, and then anoints them (Lk 7.38); in Jn 12.3, Mary likewise anoints Jesus's feet (in Matthew and Mark the head), and dries them with her hair.

d) The sisters of Bethany. At the anointing in John, we hear of the sisters Martha and Mary, the former of whom "served" (12.2), while the latter poured out the precious oil (12.3), which reminds us of the specifically Lukan episode (Lk 10.38-42). It is remarkable that the two women are named only by these two evangelists. Then there is the account in John of the raising of their brother Lazarus from the dead (ch. 11), and the name occurs only here and in the parable in Lk 16.19-31. Critical research has sometimes sought in the final sentence, Lk 16.30f., the "basis" of the "symbolic" narrative of Jn 11 - a very dubious hypothesis. But there could be some connection.¹³

¹³ Two recent works reject a purely symbolic explanation and hold that there is a good traditional basis: W. Wilkens, "Die Erweckung des Lazarus"; R. Dunkerly, "Lazarus", who sees the relationship between Jn 11 and Lk 16

⁸² Brown, *John*, II:433.

inversed: "But the parable might have been told and written with the knowledge of an actual incident in mind, before any report of it had been written down. (p. 322)⁸³

Lazarus

The enigmatic figure of Lazarus emerges suddenly and unexpectedly in 11.1:

"Now a certain man was ill, Lazarus of Bethany, the village of Mary and her sister Martha." Rochais believes that, "It is probable, because of the expression "the dead one" in verses 39 and 44, that in the earliest account of the miracle the dead one was anonymous."⁸⁴

Almost all commentators will take note of the etymological origins of the name in the Hebrew/Aramaic terms meaning "the one God helps," and some would see in that meaning evidence for that the name is simply a symbolic fictional creation. Others however, think the evidence supports the existence of a real historical person underlying the gospel accounts.

The common name 'Lazarus', 'whom God helps', is not a fictitious creation for a man who was given God's help in an extraordinary way, since the fixed combination 'Lazarus of Bethany' characterizes him in a similar way to 'Jesus of Nazareth' (1.45) or 'Nathaniel from Cana in Galilee' (21.2) as a historical figure - an important observation for the comparison with Lk 16.20.⁸⁵

We have already had occasion to call attention to the special relationship which Jesus seems to have with the family of Lazarus, a theme which the Synaxarion notice for

⁸³ Schnackenburg, I:31.

⁸⁴ Rochais, *Les récits*, 125.

⁸⁵ Schnackenburg, II:319.

Lazarus Saturday chose to expand upon.

Jesus' connection with Lazarus is expressed by the verb φιλεῖν; Hebrew has no adequate noun for 'friend', as the evangelist later makes Jesus describe Lazarus (v. 11). This is not, however, a criterion for the source, since the evangelist also uses the same verb to describe 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (20.2). It is, however, mistaken to treat this as a reason for identifying Lazarus with that disciple.⁸⁶

Martha

Source-criticism makes much of the observation that the parallel encounters of Martha (Jn 11.20-27) and Mary (28-33) with Jesus utilize exactly the same structure, and often the same language, without taking account of each other. They also make much of the fact that Martha is mentioned first in Jn 11.19 with the phrase "the city of Martha and Mary," while in 11.1 Bethany was identified as "the village of Mary and her sister Martha." Most commentators deduce the evangelist is clumsily trying to integrate what were initially separate traditions concerning the sisters from Bethany. While Ellis' chiastic structure of the passage may be too artificial to bear a great deal of weight, the general approach that the evangelist knew what he was doing and had a reason for presenting these parallels strikes me as holding more promise for future exegetical studies.

Rochais made a connection between the role of Martha and that which we examined above for the disciples.

It is thanks to the person of Martha that the Evangelist expresses his theological thought. To her has fallen the role which is held by the disciples in the discourses

⁸⁶ Schnackenburg, II:32.

on revelation in the {Fourth} Gospel.⁸⁷

The later christian tradition would make much of the polarity of Martha and Mary, although the exact traits which each were taken to represent varied over time. This in itself is evidence that these characterizations tell us more about the societies which produced them than about the texts of the gospel on which they were presumably based.

Mary

Several commentators detect a priority for Mary in the details of Jn 11 (11.1, 2, 45), as well as the fact that she is the main actor in the account of the anointing at Bethany in Jn 12.1-8. Some even hypothesize that her connection with Bethany was a major factor which shaped the evangelist's creation of the Lazarus miracle as a refinement of the generalized miracle sources of the pre-gospel traditions. Again, such scholarly speculations need not concern us in this study, for they add nothing to our knowledge about Mary, nor did they influence how she was perceived in the Byzantine tradition. As we have already noted, however her association with the anointing at Bethany is a critical factor in the later tradition, an association made so explicitly in 11.2 that one must assume the evangelist did so intentionally.

Jesus

The figure of Jesus will certainly be at the center of any text in the Christian Gospels, and there is no doubt that he is at the center of the action in John 11. One of the

⁸⁷ Rochais, *Les récits*, 118.

critical questions which biblical scholars have returned to again and again is to what extent the figure of the historical Jesus of Nazareth can be excavated from the faith portraits which are given to us by the gospel writers. While this is a critical apologetic concern of believers today, and it would probably be appropriate for it to be addressed in some contemporary equivalent to the Synaxarion notices which are found in the Triodion, it is not an issue which directly concerns our current investigations. We will, however, make explicit some of the Christological affirmations made and implied in the text, since that is an aspect of the biblical story which does figure prominently in the Byzantine hymns for Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

Themes and Semantic Fields

Another area where contemporary scripture scholarship and the traditional readings of John 11 reflected in Byzantine Hymnography share a common interest is in the concern for the themes of a text.

Theologically, the Lazarus story contains several themes - faltering faith contrasted to steadfast trust, conversion versus betrayal of the wonder-working divine, shattering grief followed by triumphant joy and, finally, life's victory over the grave.⁸³

In addressing some of these themes, our selection will be guided by those which surfaced in Part Two of our study as being developed in the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus in the Byzantine tradition. In the sections which follow, some attention will be paid to the Christological and Soteriological dimensions of the text, as

⁸³ Jensen, "Raising," 21.

well as the clear connection to faith which is explicit in John 11 and its surrounding episodes. This is also the basis for our examination of the theme of the raising of Lazarus as a prelude to the passion. Finally some of the details of death and the geographic marker of Bethany will be examined in more detail.

Christology

We have seen that the hymnography of the Byzantine Churches makes much of the Christological and Soteriological implications of the raising of Lazarus.

Schnackenburg suggests that in doing so they were simply developing themes already present in the biblical story.

The bitter confrontation with Jewish unbelief is followed by another act of self-revelation from Jesus, in a sign which forms the climax of all Jesus' signs, the raising of Lazarus. A word of revelation in the centre of the chapter gives it its literal interpretation (vv. 25-26). Its Christological (v.4) and soteriological (v. 40) significance are also briefly mentioned in the introduction and at the climax of the narrative. Together with the healing of the man born blind, the raising of Lazarus expresses the central christological idea of the fourth gospel, that Jesus is the light and life of the world. (cf. 1.4).⁸⁹

One of the ways the Byzantine hymnographers unpack their Christology is in verses which question why Jesus had to ask where Lazarus was buried. Schnackenburg emphasizes the difference between this perspective in the Fourth Gospel and seemingly similar stories that circulated in the Greco-Roman culture of the Mediterranean.

Jesus now tells the disciples plainly that Lazarus is dead. He does not do this to demonstrate his divine knowledge; when we look closely, we find that, unlike the 'divine men' of Hellenism, he never does this... . The disciples are not swept off their feet in admiration of their master, but at most brought to a

⁸⁹ Schnackenburg, II:316.

recognition that he has been sent by God (cf. 16.30).⁹⁰

Another feature developed in the hymns is the paradox of Jesus' weeping and power.

Caution is advised lest later Christological precisions be read back into the Johannine text.

These verses, which in the framework of the narrative prepare the way for the raising of Lazarus, contain a number of remarkable features, principally Jesus' apparently contradictory emotions. A psychologizing explanation is inappropriate, here as throughout the gospel, but equally a dogmatic Christological discussion of the divinity and humanity of Jesus (the latter supposedly appearing here in his 'weeping') would be misleading.⁹¹

Soteriology

A general characteristic of the Fourth Gospel that sets it apart from the Synoptics is the perspective that the salvation accomplished in Christ is consistently presented as being already operative for those who believe in Him. C.H. Dodd called this perspective a "realized eschatology," and it has been noted by almost every modern commentator on John.

The issue is dramatized in the account of the raising of Lazarus in John 11.

Commenting on verses 11.23-24, Schnackenburg notes,

{The Evangelist} wants to make a pointed contrast between Jewish expectations for the future and the presence of salvation here and now of which Christians are assured in their Lord. Does he also want to demolish polemically the whole eschatology of dramatic events to come which primitive Christianity had held

⁹⁰ Schnackenburg, II:327.

⁹¹ Schnackenburg, II:334-5.

before him, in favor of the *praesentia salutis*?⁹²

Within Schnackenburg's commentary that question eventually does receive a nuanced affirmative answer in Excursus 14, but the issue is in some ways already decided in the unfolding of John 11 itself.

If any doubt remained that John was here taking concepts from future eschatology and giving them a present sense, and doing so quite deliberately, it is removed by 11.23-25. Here the Jewish expectation of the 'resurrection at the last day' is introduced through Martha, and given a Johannine reinterpretation through Jesus. In the *ego eimi* saying Jesus describes himself as the "resurrection and the life," and the following couplet indicates with admirable clarity that here and now, in the presence of Jesus, "resurrection" is taking place, in the same sense in which it is described in 5.25: in this hour "the dead" are hearing the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear (in faith) come to life, take the step into God's realm of life (5.25), no longer dies in all eternity (11.26). The previous understanding of "resurrection" is confronted with a new one.⁹³

Although no direct connection is being suggested, this realized eschatology of the Fourth Gospel spawned many movements in the Christian tradition. As we shall see below, some of them were articulated with the imagery of the Destruction of Hades, imagery which eventually is associated with Lazarus Saturday.

Faith

The theme of faith is another one which emerged from our examination of the hymns of Lazarus Saturday, and it is one which commentators consistently note as a prominent theme of the Johannine tradition. Without belaboring the point, it should be noted how central the theme of faith is to the unfolding dynamic of John 11.

⁹² II:330.

⁹³ Schnackenburg, II:428.

Schnackenburg notes how the presentation of the theme of faith in this chapter echos earlier presentations in the Fourth Gospel, specifically chapter 6, which the chiastic analysis of Ellis suggested should be understood as one of the mirrors of our target text.

The theme 'that the disciples may believe', that is, receive a new and stronger stimulus for their faith, recalls 6.5-6, where Jesus questions Philip before the great feeding to 'test' him. Strengthening the faith of the disciples is a constant concern of his, and all the more urgent as the passion approaches.⁹⁴

In stressing the role of the raising of Lazarus in strengthening the faith of Jesus' followers, the hymns of the Byzantine Churches are expanding on a motif deeply present in the biblical account itself.

Prelude to the Resurrection

Another theme of the Byzantine hymns is a direct reflection of the biblical text, i.e., the idea that the raising of Lazarus is a prelude to the Resurrection of Christ and of all believers. The point has already been made in commenting on the role of John 11 in the overall structure of John, but it is also present in the unfolding dynamics of the narrative itself.

The story of Lazarus foreshadows the Easter narrative in small details as well as in broad outline - in both we have the stone rolling away from the door of the tomb, the cast-off linen wrappings, and the weeping women. The chief priest Caiphas prophesied that Jesus would die "for the nation"- that is to avoid the nation's destruction by the Romans, but Caiphas's prophecy went further: "Jesus was about to die, he prophesied, "for the nation and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the dispersed children of God" (John 11.49-52). Caiphas's prophecy almost serves to announce the coming events of Jesus' crucifixion and

⁹⁴ Schnackenburg, II:327.

resurrection.⁹⁵

Schnackenburg gives poetic expression to this aspect of the text, one that is also emphasized in the rhetorical analysis of Wuellner presented later in this chapter.

But over the road to death the raising of Lazarus shines like a promise; death is not the end. Thus through the raising of the dead man, the disciples are exhorted to faith in Jesus and prepared for the hour of his death.⁹⁶

Details of Death

In translating the hymns for Lazarus Saturday, the expressions which I have rendered as "the stench of death" and "the shroud of death" appear repeatedly. Both terms are taken from John 11, where it turns out they are quite unusual. "ὁ ζέω is a hapax in the New Testament, found elsewhere in the Bible only in Ex 7.18."⁹⁷

The order of Jesus which revives Lazarus, the mention of the bindings which wrap his feet and hands, and the order to untie him are particular traits of this {Johannine} story which require explanation.⁹⁸

Commenting on the text of Jn 11.44, Brown observes:

linen strips. This is a rare greek word, used for bedcovering in Pr 7.16; presumably we are to think of some type of bandage. The skeptical question of how Lazarus got out of the tomb if his hands and feet were bound is really rather silly in an account which obviously presupposes the supernatural. There may be a theological reason for mentioning the burial garments. In 20.6-7 we are told that Jesus' burial garments remained in the tomb, perhaps with the connotation that he would have no more use for them since he was never to die again. Therefore some scholars suggest that it is because Lazarus will die again that he comes forth

⁹⁵ Jensen, "Raising," 22.

⁹⁶ Schnackenburg, II:324.

⁹⁷ Rochais, *Les récits*, 120.

⁹⁸ Rochais, *Les récits*, 17.

with his burial garments. There is no other evidence, however, that the future fate of the risen Lazarus comes into the evangelist's perspective.

his face wrapped in a cloth. In Jesus' burial, too, there is mention of a separate covering for the head.⁹⁹

Rhetorical analysis finds special significance in these details.

The plausibility of divine glory being generated by death is as paradoxical at the outset (v.4) as it remains till the end when Lazarus, with the two funerary signs and symbols of death (v. 44: body bound in linen wrappings; face covered with face-cloth), moves about and waits to be freed from them (20:6-7). The *reality* of Lazarus' new life remains, narratively and thus argumentatively, for the reader accessible only in the *appearance* of symbols of death.¹⁰⁰

The Four Days

Another of the more common terms of Byzantine hymnography, in fact the single most persistent descriptor used of Lazarus, is also taken directly from the biblical text.

"Τεταρταῖος is a hapax; the construction of an ordinal number with εἶναι replaces the construction with ἔχειν and the cardinal number in verse 17."¹⁰¹

Commentators have felt obliged to explain this unusual specification for centuries. Many see in it an explicit contrast to the three days associated with Jesus resurrection from the dead, while almost all modern commentaries will take account of popular Jewish beliefs which have come down to us in sources of a later era which may well be drawing on traditions from the time of Christ. Thus in expanding on the text of Jn 11.17,

Schnackenburg notes:

⁹⁹ Brown, *John*, II:427.

¹⁰⁰ Wuellner, "Life," 117.

¹⁰¹ Rochais, *Les récits*, 120.

The arrival in Bethany is passed over with a brief mention (ἐλθών), with no reference to the place (though many manuscripts add one). The narrator's interest is reserved for the fact that Lazarus has already been in the tomb for four days. The period mentioned implies that the sick man died soon after the departure of the messenger, though its function is not to indicate the interval so much as to remove any doubt about the occurrence of death. The Jews believed that the soul returned to the tomb for three days, then finally entered the realm of the dead and the body decayed. The evangelist ... stresses the four days in the grave a second time in the brief second conversation between Jesus and Martha (vv. 39-40). Here it becomes a theological symbol: the horror of decay is contrasted with the glory of God which the believer beholds.¹⁰²

The mention of Bethany recalls another thematic element which was identified in our analysis of the hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

Geographic Markers

Earlier in our discussion of the structure of the Fourth Gospel, we noted that from any perspective, the raising of Lazarus is central to the organization of Johannine account of the life and death of Jesus. Schnackenburg went so far as to call this "the evangelist's most important decision:"

... the placing of the raising story at this point in the gospel, and the significance which is attributed to it in Jesus' journey to the cross... .

What brought the evangelist to this decision? The stimulus will have been the naming of "Bethany" which had been connected with the raising of Lazarus from the very beginning. The village was close to Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem authorities are regarded by the evangelist, from the opening of the Gospel, as Jesus' opponents (1.19; 2.18). They also make the area of Jerusalem-Judea a dangerous one for Jesus, (4.3,5; 7.1,25-26, etc.), but one nevertheless in which the struggle must be carried on.¹⁰³

While not all will agree that Bethany played such a central role in the process of

¹⁰² Schnackenburg, II:328.

¹⁰³ Schnackenburg, II:344-5.

composing the Fourth Gospel, none can avoid the pivotal importance it is given by the evangelist in the way he has chosen to tell us the meaning of the events of Christ's life.

Commenting on the text of John 11.1, Brown observes:

That John should identify Bethany as the village of Mary and Martha may indicate that the reader, who might not know of Lazarus, was expected to be familiar with the names of the two sisters. The OS^{sin} and perhaps Tatian read: "He was from Bethany, the brother of Martha and Mary."¹⁰⁴

How solid is the historical tradition underlying these narratives? Many modern commentators have explained it away as an expression of the evangelist's theology, yet even within the methodology of the historical-critical method the tradition may have some validity.

There is frequent emphasis on the love that Jesus had for the family. If Bethany was Jesus' lodging place when he came to Jerusalem (and this is attested in the synoptic tradition), then it is not too unreasonable to suggest that it was at this home that he stayed and that its occupants were truly his close friends. But John takes what may be a true reminiscence and uses it with a theological purpose; for Lazarus, the one whom Jesus loves, is probably being held up as the representative of all those whom Jesus loves, namely the Christians.¹⁰⁵

Before leaving this theme of geographic markers, it should be remembered that beyond the specific mentioning of Bethany, geographic movement plays an important role in the Fourth Gospel in general and in framing the account of the raising of Lazarus in particular.

Jesus' conversation with the disciples, which is a composition of the evangelist's, contains two themes, which are also visible in the structure of the passage. These are the journey to Judea-Jerusalem, which is the leading to Jesus' death, and the

¹⁰⁴ Brown, *John*, II:422.

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *John*, II:431.

journey to Lazarus to raise him from the dead.¹⁰⁶

Stylistic Features

In our presentation of the issues concerning the Fourth Gospel which opened this chapter, no mention was made of the characteristic Johannine style, since within John 11 there are plenty of representative examples of stylistic elements which are later developed in the Byzantine hymns. Wuellner rightly emphasizes that these stylistic elements are an integral part of the proclamation of the good news which is the purpose of the gospel.

What we find in the Lazarus story are stylistic means that are richly textured and appropriate to achieving the desired ends of gaining or stabilizing plausibility for the oxymoron of glorification through death - first, and on the surface, in the death of Lazarus, but simultaneously also in the God-glorifying death of Jesus, and ultimately also through the disciples' deaths.¹⁰⁷

Rhetorical analysis draws attention to two other stylistic elements present in John 11 which will be elaborated by later Byzantine hymnographers.

Take the series of **internal monologues** or narration of mental events (as distinct from physical or verbal events) that shape the surface of the narrative... {Examples are given from 10.41; 11.4; 11.41-2; 11.47-8; 11.56.} The narrative world of the characters *inside* the narrative world and also the world of the reader *outside* of the story (as well as the world of the person listening to or reading this scholarly exegetical exposé of the Lazarus story) are all permeated by such internal monologues. These inner reflections, which the narrator shares with the reader, lay the ground work for the story to remain ultimately unresolved, i.e., with no closure or denouement, and thereby generating new narrative momentum for resuming the unfinished, if not indeed unfinishable, narrative.

...

What then do we make of the stylistic feature of **irony**? Kenneth Burke spoke of irony as one of the "four master tropes" (1945:503-517), and

¹⁰⁶ Schnackenburg, II:324.

¹⁰⁷ Wuellner, "Life," 121.

characterized it as a form of "literary mysticism" (1950:324-328). Irony is one of the distinctive rhetorical devices used in John 11, indeed throughout John (O'Day:11-32).¹⁰⁸

Before leaving this point, it is worth stressing again that these stylistic elements are not mere adornments to the essential content of the gospel message, rather they are central to the very process of proclaiming the good news of what God has done for us in Christ. Wuellner focuses that point on the particular rhetorical strategy which he discerns underlying the account of the resurrection of Lazarus.

These observations appear to give support to the position held by Culler and Jameson about irony as a rhetorical means of *undoing* meaning, or producing uncertainty in the face of conventional certainty (e.g., the hopelessness in death)...

¹⁰⁹

We shall return to this methodological approach in discussing the issue of the historicity of this event which is described only in the Fourth Gospel, however since in recent scholarship the historicity issue is approached with the comparative methodology of the historical-critical approach, it will be useful to first survey the relation of our Johannine text to other gospel material.

John 11 in relation to other scriptural passages

The relation of John to the Synoptics

Most scholarship of the last 200 years has emphasized how distinctive the Fourth Gospel is when compared with the Synoptics. Taking this well established uniqueness as

¹⁰⁸ Wuellner, "Life," 121-2.

¹⁰⁹ Wuellner, "Life," 122.

a given, it is interesting to look at some of the broader commonalities between John and the Synoptics, at least as regards our focus texts.

We begin by noting that the single most significant area of parallels between Mark and John is in one of our target elements, the anointing at Bethany.

The anointing at Bethany (Jn 12:1-8) displays still closer associations the Markan narrative. The oil is described in terms not found together elsewhere as *νάρδος πιστική* (Mk 14.3; Jn 12.3); the description of its value, "(more than) three hundred denarii", is found only in Mk 14.5 and Jn 12.5; Jesus's answer to his indignant companions (or to Judas) contains the same turn of speech, *ἄφετε αὐτήν* (Mk 14.6), *ἄφες αὐτήν* (Jn 12.7), which fits badly in John, though not in Mark... . Nowhere else, either at the entry into Jerusalem or in the Passion narrative, do we meet with such clear echos of Mark.¹¹⁰

For our purposes, all of the other parallels of John 11 with Mark and Matthew are included among the accounts of resurrection, which are examined as a group below. In looking at parallels with Luke, however, the situation is more complex.

Luke

Schnackenburg developed the following list of the longer narrative passages which show affinities between the Lukan and Johannine traditions.¹¹¹

- a) The Messianic preaching of the Baptist.
- b) The great catch of fish.

¹¹⁰ Schnackenburg, I:30.

¹¹¹ In Footnote 12 on p. 30 of Volume I, Schnackenburg gives the following sources for this material: J. Schniewind, *Die Parallelerikopen bei Lukas und Johannes* (1914; 1958²); E. Osty, "Les points de contact entre le récit de la Passion dans saint Luc et saint Jean," *Mélanges J. Lebreton*, vol. I (1951): 146-54; Xavier Léon-Dufour, "Récits de la Passion," *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément VI* (1960) cols 1438-44; J.A. Bailey, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John* (1963). The items themselves are found in Schnackenburg, I:30-32.

- c) The anointing.
- d) The sisters of Bethany.
- e) Jesus' entry into Jerusalem.
- f) Farewell words at the last Supper.
- g) Judas and the arrest.
- h) Jewish proceedings against Jesus, Peter's denial.
- i) The trial before Pilate.
- j) The Passion.
- k) Burial and Resurrection.

Obviously c), d), and e) relate to our target texts, while g) and h) are related to other elements which were identified in our analysis of the hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday.

A much more focused issue, however, concerns how to understand what connection if any there is between the account of the Raising of Lazarus in John 11 and the uniquely Lukan parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus in 16.19.31. Schnackenburg lays out the issue with characteristic clarity.

... an obscure connection between the two figures is suggested by a number of similar features... . Has the Lukan story been historicised in John? ... Could a moral tale not become a miraculous raising in the pre-Johannine tradition?

But the argument could be turned in the opposite direction. The parable could be based on an event which really took place - probably a fairly common process.¹¹²

Brown takes account of the opinions of some scholars who suggest,

... that the story of the raising of Lazarus is a fictional composition based on Synoptic material (see Richardson, p. 139). The Johannine account is supposed to have had its inspiration in the Lukan story of the raising of the son of the widow of Nain (7.11-16), and the Johannine characters are thought to have been suggested by the Lukan story of Martha and Mary (10.38-42) and the Lukan parable of Lazarus (16.19-31). In particular, the final line of the parable is significant, for to the suggestion that Lazarus should come back from the dead to

¹¹² Schnackenburg, II:342.

warn the rich man's brothers, God says, "They will not be convinced even if someone should come back from the dead."¹¹³

Clearly there is no scholarly consensus on this issue, and it would be presumptuous to offer a novice judgement here. We have already had occasion to discuss the inter-relations of images from these two accounts in the hymns for the Sixth Week of the Fast in the Byzantine Triodion, and we will later look at Patristic discussions of Lazarus to see if there is any evidence of conflating the two figures among the extant writings of the Fathers of the Church. For the moment we must be content to observe that the tantalizing possibility of an underlying relationship between the two pericopes remains only a hypothetical possibility, with equally learned scholars arguing for opposite odds of probability for that possibility.

Resurrection accounts in the canonical Christian Scriptures

We have already had occasion to refer to Gerard Rochais' work on the New Testament resurrection accounts. This section will seek to provide a quick overview of his research, followed by observations from other commentators.

Rochais identified the following target texts, which were then analyzed based upon a synoptic arrangement provided on pages 8-13 of his work.

1 Kings 17.10, 17-24	Elijah raising the son of the widow of Zarephath
2 Kings 4.18-37	Elisha raises the only son of the Shunammite woman
Lk 7.11-17	Jesus raises the son of the widow of Naim
Mk 5.21-24a; 35-43 & par.)	Jesus raises the daughter of Jairus
Jn 11.1-46	The raising of Lazarus

¹¹³ Brown, *John*, II:428.

Acts 9.36-43 Peter raises Tabitha at Joppa¹¹⁴

Based on that synopsis, Rochais then lists fourteen points of comparison among the different accounts, which allows him to make the following observations:

An inventory of the analogies immediately allows one to notice that the stories of Acts 9.36-43 and Jn 11.1-46 are closest to the account of the resurrection in 2 Kings 4.18-37, while the episode narrated in Lk 1.11-17 is similar to that of 1 Kings 17.10, 17-24. Nevertheless one cannot add all these comparisons together to arrive at a common schema of resurrection accounts, nor a well defined literary genre.¹¹⁵

Next he lists six traits common to the New Testament accounts (pp. 14-15), and then compares these with other NT miracle accounts to arrive at the unique characteristics of the NT resurrection stories.

Jesus is provoked to tears by indignation (Mk 5.38-40), pity (Lk 7.13), or compassion (Jn 11.33-35);

Play on words of sleep and death as seen in Mk 5.39 and Jn 11.11-14.

Schnackenburg observed similar parallels, although with different categories:

It is the same Greek verb (σφραγιζεσθαι), which in the synoptics also refers to physical healing while at the same time pointing beyond to the true healing of salvation (cf. Mk 5.23, 28, 34; 10.52). Another striking parallel is that Jesus uses the same image of sleep at the raising of Jairus' daughter, though with another word (καθεύδει Mk 5.39 parr), and is laughed at by the bystanders. Without any literary dependence, the fourth evangelist uses a theme from the tradition.¹¹⁶

For both of these authors, the conclusions drawn from these comparisons are applied to the issue of the historicity of the Johannine account of the raising of Lazarus, and so it is

¹¹⁴ Note that he does not consider (wisely in my opinion) the raising of Eutyches by Paul, as described in Acts 20.9-10, 12.

¹¹⁵ Rochais, *Les récits*, 7, 14.

¹¹⁶ Schnackenburg, II:326.

to that issue that we now turn.

The Historicity of the Account of the Raising of Lazarus

Schnackenburg articulates the issue here with a candid focus that would seem to be born out of frustration with the lack of such forthrightness among other authors.

Does the Johannine account receive even the slightest support from the available historical evidence or reasonable suppositions? We cannot evade these pressing questions, as previous commentaries all too often have.¹¹⁷

Rochais is well aware of the import of the issue, which he uses to frame his own conclusion on the historicity of the New Testament resurrection accounts, including that of John 11.

Would not this call to faith, to conversion, lose all its value, all its credibility, in a hypothesis where the stories which carry this invitation did not relate to historical events? On what can we base the message of these stories, if these stories were not created to transmit this message? How can the origin of these stories be seriously explained if no historical event underlies them?

Whoever would doubt the historicity of these accounts of the resurrection of the dead should not disdain the urgency and the seriousness of these questions. Now the literary analysis which we have done of these texts has led us to consider as most probable this very hypothesis that Jesus of Nazareth did not raise the dead.¹¹⁸

Brown calls attention to the fact that the Fourth Gospel itself makes clear that a simple description of what happened at a particular time and place is not the focus of what the author intends to convey.

The symbolic importance of the story is made clear from the beginning. We were told in the story of the healing of the blind man (9.3) that the blindness

¹¹⁷ Schnackenburg, II:316.

¹¹⁸ Rochais, *Les récits*, 163.

was for the purpose of having God's works revealed in him. So in 11.4 we are told that Lazarus' sickness is for God's glory, since God's glory will be evident only when the Son is glorified.¹¹⁹

Schnackenburg offers a convenient survey of previous authors:

LaGrange made a serious attempt to deal with the question of historicity in an excursus (*Evangile selon S. Jean*, pp. 309-312). He regards the greatest difficulty as being the absence of any mention in the synoptics (p. 311). The explanation quite often given in the past, that the synoptics had said nothing out of consideration for the family in Bethany, so as not to expose them to persecution by the Jewish authorities, is a desperate apologetic attempt at explanation. It has also now been exploded by the discovery that even our synoptic gospels were not written until after 70.

From the Protestant side, Hoskyns (Davey), *Fourth Gospel*, pp. 395-396, believes in an underlying tradition. For works which take this line further see below. R.E. Brown, pp. 427-430, also chooses this attempt at a solution. Cf. also C.H. Dodd, pp. 228-232, who however regards the attempt to reconstruct the story embodied in the earlier tradition as futile, since John has so thoroughly transformed it (p. 232).¹²⁰

Rochais reminds us of an observation that was made near the beginning of this chapter:

Perhaps no question, among all those which the literary origins of the Fourth Gospel provoke, is more muddled than that of the story of the resurrection of Lazarus.¹²¹

C.H. Dodd's observation about the futility of attempting a literary analysis of Jn 11 recalls the conclusions of Marchadour which were quoted earlier in this chapter.

Nowhere, perhaps in this Gospel have attempts to analyse out a written source, or sources, proved less convincing, and if the evangelist is following a traditional story of fixed pattern, he has covered his tracks.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Brown, *John*, II:431.

¹²⁰ Endnote 2 to II:316, found at II:512-13.

¹²¹ Rochais, *Les récits*, 113.

¹²² C.H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: 1965², 230).

Schnackenburg accepts the basic framing of the question which developed out of the historical-critical methodology, but suggests that even within that perspective a case can be made for the historicity of the raising of Lazarus.

It is easy to imagine that the story of an extraordinary event in Bethany near Jerusalem was preserved in the local tradition of groups in Jerusalem, but was not accepted into the main current of primitive Christian tradition, which in the main used Galilean miracle stories. A similar process can be observed in the case of the Easter tradition (the Emmaus pericope).¹²³

Schnackenburg attempts to distance himself from the conclusions of earlier studies:

On the other hand, the view developed here out of tradition and redaction criticism makes possible a different attitude to the Johannine narrative from the extreme views of earlier periods, which tried either to save its full historicity or to deny it any connection with history.¹²⁴

Within this more nuanced perspective he believes he can satisfactorily address the issue which had so troubled LaGrange.

We have a valid and complete explanation for the silence of the synoptics about the raising of Lazarus. They left out the raising either because they did not know of it or because, alongside the other miracles reported by Jesus, it seemed dispensable.¹²⁵

Few later commentators seem to have been convinced by this line of argument,¹²⁶

¹²³ Schnackenburg, II:345.

¹²⁴ Schnackenburg, II: 345-6.

¹²⁵ Schnackenburg, II:345.

¹²⁶ I have not seen W. Bingham Hunter, "Contextual and genre implications for the historicity of John 11:41b-42," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 28 (1985): 53-70. The following abstract suggests that he offers a different argument, still within the historical-critical framework, supporting the historicity of the Johannine narrative. "Note: Source, redactional, and theological objections to the authenticity and historicity of John 11:41-42 are over stated. Despite its Johannine idiom, the prayer's context and content parallel aspects of the synoptic tradition. Form analysis indicates the prayer is a

however, and even within it Schnackenburg is willing to concede that a crucial aspect of the Johannine narrative is based not on observations of what happened, but rather on the evangelist's concern to convey the meaning of what happened.

Nevertheless we are left with the 'unhistorical' causal connection between the raising of Lazarus and the Sanhedrin's death sentence. In interpreting the history of Jesus, however, the evangelist had different criteria from our historical ones. He was concerned to reveal, in a vision guided by faith, the motive forces and underlying reasons which led to the crucifixion of Jesus.¹²⁷

In light of our earlier analysis of the elements associated with the celebration of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in the Byzantine tradition, the argument used from (the western Christian) tradition rings historically hollow.

The connection of the incident in Bethany with the events of Holy Week in Jerusalem inevitably disappeared because it derives completely from the fourth evangelist's theological and dramatic inspiration.¹²⁸

While the appeal to tradition, as well as the call for a more careful use of the scalpel of historical and literary criticism, provide some balance to the excesses often found in authors who deny any historical validity to the Johannine Gospel, in the final analysis they prove inadequate in responding to the kinds of historical questions a modern reader instinctively brings to the text. Perhaps a more satisfactory solution can be found

NT example of the Hodayoth with parallels in the Qumran Thanksgiving Hymns. This classification has significant positive implications concerning the prayer's historicity and its importance in John's narrative. It also evidences parallels with the non-liturgical personal thanksgiving psalm genre. Since such prayers address both God and men, existential objections to the prayer's "dual address" are blunted. The historical Jesus apparently prayed as John claims he did."

¹²⁷ Schnackenburg, II:345.

¹²⁸ Schnackenburg, II:345.

by attending to those very questions, rather than attempting to tinker with the answers provided to them. As Rochais phrased it:

The relationship between these accounts of resurrection and the evolution of faith in the resurrection of the dead will undoubtedly surprise those who, after the fashion of Luke, see in these accounts the reanimation of the dead; it will be less startling for those who, following the example of Matthew, conceive of the account of the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus as a means of illustrating the power of faith, or for those who use the accounts which are furnished them to demonstrate that Jesus is the resurrection and the life, as John has done. This is so because everyone approaches these texts with a particular {set of} assumptions, which it is necessary to be aware of and at times to question.¹²⁹

Rhetorical Analysis

We have already utilized the insights of Wuellner's application of rhetorical analysis to the text of John 11 at several points in our discussion of the Fourth Gospel and its central pericope. In this final section on historicity, Wuellner's ideas about the very nature of the account of the raising of Lazarus will be summarized as a possible way of nuancing contemporary discussions of historicity.

Wuellner begins with some observations about the way the story is presented.

Within the story and its plot we distinguish between (1) events we experience with the eyes, heart, and mind of one or the other of the characters *in* the story, and (2) experiencing the story or plot events from the perspective of the third person-narrator *outside* the story... . What is real for the conflict setting of the story's characters as the story of Jesus raising Lazarus becomes real in yet two further senses when the narrator makes us aware that the surface plot involves two other plots: the glorification through death of Jesus and of the disciples respectively.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Rochais, *Les récits*, 1-2.

¹³⁰ Wuellner, "Life," 117.

As was noted above, Wuellner believes the basic dynamic of the Lazarus story is rooted in the contradiction between the Christian affirmation in faith that faith in Jesus will bring eternal life to the believer, and the common-sense, every day understanding of the finality of death, a finality focused in John 11 on the death of Lazarus, the death of Jesus, and the death of the disciples of Jesus. It is in this context that Wuellner makes explicit the "narrative rhetoric" of John 11.

The narrative rhetoric of the Lazarus story is constituted by this desire and need of resolving the incompatibilities arising out of the confrontations of conflicting codes, facts, or truths. The narrative situation is also the Lazarus' story's rhetorical situation. Its "credibility" is paradoxical, i.e., implausible, incredible, and contrary to all "common sense," regardless of how we, or the narrative's culture, define the norms and values of "common sense."¹³¹

According to this perspective, the author of the Fourth Gospel was well aware that the average reader would question the historical possibility of Jesus raising Lazarus, even as in Chapter 6 the evangelist makes explicit that Jesus' blunt invitation to "chew on the flesh of the Son of Man" was a "hard saying" that leads many disciples to "be scandalized" and abandon Jesus.¹³²

Given this contradiction between the way "common sense" sees things and the way they are understood to be in faith, the narrative of the Fourth Gospel offers a sophisticated strategy to assist readers in accepting the perspective of faith.

The aim of the narrative is to "move" the characters *in* the story, and the reader *of* the story, to be convinced *and* persuaded, i.e., to "believe" by way of acceptance

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² See Jn 6.60ff. Wuellner himself does not make this parallel, although it was among those suggested by the chiasmic analysis presented above.

of "another outlook and another criterion of reality." The witness to Jesus, as later on the response to the gospel preached by the apostles, is "told" and "shown" to be "unreliable" (2.24), if it rests solely on the "theory" (i.e., the five-sensory perception) of the signs done by Jesus, and expected to be done by the disciples. The reliability has to rest on something more, indeed on something *other* than, what can be "seen" about God's work and God's glory.¹³³

If I understand Wuellner correctly, he is suggesting that any temptation to "prove" the historical reality of the resurrection of Lazarus as something which took place at a particular point in space and time has the ironic effect of vitiating the central dynamic and purpose of the Johannine narrative. The reader is being asked to accept a view of reality which is diametrically opposed to such an "historical" limitation of reality, and the reality of the new life given to Lazarus can no more be perceived within these categories than the Eucharistic presence of Christ can be seen or smelled or tasted in consuming the Eucharistic gifts. It is a mistake to attempt to validate these truths with "proofs" from history, for a central affirmation of these truths is that the very categories of history are inadequate to the human search for truth. Wuellner argues this point from the details of the story itself.

We are neither shown, nor told, that (let alone how, or by whom) Lazarus got untied and "let go." We are left completely in the dark about the reactions of the two sisters, or of the disciples, not to speak of the reactions of Lazarus himself. The unfinished task of untying Lazarus becomes the readers' task of untying the text (Young). This challenge to readers to untie the text is not only unfinished; due to the rhetoric of the narration of faith, it is an unfinishable task.¹³⁴

The image of "untying the text" strikes me as particularly apt for what the

¹³³ Wuellner, "Life," 118.

¹³⁴ Wuellner, "Life," 120.

liturgical celebrations of the Raising of Lazarus and Palm Sunday are attempting to do. They do not seek to validate the biblical text by "proving" it with some standard outside the text, rather they seek to assist the worshiper to experience the narrative truth which emerges from participation in the narrative logic of the text itself. The validity of the claims made by the text can be experienced only by those who are willing and able to "get inside it."

The "Secret Gospel" of Mark

As was noted above in Chapter 6, Thomas Talley has called attention to a passage referred to in a Manuscript discovered by Morton Smith and published by him as "the Secret Gospel of Mark" that would provide a Markan parallel for the resurrection of Lazarus. In this "Mar-Saba Clementine Fragment," Clement the author responds to someone named Theodore, who had apparently written to Clement asking for clarification concerning the teachings of the Carpocratians, a gnostic sect known to have been active in Alexandria in the second century. Part of Clement's response includes his account of the composition and use of the Gospel of Mark at Alexandria:

Now of the things they keep saying about the divinely inspired Gospel according to Mark, some are altogether falsifications, and others, even if they do contain some true elements, nevertheless are not reported truly. For the true things being mixed with inventions, are falsified, so that, as the saying goes, even the salt loses its flavor.

As for Mark then, during Peter's stay in Rome he wrote an account of the Lord's doings, not however declaring all of them, nor yet hinting at the secret ones, but selecting what he thought most useful for increasing the faith of those who were being instructed. But when Peter died a martyr, Mark came over to Alexandria, bringing both his own notes and those of Peter, from which he transferred to his former book the things suitable to whatever makes for progress toward knowledge. Thus he composed a more spiritual Gospel for the use of those who

were being perfected. Nevertheless he did not yet divulge the things not to be uttered, nor did he write down the hierophantic teaching of the Lord, but to the stories already written he added yet others and, moreover, brought in certain sayings of which he knew the interpretation would, as a mystagogue, lead the hearers into the inner most sanctuary of that truth hidden by the seven veils. Thus in sum he prepared matters, neither grudgingly nor incautiously, in my opinion, and, dying, he left his composition to the Church in Alexandria, where it even yet is most carefully guarded, being read only to those who are being initiated into the great mysteries. But since the foul demons are always devising destruction for the race of men, Carpocrates, instructed by them and using deceitful arts, so enslaved a certain presbyter of the church in Alexandria that he got from him a copy of the secret gospel, which he both interpreted according to his blasphemous and carnal doctrine and, moreover, polluted, mixing with the spotless and holy words utterly shameless lies. From this mixture is drawn off the teaching of the Carpocratians.¹³⁵

It is out of a concern to clarify how the Carpocratians have distorted this "Secret gospel of Mark" that Clement gives Theodore two specific citations from this "mystical teaching:"

To you, therefore, I shall not hesitate to answer the questions you have asked, refuting the falsifications by the very words of the gospel. For example, after "And they were in the road going up to Jerusalem," and what follows, until "After three days he shall arise," {i.e., Mark 10.32-34} the secret Gospel brings the following material word for word:

"And they came into Bethany. And a certain woman whose brother had died was there. And coming, she prostrated herself before Jesus and says to him, 'Son of David, have mercy on me.' But the disciples rebuked her. And Jesus, being angered, went off with her into the garden where the tomb was, and straightaway a great cry was heard from the tomb. And going near, Jesus rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb. And straightaway, going in where the youth was, he stretched forth his hand and raised him, seizing his hand. But the youth, looking upon him, loved him and began to beseech him that he might be with him. And going out of the tomb they came to the house of the youth, for he was rich. And after six days Jesus told him what to do, and in the evening the youth comes to him, wearing a linen cloth over his naked body. And he

¹³⁵ Morton Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge MA, 1973), 446ff.

remained with him that night, for Jesus taught him the mystery of the kingdom of God. And thence, arising, he returned to the other side of the Jordan."

After these words follows the text, "And James and John come to him," and all that section {i.e. Mark 10.35-45}. But "naked man with naked man," and the other things about which you wrote, are not found.

And after the words, "And he comes into Jericho" {Mark 10.46}, the secret Gospel adds only,

"And the sister of the youth whom Jesus loved, and his mother and Salome were there, and Jesus did not receive them."

But the many other things about which you wrote both seem to be and are falsifications.

Now the true explanation and that which accords which true philosophy ... {At this point the fragment ends.}¹³⁶

It is probably true that because of Talley's use of this passage in his theory on the Alexandrian origin of Lent, Smith's Mar-Saba fragment has received more attention from liturgical scholars than it has from those in Patristics or Biblical Studies. Some have argued strongly that it is a patent forgery,¹³⁷ and the fact that the original was again lost after Smith photographed it,¹³⁸ along with the tragic decline and eventual demise of Smith himself due to alcoholism, have done little to add credibility to the document.

Nevertheless the inclusion of the fragment in the edition of Clement's works in the prestigious *Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* series has gone a long way towards fostering academic acceptance of the "Secret Gospel" as

¹³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 447.

¹³⁷ See Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Secret gospel of Jesus as "Magus": a review of the recent works of Morton Smith," *Christian Scholar's Review* 4 (1975): 238-251 for an example of the conservative Christian reaction against the claims of Smith, which go well beyond what is being presented here.

¹³⁸ See in this regard Quentin Quesnell, "Mar Saba Clementine: a question of evidence," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 37 (1975): 48-67.

genuine.¹³⁹ Smith himself did argue that the resurrection story of "Secret Mark" parallels the source of John's Lazarus story and thus suggests a common source for Mark and John.¹⁴⁰ Scripture scholars have so far been quite cautious in accepting Smith's evidence.

As John Baldovin observed, however, for the issues of interest to liturgical history,

The question of whether or not the "secret gospel" was actually a part of Mark is not relevant here. It has been fairly well established that Clement of Alexandria did write the work in which M. Smith found the secret gospel. The crux of the matter is whether this gospel passage was used in the Alexandrian tradition.¹⁴¹

This is the question of relevance to our study, and it will be dealt with below in chapter 24, within the context of the patristic evidence concerning the raising of Lazarus.

¹³⁹ Smith's own summary of the early reception of his discovery is given in Morton Smith, "Clement of Alexandria and secret Mark: the score at the end of the first decade," *Harvard Theological Review* 75: (1982): 449-461. In it about 120 popular publications are dismissed; some 35 by scholars are reported. Of these, 25 have accepted, 4 denied, the attribution of the letter to Clement. As to the gospel fragment, scholars are split, 11/15, between those who think it based in part on pre-Markan material (whether oral or written) and those who think it entirely a later composition (either freely invented or a pastiche from the canonical gospels).

¹⁴⁰ See Morton Smith, "Merkel on the longer text of Mark," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 72 (1975): 133-150, where he presents a series of "refutations" to Helmut Merkel.

¹⁴¹ Baldovin, "Lenten Lectionary," endnote 17 on p. 122.

CHAPTER 22

THE WITNESS OF EGERIA

The earliest unequivocal evidence for a liturgical celebration of Lazarus Saturday comes from the 4th century travelogue of a Spanish "nun," known in recent English publications as Egeria. The only extant manuscript was discovered in 1884 by J.F. Gamurrini and published by him in 1887 and 1888.¹

Egeria's evidence certainly needs to be used with caution, nevertheless her account of Lent and Great Week in Jerusalem in 381-384² provide many precious tidbits

¹ The *editio princeps* is *Hilarii tractatus de Mysteriis et hymni et S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta, quae iedita ex codice Arretino deprompsit J.F.G.* = *Biblioteca della Accademia storico-juridica*, Vol. IV, (Rome, 1887); Gamurrini expanded on that edition in "S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta," in *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, IX, 1888. This was followed by the edition of P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi IV-VIII*, (Vienna, 1898), reproduced "except for a very small number of passages where we have adopted corrections proposed by other editors" (p. 92) by Pétré, Hélène, *Éthérie, Journal de Voyage* = SC 21, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971), now superseded by the edition of Pierre Maraval, SC 296. This study uses the edition of E. Francheschini and R. Weber, eds., *Itineraria et Alia Geographica* = CCSL 175, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965): 37-90, with a listing of other editions on pp. 30-33. English translations include: J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*², (Warminster, 1981); G.E. Gingras, *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage* = *Ancient Christian Writers* 38 (New York: Newman Press, 1970). French translations are included in SC 21 & 296; an Italian translation is provided by Clara di Zoppola, *Egeria, Diario di Viaggio* (Roma: Edizione Paoline, 1979), including introductory notes by Armando Candelaresi.

² On the date see P. Devos, "La date du voyage d'Égérie," *AB* 85 (1967): 165-194. Francheschini and Weber (*op. cit.*, 33) give the following citation which I have not seen: E. Dekkers, "De datum der 'Peregrinatio Egeriae' en het feest van Ons Heer Hemelvaart," *Sacris Erudiri* I (1948): 181-205.

of information relevant to our current study. This chapter will begin by unpacking Egeria's liturgical descriptions, first of the feasts of Epiphany/Theophany and "the Presentation", then of Lent in general, and finally of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. Thomas Talley's suggestive interpretation of Egeria's descriptions of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday will then be presented. In the final section of this chapter, the literary and archeological evidence which relates to Egeria's account will be surveyed.

Egeria's Liturgical Descriptions

Egeria's description of Lent begins in Section 27 of the edited version of her work, providing a tantalizing description of Lazarus Saturday in Section 29 before giving a detailed description of her impressions of "Great Week" in Sections 30-39. The full text of Sections 26-39 in Latin and English is given in Appendix 8.

There are several reasons why the evidence from Egeria needs to be interpreted carefully. It is, after all, only one person's impressions which are recorded there, and in spite of abundant speculations, not enough is known about the author or her audience to do more than offer educated guesses about why some topics are discussed and others are ignored. It is also clear that Egeria often used stereo-typed phrases. It is usually assumed that she drew attention to practices which were different from those which her correspondents would be familiar with, but since we have no hard information on the latter it is not really helpful in helping us understand the former. It would thus be ill-advised to assume that just because Egeria does not mention a practice, it was not known in late fourth-century Jerusalem; there are too many other plausible explanations why

something might not be mentioned in her travelogue.

Epiphany

Section 24 of Egeria rather abruptly begins her description of what she observed of the liturgy at Jerusalem. She begins by describing what we might call the liturgical *cursus*, "the daily services they have in the holy places ... " for the six weekdays (24.1-7). Her description of the usual Sunday celebrations runs from 24.8 to 25.4, where it would seem she was beginning a diversion describing a particularity of the Pentecost *cursus* when the manuscript breaks off with a missing folio. As the next extant folio begins at 25.6, she is describing the festal procession of the Epiphany vigil.

"... 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord' and so on," is given as the processional refrain for the procession on the vigil of Epiphany. Since this passage of Mt 21.9 is so prominent in the current Byzantine celebration of Palm Sunday, it is noteworthy that it has this privileged place in the Epiphany Vigil. Unfortunately we have no other information from Egeria which could help us understand why this passage was considered to be *apta ipsi diei*.³

Egeria took special notice of the fact that, after the procession arrived at the Church of the Anastasis where a Psalm was sung and a prayer was said, the catechumens

³ Although this common observation of Egeria is not made of this particular citation, it seems likely that it would apply to the selection of this pericope for the refrain of the Vigil procession. An alternative possibility would be that the Palm Sunday procession had already become so popular, that whenever the stationary liturgy of Jerusalem found itself processing down the Mount of Olives, the participants instinctively returned to the liturgical refrain which was associated with that procession. There is nothing in the text of Egeria which would help us assess the probability of either possibility.

were dismissed with a blessing by the Bishop before the rest of the faithful.⁴

In 25.8 Egeria is at pains to describe the opulence of the celebration in the Churches, explicitly mentioning the Anastasis, the Cross, and the Church in Bethlehem, which would seem to imply that there were services being held in all of these Churches on the same day. Later in 25.11 she notes that at the stational churches used during the octave, "The decorations and rejoicing continue for eight days in all these places I have mentioned." 25.12 makes it clear that "in Bethlehem they go on for eight days continuously," in an octave which is mentioned separately from and in addition to the Jerusalem stational usage. A more probable reading of this section is that everyone participated in the Jerusalem stational liturgies during the octave, but the Bethlehem monks continued the monastic practice of All-night Vigils in Bethlehem, while the laity and "secular clergy" returned with the Bishop each evening to Jerusalem.

The stational celebration goes from Golgotha to the Anastasis on each of the first three days of the octave of Epiphany. The fourth day is celebrated at Eleona on the Mount of Olives, the fifth at the Lazarium, the sixth in Syon, the seventh at the Anastasis and the eighth at Golgotha. Obviously it is this visit to the Lazarium on the fifth day which is most intriguing to our investigations here, however Egeria gives no further information which might help us discern why this place was chosen for a procession during the octave of Epiphany.

⁴ 25.7. Earlier at 25.2 she had observed that in the normal Sunday routine, after the dismissal from Golgotha behind the cross around the fourth or fifth hour, the doors of the Anastasis are opened, but only the faithful, not the catechumens, enter.

In all of these details, the most that can be claimed are tantalizing possibilities of connections with the elements which are later associated with the celebration of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. Only with the addition of other data can a judgement be made if such a connection is warranted or not in each case.

The Fortieth Day after Epiphany

Section 26 continues Egeria's account of the liturgical life of Jerusalem with a brief description of the celebration of "the fortieth day after Epiphany." Thomas Talley's thesis about the origins of Lent in Alexandria proposes that the Egyptian Christian community originally held a forty-day fast after Epiphany, in imitation of Jesus' fast in the desert as described in Mark's Gospel. Talley is well aware that the evidence for this thesis is so sparse, and from such a range of sources, all from different time periods, that the most that can be claimed is that the evidence suggests the possibility of such developments. Given that possibility, Egeria's account contains some interesting turns of phrase, underlined in the following excerpts.

[26] Note that the Fortieth Day after Epiphany is observed here with special magnificence. On this day they assemble in the Anastasis. Everyone gathers, and things are done with the same solemnity as at the Feast of Easter. All the presbyters preach first, then the bishop, and they interpret the passage from the Gospel about Joseph and Mary taking the Lord to the Temple {on the fortieth day} and about Simeon and the prophetess Anna, daughter of Phanuel, seeing the Lord, and what they said to him, and about the sacrifice offered by his parents. When all the rest has been done in the proper way, they celebrate the sacrament and have their dismissal.⁵

⁵ {26.1} Sane quadragessimae de epiphania ualde cum summo honore hic celebrantur. Nam eadem die processio est in Anastase et omnes procedunt et ordine suo aguntur omnia cum summa laetitia ac si per pascha. Praedicant etiam omnes presbyteri et sic

The suggestive phrase "Fortieth {Day} after Epiphany" certainly calls to mind the forty-day fast period which eventually becomes so important in all liturgical traditions, as it is the period of Jesus' post-baptismal fast as specified in Mk 1.13 and parallels Mt 4.2; Lk 4.2.⁶ Gingras claims "*quadragesimae* is used by Egeria as a technical term for Lent,"⁷ although he also notes at least two instances which do not follow this usage, one of which is the text at hand.⁸ The Lukan account which Egeria specifies as being read (Lk 2.22-52) includes two episodes: the latter is described as taking place when Jesus was 12 years old, while the former is introduced as follows:

And when the days of their purification were completed according to the law of Moses, they took him up to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord, just as it has been written in the Law of the Lord, "Every male opening the womb shall be called holy to the Lord." Lk 2.22-3.

There is no explicit chronological relationship of this event to the birth of Jesus in the Gospel text itself. Commentators like to relate it to the regulation of Leviticus 12.1-8, which provides for the purification of the mother forty days after the birth of a male child.

episcopus semper de eo loco tractantes euangelii, ubi quadragesima die tulerunt Dominum in templo Ioseph et Maria et uiderunt eum Symeon uel Anna prophetissa filia Fanuhel et de uerbis eorum, quae dixerunt uiso Domino, uel de oblatione ipse, quam optulerunt parentes. Et postmodum celebratis omnibus per ordinem, quae consuetudinis sunt, aguntur sacramenta, et sic fit missa.

⁶ Jn 1.19-34 recasts the account of Jesus' baptism from the perspective of the witness of the Forerunner. We are never actually told that John baptized Jesus, only that at the encounter John saw the Spirit descending on Jesus and thus knew that he was the one who would baptize in the Holy Spirit. Immediately after this witness, John points two disciples towards the Lamb of God; there is no temptation or forty-day fast in the wilderness mentioned in the Fourth Gospel.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, endnote 320 on p. 225.

⁸ The other is at 27.1.

More detailed analysis shows that there are three potentially distinct ideas which are interwoven into the Lukan narrative.

The story of the presentation of Jesus in the Temple (2.22-24) is complicated by the fact that three distinct motifs underlie the story; these have been assimilated to each other so closely that it is difficult to disentangle them.

The first element is the purification of the mother of a child....

The second element in the narrative is the offering of a child to the Lord in the temple.... Since, however, the child was brought to the temple, which was not necessary for the act of redemption, we should probably find a third element in the narrative, namely the offering of the child to God for his service, in the same way as Samuel was offered by his parents to God (1 Sa 1.11, 22, 28 ...).⁹

It is unlikely that these exegetical precisions influenced the early development of a commemoration forty days after Epiphany, but at the very least they should caution us against too easy an assumption that the Jerusalem liturgy is here "historicising" Luke's account. They support, however indirectly, the possibility that there was an earlier liturgical celebration forty days after Epiphany. After being adopted by Jerusalem and its stationary liturgical system, it might then have been adapted to the theme of the "Presentation."

The explicit comparison with the exuberance of Pascha is striking, especially since the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord is not particularly joyful in any of the received liturgical traditions.¹⁰ The text of Egeria allows us to do no more than note the

⁹ I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids Michigan: Eerdmans, 1978) 115-117.

¹⁰ See *Church at Prayer*, IV:88-90. There is in fact a penitential aspect to the medieval processions, expressed in the black vestments worn by the Pope and his deacons at Rome, or the fact that the emperor walked barefoot in the procession at Constantinople. On this latter custom see M. Higgins, "Note on the Purification . . . in Constantinople," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1952): 81. A description of a procession with candles

incongruity. Talley's thesis certainly tempts us to see here some reflection of a baptismal celebration forty days after Epiphany, unfortunately the evidence which Talley is able to provide for such baptisms are so distant in time and place from the Jerusalem observed by Egeria that we can do no more than observe that *if* there was such a baptismal tradition known to the late fourth-century Jerusalem Church, then it *might* find expression in ways which *could conceivably* underlie Egeria's phrase "*aguntur omnia cum summa laetitia ac si per pascha.*" A slender thread indeed, but one which might in the future lead to more direct evidence one way or the other.

The phrase *aguntur sacramenta* - "the sacrament is enacted" - is a *hapax legoumenon* in Egeria. The most common translation is "the Eucharist is then celebrated,"¹¹ with the concluding phrase *sic fit missa* being understood as "the dismissal is given." The passage could be rendered, "baptism is celebrated, then the Mass is held," in which case it would provide a fascinating parallel to the baptism on Lazarus Saturday which is also at the conclusion of a forty day fast. Unfortunately, such a translation does not receive any support from the specialized studies of Egeria's vocabulary which have

in Jerusalem is preserved in a sermon attributed to Sophronius of Jerusalem, found in the Roman Catholic Liturgy of the Hours for February 2.

¹¹ See Gingras, *op. cit.*, 97, where endnote 318 on p. 225 refers us to A. A. R. Bastiaensen, *Observations sur le vocabulaire liturgique dans l'Itinéraire d'Egérie = Latinitas christianorum primaeva* 17 (Nijmegen, 1962) 82f. and C. Mohrmann, "Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens," in *Études sur la latin des chrétiens*, 233-44.

been undertaken so far.¹²

Lent

From the perspective of our structural analysis of the Triodion, Egeria's keen interest in liturgical matters provides us with the following relevant observations.

- * The existence of "Lent" as the period of preparation for Pascha.
- * The specific counting of "Forty-days" as the characteristic of this period of paschal preparation.
- * The existence of differing methods of computing these "forty-days" and thus different customs concerning the duration of "Lent."
- * Saturday and Sunday have distinctive services and customs from the "ferial days" of the paschal preparation, Saturdays beginning with the all night vigil (*uigilia ... usque in mane ...*) on Friday evening. (27.7; 29.1)
- * The daily ordo during "Lent" has much in common with that of the rest of the year, *consuetudo est semper, id est toto anno; iuxta consuetudinem totius anni et omnia aguntur*, yet it also has several peculiarities:
 - + Third and Sixth Hours are joined into one service.
 - + Catechumens gather on Wednesdays and Fridays.
 - + There is no "oblation" on these Wednesdays and Fridays.
- * The Week is a meaningful division of the Lenten Period. (*singulae septimanae*);
- * Although Egeria repeatedly stresses that the services follow the pattern of the previous lenten weeks, she does distinguish the week before Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday (the seventh in her reckoning) in the way her presentation unfolds. (29.1-2)
- * "The Fast" is a central element of the observance of Lent, however there is a legitimate diversity in fasting practices. (28)

¹² A. Coppo, "Una nuova ipotesi sull'origine di Missa," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 71 (1957): 225-67; C. Mohrmann, "Missa," *Vigiliae Christianae* 12 (1958): 67-92; Bastiaensen, *op. cit.*.

The methodological bias we have chosen in doing a structural analysis suggests that each of these "elements" be treated independently, for each may have a distinctive history of development before and/or after their presence in late fourth century Jerusalem.

What is clear from Egeria's account is that the basic *cursus* of Morning and Evening prayer normally continues as usual; if one of these foundations of the daily cycle is displaced to a special location, it is an exceptional event worthy of comment. Such an observation is given in 29.1, when the usual lenten Friday evening Vigil at the Anastasis is described, before noting that on the Friday of the Seventh Week the vigil, following the same order, is held on Sion. Similarly at 30.3 concerning the morning of Palm Sunday we are told, "They do in the Anastasis the things which usually follow the Sunday dismissal in the Martyrium...."

Unfortunately stereotypical phrases are also used to suggest the presence of hymns proper to the day or place, thus depriving us of any cues which might assist in identifying these proper elements. Usually, however, Egeria uses her stock phrase *apta diei et loco* to describe elements which take place as part of the special stational liturgy, which thus emerges as a distinct set of elements added into the basic Hagiopolite system. In each of the two days which interest us, this commonality and distinctiveness is explicitly affirmed. The commonality is related to the basic services of Morning and Evening prayer, while the unique aspect of each commemoration will be found in a Stational procession.

Commenting on Egeria 27.1, Thomas Talley notes:

That is the first evidence we have seen for a concern for the number of

actual days of fasting. It would be bold, too bold perhaps, to suggest that such an eight-week fast was unknown elsewhere, and much too bold to suggest that Egeria is simply mistaken. Somewhat less perilous would be the suggestion that she is discussing the private fast practice of ascetics rather than the liturgical season, or at least failing to distinguish between the two. It may well be that the same eight-week fast was observed at Antioch at this time, but no text from there is as clear as this before Severus of Antioch in the sixth century. The concern to bring to forty the number of actual days of fasting later became a general preoccupation, East and West, but this clear testimony of Egeria seems to be unique for the fourth century.¹³

Lazarus Saturday

Section 29 of Egeria deserves our careful examination, since it is the first explicit description of the liturgical celebration of "Lazarus Saturday" (although she never uses that specific term). The following paragraphs list some general observations that can be deduced from the text:

In section 29.1-3 Egeria observes that "Lazarus Saturday" follows the pattern of the previous six weeks, with the addition of the Saturday services at the seventh hour at the Lazarium. The Friday vigil which had been at the Anastasis for the previous six weeks is held at Sion on this the seventh week, although the service is exactly the same.

Section 29.4 informs us that the stationary procession to the Lazarium at Bethany proceeded in two stages: the first from Jerusalem to the place where the Lord met "Mary the sister of Lazarus:"¹⁴ the second to the Lazarium itself. The first stage of the

¹³ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 172.

¹⁴ The phrase is interesting in view of the observations of scripture scholars about the different ways the sisters are described in Jn 11-12. At the very least it should be noted that Martha was the first to meet Jesus at that spot as recorded in Jn 11.20-27.

procession seems to be a transitional one: Egeria specifies one hymn, one antiphon, and the reading of the gospel where the sister of Lazarus meets the Lord.¹⁵

Concerning the additional services for "Lazarus Saturday," section 29.5 informs us that they included "hymns and antiphons appropriate for the day and place," as well as the proclamation of John 12.1ff. at the dismissal, a reading described as *denuntiatur pascha, or annuntiata pascha*: "Then at the dismissal the presbyter announces Easter.... After this reading with its announcement of Easter, comes the dismissal. These phrases are almost certainly based on the text of Jn 12.1 which begins, "Six days before the Pascha..."

The interpretations offered by Egeria in 29.6 allow us to conclude that the celebrations at this time and place were understood within a framework which has been called "historicism." Egeria specifically mentions the text of John 12.1 and explains,

They do it on this day because the Gospel describes what took place in Bethany "six days before the Passover", and it is six days from this Saturday to the Thursday night on which the Lord was arrested after the Supper.¹⁶

Egeria's confident calculation of the "Six days before the Passover" implies that this is information she was given, although we cannot rule out the possibility that it is simply

¹⁵ The use of the singular "soror" would suggest that only one of the two episodes of Jn 11 was read, and based on the explicit mention of Mary earlier in this section it would seem that it was 11.28-32. Given how similar both passages are, however, one wonders if Egeria is here reporting a peculiarity of the selection of the readings, or if it is possible that only the latter was recalled by the tired pilgrim!

¹⁶ Propterea autem ea die hoc agitur, quoniam sicut in euangelio scriptum est, ante sex dies paschae factum hoc fuisset in Bethania; de sabbato enim usque in quinta feria, qua post cena noctu comprehenditur Dominus, sex dies sunt.

her own conclusion for the connection between the events commemorated on the Saturday before Palm Sunday and those celebrated as part of the Triduum. Egeria's text betrays no awareness of the fact that according to John 12.1 it was the anointing at Bethany which took place six days before the Passover, not the raising of Lazarus. It is probable that Matthew's account of that anointing was read by a presbyter in front of the screen of the Anastasis, on Wednesday night, after the dismissal from the Martyrium.

This is how Egeria describes it in Section 34 of her travelogue:

A presbyter stands in front of the screen, and he takes the Gospel book, and reads the passage about Judas Iscariot going to the Jews and fixing what they must pay him to betray the Lord. The people groan and lament at this reading in a way that would make you weep to hear them....

The actual decision of Judas to betray Jesus is described in Matthew 26.14-16, but it is hard to imagine these two verses having the emotional impact Egeria describes. As we shall see in the next chapter, the Armenian Lectionary prescribes Mt 26.3-16 at this time, and this larger pericope includes the description of the anointing of Jesus by an unnamed woman at the house of Simon the leper in Bethany, which is more likely to evoke the type of response Egeria experienced. In any case, when writing her remembrances, Egeria did not associate this groaning and lamenting with the commemoration of the anointing.

When the special stational services at Bethany are completed, the Bishop (and people) return to the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem for the usual Saturday evening Lamplighting Service. (See section 29.6.)

The celebration of "Lazarus Saturday" flows into what we would call "Palm

Sunday," and Great Week: "The next day, Sunday, is the beginning of Easter week, or as they call it here, "The Great Week."¹⁷ The transitional nature of this weekend seems to have been something Egeria was aware of, even if the specific relation of these days to the previous seven weeks or to the week to follow is not expressed with precision.

Palm Sunday

Egeria's work has already been utilized in specialized studies relating to Holy Week,¹⁸ and while there is much of interest to liturgical history in her descriptions, we can limit ourselves to those relating to Palm Sunday, and even here our interest will be on elements which might have a relation to those we have already identified as being associated with the celebration of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in the Byzantine tradition.

As was the case with "Lazarus Saturday," Egeria's description of the services of Palm Sunday is at pains to stress both how much they had in common with services during the rest of the paschal preparation, and what is distinctive about them.

Stereotypical phrases convey the commonality:

On this Sunday they do everything as usual at the Anastasis and the Cross from cock-crow to daybreak, and then as usual assemble in the Great Church known as the Martyrium, because it is on Golgotha behind the Cross, where the Lord was

¹⁷ 30.1. Alia ergo die, id est doménica qua intratur in septimana paschale, quam hic appellant septimana maior.

¹⁸ J. B. Thibaut, *Ordre des offices de la semaine sainte à Jérusalem du IV^e au X^e siècle* (Paris, 1926); *idem*, "Solennité du dimanche des palmes," *Echos d'Orient* 24 (1921): 68-78, 155-67; Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*; Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*; Taft, "Bridegroom's Absence".

put to death. When the service in the Great Church has taken place in the usual way (30.1-2)

As with Lazarus Saturday, a diaconal announcement before the dismissal from the Morning Liturgy announces the special station, although in this case there are actually two announcements which Egeria remembered. The first refers to the distinctive features of the upcoming week (gathering at the Martyrium at the Ninth Hour), while the second pertains to the beginning of the particular services to be held later that day (gathering at the Eleona at the Seventh Hour). The first of these announcements recalls one aspect of Palm Sunday as the beginning of Great Week, and suggests that some of those present for the usual Sunday morning services might not be present at the special services at the Eleona that afternoon. Thus this first announcement provides some support for Thomas Talley's suggestion that the Eleona procession on Palm Sunday was not originally part of the hagiopolite tradition.

The service on the Mount of Olives at the Seventh Hour (one o'clock in the afternoon) begins when the Bishop is seated with, "hymns and antiphons suitable to the place and to the day, and readings too."¹⁹ At three in the afternoon (the Ninth Hour) the congregation moves up the Mount of Olives to the Imbomon, "And there too they have hymns and antiphons suitable to the place and day, with readings and prayers between them."²⁰

¹⁹ 31.1. ...ymni et antiphonae apte diei ipsi uel loco, lectiones similiter.

²⁰ 31.1. Dicuntur et ibi ymni uel antiphonae aptae loco aut diei: similiter et lectiones interpositae et orationes.

At five in the afternoon, the procession begins with the gospel reading of the triumphal entry, probably from Matthew 21 because of the mention of children. Egeria's observations on the procession itself include remarking on its slow pace, and the explicit notice that everyone walks in this procession.²¹ The procession winds to the Anastasis, where Vespers are celebrated "even though it is late," then the day concludes with a prayer At the Cross.

Talley's Interpretation of Egeria

Thomas Talley has interpreted the evidence of Egeria about Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in a way that challenges one of the key assumptions liturgical historians have made about the way early hagiopolite practice influenced other liturgical traditions. The usual assumption is that the Jerusalem traditions which were rooted in remembrances associated with the sites of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection later came to be imitated in various ways in those Churches which did not have such a sacred topography. After examining Egeria's account of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, however, Talley concludes:

In fact, neither the visit to the tomb of Lazarus on Saturday nor the procession with Palms down the Mount of Olives on Sunday bears the marks of belonging to the traditional Jerusalem liturgy.²²

²¹ The description of the procession at Epiphany at 25.6 also mentions this slowness, "for the sake of the *monazontes* who are on foot." In this case it seems folks other than the monks, probably the wealthier locals as well as many of the "tourists," were **not** on foot.

²² Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 177, which also gives an endnote referring to the article of Cabrol in *DACL* 8²:2087.

This conclusion is based on a careful reading of the specific details Egeria describes for us.

Why, to be specific, is it appropriate to visit the tomb of Lazarus on the day before Palm Sunday? Or, surprising as the question may seem, why is it considered appropriate to process down the Mount of Olives bearing branches on the day before Monday of Great Week? None of the synoptic gospels suggests any connection between Christ's entrance into Jerusalem and his passion, and the Great Week readings at Jerusalem, we saw in Part One, follow Matthew. But even if the Jerusalem community had adopted at this point the chronology of the fourth gospel, why does that dramatic celebration of Christ's triumphal entry have no relationship to the Sunday morning liturgy? In Egeria's account, the celebration is organized on the Mount of Olives at one o'clock in the afternoon, the same hour as the visit to the Lazarium at Bethany on the previous day, an hour that places those observances outside the normal cursus of Jerusalem services.²³

If these celebrations on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday were not part of the original Jerusalem commemorations which followed the Matthean account of the last days of Jesus, how would they have become part of that tradition in time to be observed by Egeria? Talley suggests they were brought by pilgrims to Jerusalem from a place where they were already established and expected.

The visit to Bethany and the similar procession from the Mount of Olives on the two afternoons before Monday of Great Week represent excursions demanded by other liturgical calendars, not new liturgical days "invented" in Jerusalem. That observance at the Lazarium proved too ephemeral and began to fade into something else almost as soon as we see it in Egeria.

. . . the Saturday of Lazarus and Palm Sunday were already being observed somewhere else and the brief appearance of the first of those at Jerusalem was due to an influence from without. The second, the Palm Sunday that proved more sturdy, was, I believe, similarly grafted onto the tradition of Jerusalem, and from the same source. Jerusalem's Matthean tradition offers no support for a celebration of the entry into Jerusalem from that point in the year.²⁴

²³ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 177-8.

²⁴ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 182.

The final step is to speculate on the source tradition for these practices.

Given the intimate bond between Constantinople and Jerusalem in consequence of the imperial building program, it is easiest to imagine that the impetus for the visit to the Lazarium on that Saturday came from Byzantium, where the day seems to have been established already as the celebration of the raising of Lazarus. That Saturday, we will argue, was already followed at Constantinople by the feast of Palms prior to any visit to the scenes of those commemorations at Jerusalem. Those visits to significant sites represent a second stratum of the Jerusalem liturgy in response to the expectations of visitors, most probably from Constantinople, to the Holy City.²⁵

The biggest problem with Talley's interpretation is that we have no extant evidence which directly supports the celebration of Lazarus Saturday or Palm Sunday at Constantinople before the time of Egeria. The remaining chapters of Part IV will survey what evidence we do have for these commemorations. In the final section of this chapter, the literary evidence which refers to the Lazarium at Bethany will be presented.

Literary Evidence concerning the Lazarium at Bethany

The Earliest Pilgrims

The three earliest pilgrims to Palestine that we are aware of were Melito of Sardis around 260, Alexander of Cappadocia around 212, and Origen around the year 230. None of extant works attributed to them offer any explicit mention of Lazarus or Bethany, but they do offer evidence which is suggestive of a very early Christian interest in sacred geography.²⁶

²⁵ Talley, *Liturgical Year*, 182.

²⁶ Jack Finegan, *The Archeology of the New Testament: The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church*, Revised Edition, (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

...the journeys in Palestine of Melito, Alexander, Origen, and other early visitors to places which were shown as places of gospel history are a testimony to the relatively early date of the traditions attaching to these places. While the genuineness of the site is not proved by this alone, it is at any rate clear that Melito and others would not have made their journeys if they had not believed that the places they wished to see were still identifiable and accessible.²⁷

Melito of Sardis - 160

According to Eusebius (*EH* VI.11.2), Melito is the first Christian pilgrim to the Holy Land who can be documented. Both Eusebius (*EH* IV:26) and Jerome (*Lives of Illustrious Men*, 24) refer to a treatise by Melito in six books named *Extracts* - Ἐκλογαῖς. Eusebius quotes from the preface, in which Melito writes to Onesimus, who wanted to know accurately the number and order of the ancient books of scripture.

Accordingly when I went to the East and came to the place where these things were preached and done {ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γεγόμενος ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη}, I learned accurately the books of the Old Testament, and send them to you.... From these I have made the extracts."

In 1946, the full text of Melito's treatise περὶ πάσχα was published, and it has received a fair amount of scholarly attention since then. At least one scholar has used the tradition of Melito's pilgrimage to the Jerusalem to clarify an illusion within that work, where it says that Jesus was crucified "in the middle of the city."²⁸

1992), hereafter cited as Finegan, *Archeology*; Hans Windisch, "Die ältesten christlichen Palästina-pilger," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 48 (1925): 145-7.

²⁷ Finegan, *Archeology*, xvi.

²⁸ A. E. Harvey, "Melito and Jerusalem," *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1969): 401-404. Harvey notes the difference between Melito's assertion in *Peri Pascha* 71 and 94 that Christ was crucified "in the middle of Jerusalem" and the scriptural evidence the crucifixion took place outside the city. He presents evidence that the Roman

Alexander of Cappadocia - 212

Alexander is remembered as a friend of Origen, with whom he was a fellow student of Pantaenus and Clement at Alexandria. He is credited with establishing the library at Jerusalem which Eusebius would later use (EH IV.20). Eusebius says Alexander went to Jerusalem "for the purpose of prayer and investigation of the places." {εὐχῆς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας ἔνεκεν} (EH VI.11.2) Finegan comments,

By the "places" (τόποι) must almost certainly be meant the places that were of special significance in the Christian faith, i.e. the sacred places of Gospel events.... Furthermore he was concerned with ἱστορία, i.e., investigation in the sense of learning by inquiry, with respect to "the places."²⁹

It is important not to expect too much from these early witnesses. Finegan is still rather generous in his estimation of the value of what they tell us.

While neither Melito of Sardis nor Alexander of Cappadocia have left us specific writings which are actual descriptions of specific places in the Holy Land, it is evident that both of them undertook to visit the sacred places to confirm the authenticity of the sacred history, and that they might be able to bear witness thereto. Nor were they the only such travelers who had this objective as early as their times, i.e. in the second and third centuries.³⁰

Clearly there is an ideological stance which emphasizes the continuity between the apostolic community and later christian tradition, and clearly writers such as Melito and Alexander place themselves self-consciously within that tradition of continuity.

reconstruction of *Aelia Capitolina* put the forum on top of earlier graves, which would have been outside of the city before the year 70 AD. See also Stuart G. Hall, *Melito of Sardis: On Pascha and Fragments*, (Oxford, 1979), footnote 55 on p. 53.

²⁹ Finegan, *Archeology*, xv.

³⁰ Finegan, *Archeology*, xv.

Origen - 230

One of the most prodigious writers and penetrating intellects of the first Christian centuries, Origen casts a large shadow over the history of christian thought. While much of that legacy is embroiled in controversy, the witness we seek to find in this Alexandrian exile to Palestine is not subject to dispute.

During his residence in Palestine {c. 231 until his death c. 254}, and in connection with his exegetical and text-critical study of the Bible, Origen visited various places of sacred history. This is evident from a statement in his *Commentary on John* (VI 24; *GCS Origines* IV:149; *ANF* IX:370) where he gives "Bethabara" as the reading to be preferred in John 1.28. Having declared his conviction that we should read not "Bethany" but "Bethabara" in this passage ...he adds: "We have visited the places to learn by inquiry of the footsteps of Jesus and of his disciples and of the prophets {γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχνῶν Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν}." ... In another case Origen appeals to the apologetic significance of an attested site of a gospel event. Writing *Against Celsus* (I:51; *GCS Origines* I:102; *ANF* IV:418 . . .) he says that if anyone wishes to have additional evidence with respect to the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, let him know that in accordance with the history in the gospel concerning his birth, the cave in Bethlehem is pointed out where he was born, and the manger in the cave where he was wrapped in swaddling clothes.³¹

Origen is sometimes thought of as the father of critical study of the Bible, and it is not insignificant that his interest in sacred geography is related to his concerns to establish and give credibility to the biblical text. Finegan believes,

The word δείκνυται "is pointed out," is very important. It means, almost certainly that in his investigation of the footsteps of Jesus, Origen went himself to Bethlehem and was personally shown, no doubt by the Christians of the place, the evidential cave. To him this was a witness to the truth of the Gospel history.³²

³¹ Finegan, *Archeology*, xv.

³² Finegan, *Archeology*, xv-xvi.

The actual text of Origen is subject to a weaker interpretation, that as part of his apologetic concern for the credibility of the Gospels, Origen is willing to cite the existence of a "pilgrim site" in Bethlehem, a site he never explicitly claims to have visited. The point is not without significance for the focus of our own study, for in the passage where he does explicitly claim to have visited the places of the footsteps of Jesus, he rejects the identification of Bethany as the place where John baptized. Nowhere in his commentary on chapters 11 and 12 of John does Origen make any reference to having visited Bethany in Judea, and if he had in fact done so it is likely he would have mentioned it, for the same apologetic reason he mentions the Bethlehem site in *Against Celsus*. Furthermore if he had actually visited Bethlehem, he would of necessity have passed near those sites which later tradition would associate with Lazarus and his sisters.

Eusebius, *Onomasticon* - 325

Eusebius of Caesaria is known to all students of early Christian history because of his *Ecclesiastical History*, and is usually thought of by scholars today as Constantine's "court theologian." Several recent writers even attribute the transformation of Roman Palestine into "the Holy Land" directly to the influence of Eusebius on Constantine, and whatever the specific dynamics of that relationship were there can be no doubt that Eusebius was the single most influential thinker in shaping the way later generations would think of the biblical sites.

The *Onomasticon* {περὶ τῶν τοποκῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ} was the fourth part of a work on biblical geography, the writing of which was suggested by Bishop Paulinus of Tyre. Since the latter died in 331, this work was probably composed before that date, say therefore, about 330, or possibly even

earlier, between the *Chronicle* and the *Church History*. The first three parts of the entire work which are not extant, were an Interpretation of the Ethnological Terms of the Hebrew Scriptures in Greek, a Topography of Ancient Judea, and a Plan of Jerusalem and the Temple. The fourth part, which is extant and is commonly called the *Onomasticon*, is an alphabetical list of place names in the Bible, with notes on the situation and history of these localities.³³

It is in this context that he gives our first explicit reference to the *Lazarium*: "The place of Lazarus is still pointed out even until now" {δείκνυται εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁ Λαζάρου τόπος}. Finegan suggests, "the characteristic formula 'is pointed out,' doubtless attests a tradition of very long standing."³⁴ A more cautious interpretation would suggest that in using the phrase δείκνυται, Eusebius undoubtedly wishes to suggest a tradition of long standing. Whether such a tradition is something Eusebius discovered or created is a matter of current scholarly debate, with more recent opinions inclining towards the latter.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim - 333

This is the oldest pilgrim account to have survived, made by an otherwise unknown traveler who journeyed from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and then stopped at Rome and Milan on his homeward journey. Many of his "notes" are brief, bare-bones descriptions of significant markers along the journey. His description of Bethany is as follows:

Here you ascend the Mount of Olives, where the Lord taught his apostles before his passion: here is the basilica which was built on the order of

³³ Finegan, *Archeology*, xvi.

³⁴ *Archeology*, 157.

Constantine. Not far from here is the hill which the Lord ascended to pray and where Moses and Elijah appeared, when Peter and John were with him. From here about 1500 paces to the East is the village called Bethany; here is the tomb in which was placed Lazarus, whom the Lord raised up. The journey from Jericho to Jerusalem is 18 miles.³⁵

The pilgrim is here going from Jerusalem to Jericho. He notes the "Basilica built by Constantine where the Lord before {his} passion taught the disciples;" Egeria called this the Eleona, a name she would use for the Church as well as the Mount of Olives itself, noting that "the cave in which the Lord used to teach" is there.³⁶ Going over the hilltop, which interestingly enough he associates with the Transfiguration, he next mentions the village called Bethany, about 1500 paces to the East: "here is the crypt in which was laid Lazarus, whom the Lord raised." The Latin term *cripta* would fit well with the *τάφος* described in John 11. The phrase *castello de lazaro* of the Manuscript M would seem to reflect some later scribe's awareness that a building had been constructed on the site.

³⁵ English translation by PEY from the Latin original published in *CCSL* 175:18.

595.4b Inde ascendis

5 in montem oliueti, ubi Dominus ante passionem apostolos docuit: ibi
 6 facta est basilica iussu Constantini. Inde non longe est monticulus, ubi
 7 Dominus ascendit orare et apparuit illic Moyses et Helias, quando Petram
 596.1 et Iohannem secum duxit. Inde ad orientem passus mille quingentos est
 2 uilla, quae appellatur Bethania; est ibi cripta, ubi Lazarus positus fuit,
 3 quem Dominus suscitauit.
 4 Item ad Hierusalem in Hiericho milia XVIII. . . .

Manuscript M, XIII of this document offers the variant reading for 596.1-2, "Inde ad passos mille est bethania, castello de lazaro."

³⁶ Egeria 33.2; Wilkinson, 134.

Egeria - 381-384

Egeria's testimony was examined in the first part of this chapter, it is mentioned here just to provide a chronological marker with regard to the other witnesses mentioned here.

Jerome

In his Latin translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, done before 390, Jerome adapts Eusebius' words to read, "*A church which has now been erected there* points out his monument." Thus it seems clear that a church was built at the site venerated as the tomb of Lazarus between these two authors, somewhere in the middle of the Fourth Century. The archeological evidence for this structure is presented below.

In his letters, Jerome also conveys some sense of the importance visiting the holy sites had for Christians of his time, and the scene of the raising of Lazarus is given a prominent place in his account. Writing to Marcella, whom he was hoping to entice to visit Palestine, he says:

Will the time never come when a breathless messenger shall bring the news that our dear Marcella has reached the shores of Palestine, and when every band of monks and every troop of virgins shall unite in a song of welcome? In our excitement we are already hurrying to meet you; without waiting for a vehicle, we hasten off at once on foot. We shall clasp you by the hand, we shall look upon your face; and when after long waiting we at last embrace you, we shall find it hard to tear ourselves away. Will the day never come when we shall together enter the Saviour's cave, and together weep in the sepulcher of the Lord with his sister and with his mother? Then shall we touch with our lips the wood of the cross, and rise in prayer and resolve upon the Mount of Olives with the ascending Lord. We shall see Lazarus come forth bound with grave clothes, we shall look upon the waters of the Jordan purified for the washing of the Lord. Thence we

shall pass³⁷

In Letter 108.12, Jerome also tells us that Paula visited the tomb of Lazarus at Bethany.³⁸

Theodosius - 530

Nothing is known of this early sixth-century author, beyond his pilgrim notes which provide a valuable witness to the Palestinian sites of his day. After Egeria, he is the only author to explicitly mention the commemoration of the raising of Lazarus.

23 ... Lazarum, quem Domnus resuscitavit, scitur quia resuscitatus est, secundum mortem eius nemo cognovit. Hoc in Bethania contigit secundo milario de Hierusalem et in resuscitatione sancti Lazari in ipso loco ante pascha dominico omnis populus congregat et missas celebrantur.³⁹

"As to Lazarus whom the Lord raised, it is known that he was raised, but no one knows of his second death. This happened in Bethany two miles from Jerusalem, and all the people gather in that place at the {feast of the} Raising of Lazarus {*the Sunday*} before Easter Sunday and services are held."

As our translation shows, it is possible to interpret his Latin as suggesting that the commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus takes place on the Sunday before Pascha, something which could be suggested by the Apolytikion used in the current Byzantine services of Palm Sunday. The more natural translation, however, is that the celebration takes place "before Easter Sunday" which would fit with Egeria's description of Lazarus Saturday.

³⁷ Jerome, *Letter* 46, To Marcella (Migne, *PL* 22:490; *NPNFSS* VI:65).

³⁸ *NPNFSS* VI:200-201.

³⁹ *CCSL* 175:123.

The Anonymous of Piacenza - 570

This work has the title *Antonia Placentini Itinerarium*, however this refers to a pilgrimage under the protection of the patron saint of Piacenza, the martyr Antoninus. Modern authors thus recognize that we do not know anything of the author by calling him or her "The anonymous of Piacenza." The section pertinent to our inquiry witnesses to the vibrant monastic activity which characterized the height of the Byzantine period in Palestine, but does not really add anything to our knowledge of the Lazarium.

16. When we had ascended the mountain towards Jerusalem, not far from Jerusalem we came to Baorin, thereafter {we came} towards the towns of the Mount of Olives, {coming} into Bethany to the monument of Lazarus. Now, looking back into that valley and those pathways, {there are} many monasteries, places of wonders, where we saw a multitude of cells of men and women on the Mount of Olives⁴⁰

Arculf - 670

Arculf was a Frankish Bishop and pilgrim, who spent 9 months in Jerusalem just after the rise of Islam. Ill winds on his return trip landed him at Britain, where he told of his journeys to Abbot Adamnan of Iona (679-704) who wrote them down in three books. Our excerpt is in Book One, section 24.

XXIII. ON THE TOMB OF LAZARUS, THE CHURCH CONSTRUCTED

⁴⁰ CCSL 175:137. The alternate recension given on p. 162 has no significant variants for our purposes. The Latin original is as follows:

16. Ascendentibus nobis de montana in Hierusalima no longe ab Hierusalima uenimus in Baorin, deinde ad sinistram ad oppida Oliueti montis in Bethania ad monumentum Lazari. Nam respicientibus in ualles illas et perambulantes monasteria multa, loca mirabiliorum, uidimus multitudinem in clausorum uirorum ac mulierum in monte Oliueti... .

OVER IT (AND) THE MONASTERY ADJOINED TO IT.

Arculf frequently visited the holy places mentioned above, including the village of Bethany which was surrounded by a great wooded area of olive trees; here there is a great monastery and a grand basilica built over the cave from which our Lord raised Lazarus {who had been} dead for four days.⁴¹

This is the first explicit mention of a monastery specifically associated with the site of Lazarus' tomb, although as the previously cited witness from the Anonymous of Piacenza shows, it is quite possible that the existence of such a monastery would not have provoked a particular comment among earlier visitors. The use of the term *speluncam* to describe the tomb over which the Basilica was built is consistent with earlier descriptions of it as well as its current condition. Arculf's use of the adjectival expression *quatrduanum mortuum* to modify Lazarus echos the Greek expression τετραήμερος which is so common in our target texts.

The Venerable Bede - 720

Known primarily for his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, Bede probably became aware of Abbot Adamnan's account of Arculf's travels early in the eighth century, since some extracts from it are included in that history. Arculf's account is almost surely the basis for Bede's work *De locis sanctis*, which became the standard guidebook for pilgrims of the Middle ages to the Holy Land. The treatment of Bethany

⁴¹ CCSL 175:202. The Latin is as follows:

XXIII. DE SEPULCHRO LAZARI ET ECCLESIA SUPER ILLUD
CONSTRUCTA (ET) DE MONASTERIO EIDEM ADHERENTE

Arculfus sanctorum supra memoratorum frequentator locorum quendam Bethaniae campulum magna oliuarum silua circumdatum uisitauit, ubi grande inest monasterium et grandis basilica supra illam edificata speluncam de qua Dominus quatrduanum mortuum suscitauit Lazarum.

seems to have been copied verbatim by Peter the Deacon, librarian of Monte Cassino, in his *Liber de locis sanctis* of 1137.

Bede VI.3,

Here is pointed out the Monument of Lazarus and the Church built up there, and the great monastery in the field of great olive trees which surrounds Bethany. This Bethany is about 15 stadia from Jerusalem. On the third of the hilltops to the west of Bethany is the church where the Lord, before his passion, spoke to his disciples about the day of judgement.⁴²

These third-hand accounts were very influential in medieval piety, but do not add anything to our knowledge of the sites themselves.

Archeological Evidence

The Lazarium Itself

We have already noted how Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon* suggests that a Church was built on the site venerated as Lazarus' tomb between the times of these two authors, i.e., somewhere in the middle of the Fourth Century. Egeria specifically mentions the crowd which gathered for Lazarus Saturday spilling out of this church into the surrounding fields.

Finegan dates this church to the fourth century, "probably after the middle of the century." During excavations in 1949-1953 preparing for the construction of the new

⁴² Adapted from CCSL 175:264. Cf. Peter the Deacon VII.1 (*Italics indicates words or sentences which Bede changed from other authors*). Monumentum Lazari ecclesia ibidem extructa demonstrat et monasterium grande in campo quodam Bethaniae magna oliuarum silua circumdato (*circumdat*). Est autem Bethania quindecim stadiis ab Hierusalem. Tertia quoque montis eiusdem ad australem Bethaniae partem ecclesia est, ubi Dominus ante passionem discipulis de die iudicii loquitur (*locutus est*).

Church of St. Lazarus, a plan for this church was reconstructed.⁴³ Excavations suggest this first church was probably destroyed by an earthquake (one is known to have taken place in 447), to be subsequently replaced by a second church. Crusader modifications built upon this basic plan, and the excavators called this Crusader construction the third church, while modifications to the western end of the complex made at the same time resulted in a distinct church, which Saller et. al. called the fourth church. The Crusaders also had an abbey and protective tower, described by William of Tyre (1184).⁴⁴

Other Archeological Evidence at Bethany

In 1950, Dominicans from the *École Biblique* excavated a rock grotto located some 400 meters from the site venerated as the tomb of Lazarus.⁴⁵ Graffiti in this grotto were left by pilgrims from the fourth through seventh centuries, "in which time this was plainly a sacred shrine of some sort."⁴⁶ Finegan reproduces two inscriptions which demonstrate how this site was also associated with veneration of Lazarus.

ΚΕ Ο ΘΣ Ο ΕΓΓΡΑΣΤΟΝ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΝ ΕΚ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ
ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ ΚΕ
ΧΙΟΝΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΥΛΗΣ (ΣΟ)Υ

Lord God, who raised Lazarus from the dead
remember your servant Asklepios and
Chionion you servant (f)

⁴³ Cf. Finegan, *Archeology*, figure no. 146 on p. 158.

⁴⁴ See Finegan, *Archeology*, 160-161.

⁴⁵ P. Benoit and M.E. Boismard, "Un ancien sanctuaire chrétien à Béthanie," *Revue Biblique* 58 (1951): 200-251.

⁴⁶ Finegan, *Archeology*, 157.

ΘΕΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣ	God of the Christians,
ΤΙΛΑΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ	have mercy
ΑΝΑΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΜΑΡ	on Anamos [the sinner]
Τ(ΟΑ)ΟΝΚΕ ΕΘΛΦΕΡΑΥ	and take away
ΤΩ ΤΑΣ ΑΜΡΤΙΑΣ(ΑΜ) ΗΝ.	his sins. (Am)en

These excavations also showed how common the names Lazarus, Martha, and Mary were in the early Christian era, and there is one tomb there which associates all three names together.

Clearly Christians who were fascinated with the sites associated with the gospel events included Bethany and the presumed tomb from which Lazarus was raised in their pilgrimage itineraries. Unfortunately, apart from Egeria, this evidence does not tell us much about the content of any commemoration of the raising of Lazarus which might have been associated with that pilgrimage activity. Fortunately we do have access to some Lectionary evidence from Jerusalem which goes a long way towards suggesting the content of the psalms and antiphons and hymns appropriate to the day and place which Egeria repeatedly mentioned, and it is this material which will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 23

THE LECTIONARY EVIDENCE

Sebastiá Janeras has shown in his study of Holy Friday how much can be gleaned from a close comparison of early lectionaries, and expanding the scope of such research beyond the focused examination of a particular day is another *desideratum* for future foundations of research into the history of Byzantine liturgical elements. Lack of access to manuscript sources, as well as the inevitable limitations of a dissertation, make such a survey of the sources beyond the scope of our current inquiry. Limiting ourselves to three published sources, however, we can get some idea of the development of Lazarus Saturday in Jerusalem through the evidence of the documents conventionally referred to as the Armenian and Georgian Lectionaries.

As was noted in chapter 2, a definitive taxonomy of Byzantine liturgical sources does not yet exist, and as a more sophisticated taxonomy becomes accepted, each of the sources mentioned here might well end up in a category other than "lectionary." For our current purposes, however, this seems like the most convenient designation under which to consider these important witnesses to the development of Lazarus Saturday.

The Armenian Lectionary

"Among the texts which make us aware of the Jerusalem rite at its origins, the

document referred to as the *Armenian Lectionary* holds an important place."¹ Brought to the awareness of the scholarly world by F.C. Conybeare's edition of the National Library of Paris codex Armenian 44,² the 1971 edition of A. Renoux uses three manuscripts to provide a definitive edition, which "show us a lectionary evolving over the years."³

Renoux claims that only three extant manuscripts have preserved without additions the Jerusalem typikon of the beginning of the fifth century. These belong to a larger group of manuscripts

which the catalogs designate with the name (Čašoc`) or (Tonac` oyc`). Identified at times with typika and at {other times} with lectionaries, they indicate, while following the course of the liturgical year, the proper texts of the liturgy for each feast. The kanon of each of these celebrations thus includes, after the notice of the day and the month, an indication of the nature of the feast, the place where it is celebrated, and finally the psalms and readings.⁴

Renoux's base document is Jerusalem 121, from the Convent of St. James in Jerusalem, for which we will use the *siglum* J. Colophons establish that the first part of the manuscript (pp. 1-612) was copied in 1192 at a convent in Armenian Cilicia, while the second part was written in Jerusalem in 1318. The document published by Conybeare can be designated as P, while E will be used to refer to the codex Erevan 985.

The Codex E, by the fusions which it makes as well as by the contradictions which it contains, thus does not seem to correspond to a liturgical situation which

¹ Renoux, *Armenian Lectionary*, 151.

² F.C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905) 507-527.

³ Renoux, *Armenian Lectionary*, 152.

⁴ Renoux, *Armenian Lectionary*, 152. On pp. 152-4, Renoux offers a succinct summary of Adonitz's work on this larger group of manuscripts, most of which are later and thus include additions and adaptations of the primitive Jerusalem typikon.

really existed in Jerusalem. It is the result of a mixing of characteristics of different eras, some of the type represented by J and others of the type represented by P, as well as by another, more ancient type, different from those two, as regards the ritual of the mystagogical catecheses.⁵

The characteristics of each manuscript suggest that the evolution of the Armenian lectionary can be traced from its earliest form in J, to a more developed form in AL-P, with still later developments reflected in E, although Renoux believes that concerning the mystagogical catecheses, this manuscript also retains elements reflecting more ancient Jerusalem traditions than the other two. Following the examples of Wilkinson and Janeras, we will present the evidence from the Armenian Lectionary in tabular form which facilitates comparison with the Georgian Lectionary. The Armenian Lectionary readings are taken from Wilkinson, 253-277 except for 31-34^{bis} which were taken from Renoux, *Armenian Lectionary*, 253-259. Since Wilkinson gives the readings according to the *Revised Standard Version* of the Bible and its Psalter, there are some discrepancies from his numberings and that of Renoux, who follows the Septuagint tradition of the Christian East.

⁵ Renoux, *Armenian Lectionary*, 161.

Table 10: The Readings of the Armenian Lectionary

- 1 Epiphany
 Jan 5 @ *Place of the Shepherds*
 23 1
 80
 Lk 2.8-19
 Mt 1.18-25
- 2 Vigil, *Church of Bethlehem*
 2 7
 Titus 2.11-15
 110.1
 Mt 2.1-12
- 3 2nd day, *Mtm of Stephen*
- 4 Sunday *Martyrium*
- 5 4th day @ *Sion*
- 6 5th day @ *Eleona*
- 7 6th day @ *Lazarium*
 30 3
 1 Th 4.13-18
 40.1
 Jn 11.1-46
- 8 7th day @ *Golgotha*
- 9 8th day, Circumcision, @ *Anastasis*
- 17 Readings at Baptismal Instructions
- 18 Readings during Lent
 1st Wed, *Sion*
 Ex 1.1- 2.1
 Joel 1.14-20
 51 1
- 19 1st Fri, *Sion*

Dt 6.4 - 7.20
 Job 6.2 - 7.13
 Is 40.1-8
 41 4

- 20 2nd Mon
 1 Sam 1.1-23
 Pr 1.2-33
 Jer 1.1-10
 130 2
- 21 2nd Tue
 1 Sam 1.23^a - 2.26
 Pr 2.1 - 3.10
 Jer 1.11 - 2.3
 27 9
- 22 2nd Wed
 Ex 2.11-22^b
 Joel 2.1-11
 Micah 4.1-7
 57 1
- 23 2nd Thur
 1 Sam 4.1-18
 Pr 3.11- 4.13
 Jer 2.31 - 3.16
 39 11^b - 12^a
- 24 2nd Fri
 Dt 7.11 - 8.1
 Job 9.2 - 10.2^a
 Is 40.9-17
 65 5
- 25 3rd Wed
 Ex 2.23 - 3.15
 Joel 2.21-32
 71 1
- 26 3rd Fri
 Dt 8.11 - 9.10
 Job 12.1 - 13.6

Is 42.1-8^a

75 1

27 4th Wed

Ex 3.16-22

Joel 3.1-8

77 2

28 4th Fri

Dt 9.11-24

Job 16.2 - 17.6

Is 43.22 - 44.8

83 18

29 5th Wed

Ex 4.1-21^b

Joel 3.9-21

84 5

30 5th Fri

Dt 10.1-15

Job 19.2-29

Is 43.22 - 44.8

85 7

31 6th Wed

Ex 4.21^b - 5.3

Zech 9.9-16^a

85 15^b-16^a

32 6th Fri

Friday, at the tenth hour, assemble at the Holy [Sion *P,E*; *lacuna J*]

Dt 11.10-25

Job 21.2-34

Is 46.3 - 47.4

87 3

"The canon of the Sixth Week is finished."

33 6th day before the Passover [of the Law *J,E*; omit *P*], at the [tenth *J*; sixth *E*; none given in *P*] hour
assemble at the *Lazarium*, and the {following} kanon is taken:

29 4
 1 Th 4.13-18
 39.1 *minor variants of J,P,E*
 Jn 11.55-12.11

- 34 [Sunday *J,E*; omit *P*], Day of Palms, ["Ologomen," *E*]
 assemble at the *Martyrium* in the city, and the {following} kanon is taken:
 97 8^b[+9^a *J*
 Eph 1.3-10
 96
 Mt 20.29 - 21.17 *J*; Mt 21.1-11 *PE*
- 34^{bis} The same day, at the ninth hour {3 PM}, ascend the *Mount of Olives* with
 branches of palms, and there one sings psalms and prays until the
 [eleventh *JE*; tenth *P*] hour, descend to the *Anastasis*, singing Psalm 117,
 with the antiphon verse 26.
- 35 Monday for Easter
- 44 Saturday
 dawn *Anastasis*

 evening, *Anastasis*
 ascend to *Martyrium*
 12 lessons
 midnight, newly baptised enter

Later development of the tradition continued in areas of greater Armenia, but Renoux seems to be on solid ground when he distinguishes these later developments from the original Jerusalem usages which served as their inspiration and starting point. A few of these later developments mentioned by Renoux touch upon our target elements.

Venice 285, written in 1328, specifies a celebration for each of the Sundays of Lent; it has also abandoned any reference to the newly-baptized at the Paschal vigil or to the mystagogical readings after octave-week of Pascha.

Vienna 3, from the library of the Mekhitarist fathers, replaces the stational organization of Palm Sunday evening with an office "at the door of the church."

The manuscript of the Pontifical Armenian College at Rome which Adontz numbered as 1230 suppresses all of the stational references *except* those for Lazarus Saturday and Pentecost.

From the same library, the manuscript which Adontz numbered as 2 (currently #3 of the catalog of the Pontifical Armenian College) was copied in 1302. It adds an office of Matins to the Liturgy of Lazarus Saturday, which is no longer listed as being celebrated at the Lazarium.

The Georgian Lectionary

Slowly over the course of this century another important witness to the early liturgy at Jerusalem has appeared, as a variety of scholars called attention to a series of Georgian manuscripts which were eventually used by Michel Tarchnischvili to reconstruct a source popularly known as the Georgian Lectionary. We have already noted how K. Kekalidze's publication in Russian of *A Jerusalem Kanonarion of the VIIth Century* (Tiflis, 1912) received a partial translation into German along with commentary in Th. Kluge and A. Baumstark.⁶ Kekalidze's edition was based on the manuscript of Lathal, with additions based on the manuscript of Kala.

Tarchnischvili was able to utilize these two manuscripts plus two more. His base

⁶ "Quadragesima und Karwoche im siebenten Jahrhundert," *Oriens christianus*, N.S., 5 (1915): 201-233; 359-363 (includes corrections by G. Graf.); *idem*, "Oster- und Pfingsterfeier Jerusalems im siebenten Jahrhundert," *Oriens christianus*, N.S., 6 (1916): 223-239. A translation into Greek appeared in *Νέα Σιών*, (1914): 49-59; 202-241; 310-342. The work was also utilised in the studies of B. Cappelle, "La fête de la Vierge à Jérusalem au V^e siècle," *Le Muséon* 56 (1943): 1-33; and S. Vailhé, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1899): 512-542; 5 (1900): 19-48; 272-292.

manuscript we shall call P, Georgian Manuscript # 3 of the National Library of Paris.⁷ S will be our *siglum* for Sinai Georgian Manuscript # 37, for which a colophon which dates the manuscript to 982 also describes the contents as:

Ego Johannes. . . scripsi sanctum hunc librum *Kanoni*: Christi Nativitatem et Epiphaniam et festum Palmarum et {ordinem} passionis dominicae {hebdomadis} et Impletionem {Paschae}, omnino cum omni ordinatione, sicut in *Kanoni* scriptum est.

I John . . . have written this holy book of *Kanons*: for the Birth and Epiphany of Christ, for the feast of Palms, for the {order of} the passion {week} of {our} Lord and for the Culmination {of Pascha}; each is given with all of the instructions, as it is written in the *Kanons*.⁸

From the perspective of our structural analysis of the Triodion, it is striking that this enumeration of the *Kanons* supports the idea of Palm Sunday and Holy Week as liturgically distinct from the preceding lenten fast. Lazarus Saturday is not included in the material collected in this manuscript, which after Epiphany picks up with Palm

⁷ "A notice in italian on folio 388^r tells us further that the manuscript came from Tiflis and that it was sent by the prefect of the Cappuchin missionaries in Georgia to their superior in Constantinople, where the codex arrived on September 3, 1731. From Byzantium it passed to the Borgia collection of the Vatican Library, and under Napoleon the First from Rome to Paris." Tarchnischvili, *Georgian Lectionary*, vi-vii. Based on a comparison with the other three manuscripts, Tarchnischvili was able to re-arrange the leafs of this manuscript in their original order, a significant change from their extant numbering.

⁸ Tarchnischvili, *Georgian Lectionary*, vii. Footnote 8 at that location explains, "This colophone is no longer included with the manuscript, but there is no doubt that it was included earlier, because the content which it indicates corresponds exactly to that of the manuscript." The colophone was copied by Kekalidze on p. 7 of *A Jerusalem Kanonarion* . . . ; it is also recorded by Cagareli in "Katalog gruzinskih rukopisej sinajskogo monastyrja [Catalog of ancient russian manuscripts of the Sinai Monastery]," *Pravosl. Palestinsk. Sbornik* IV (St. Petersburg, 1888): 210. Cigareli give GL-S the number 30 in his catalog.

Sunday morning.⁹

The codex itself is divided into two very distinct parts: the first contains the order for the divine services themselves (fol. 2^r - 272^v, while the second, summarizing the preceding rubrics, gives us the *complete* text of the liturgical hymns which in the first part are only cited by *incipit*.¹⁰

Tarchnischvili does not give us these hymn texts, but the publication of the Seventh-Century Georgian *Iadgari* or Chantbook promises new avenues for further research.¹¹

Tarchnischvili also incorporated the two manuscripts already used by Kekalidze, although a broader base of comparison enabled him to re-organize the material significantly from her earlier edition. We shall refer to these as L for the Lathal manuscript, and K for the manuscript of Kala. The other two fragments utilized by Tarchnischvili do not contain any of the material for Lazarus Saturday or Palm Sunday.

The *Georgian Lectionary* readings are abstracted from Tarchnischvili, who also follows the Septuagint numbering.

⁹ The fact that this sequence of feasts is similar to that of Egeria (who includes mention of Lent in general and Lazarus Saturday in particular) is also striking, but it would be difficult to conclude anything from these parallels given the tortured history of each manuscript. It should also be made explicit that the Georgian liturgical term *Kanon* is different from the genre of liturgical hymn, and corresponds more to the concept of a "Order of Service" for a particular commemoration.

¹⁰ Tarchnischvili, *Georgian Lectionary*, viii.

¹¹ See Peter Jeffery, "The Sunday Office of the Seventh-Century Jerusalem in the Georgian Chantbook (*Iadgari*): A Preliminary Report," *Studia Liturgica* (1991): 52-71, which includes many pointers to the relevant bibliography up to that point. It is my assumption that Gaga Churgaia's 1996 dissertation at the *PIOS* deals with the relevant Georgian material for Lazarus Saturday, but so far I have not been able to learn anything more specific about the content of this dissertation.

Table 11: The Readings of the Georgian Lectionary

- 557. Sixth Friday**
 Readings of the catechumens
- 558.** Ez 37? "And it happened that the hand of the Lord was over me. . ." found under Great Saturday.
- 559.** 1 Cor 8.4-13
- 560.** The same day, Friday, at Vespers, synaxis in Sion
- 561.** 1st reading: Dt 12.28 - 14.3
- 562.** 2nd reading: Job 21.2 - 25.33
- 563.** 3rd reading: Pr 24.7-17; 19-28; 31.10-28.
- 564.** [K omits] 4th reading: Is
 found under Epiphany Vigil.
 Psalm, Tone 6, 29.4 2
- 565.** The same Friday [of the Palms, synaxis in Sion L]
 Commemoration of John, Archbishop of Jerusalem, who first built {the Church at} Sion, and Modestus, who re-built {that Church} after the fire.
- For the Sacrifice of the Mass:
 Troparion, Tone 5: "Rejoice all you who are praising. . ."
 Psalm: 91.13
 Verse: 91.2
- 566.** 1st reading: Is
 Found under the commemoration of priests and teachers.
- 567.** 2nd reading: Eph
 Found under the 5th day of Epiphany.
 Alleluia: Tone 1, Ps32.1
- 568.** Gospel: Jn 10.11-16
- 569.** Washing of the Hands: {Tone} 4, "Blessed are they . . ."
- 570.** Who is like the Lord our God?
- 571. Saturday of the Palms.**
 Synaxis in Bethany. Commemoration of Lazarus.
 At the Liturgy: Troparion, {Tone} 2: Glory, Glory to You!
 Another: Blessed are You, Lord, who comes {to Bethany L}
 Psalm: Tone 6: Ps 29.4
 Verse: 29.2
- 572.** 1st reading: Pr 10.27 - 11.4
- 573.** 2nd reading: Eph 5.13-17
 Alleluia, Tone 2, Ps 22.3-4
- 574.** Gospel: Jn 11.55 - 12.11
- 575.** Washing of the Hands: Tone 5: "Mary and Martha were saved"

576. *P* - Day in Palms. At the Third Hour the Office sounds and they are gathered in church. Palms are already placed over the altar from Vespers.
S - Day of the Palms, at the Third Hour, Synaxis in Sion, they are gathered before the altar,
L The Seventh Sunday, day of the Palms, at the Third Hour they go out to the holy Mount of Olives with this song, Tone 1, "Rejoice, pure daughter. . ."
 Another: "God, in the form of a servant . . ."
 And when they have come to the holy Mount of Olives,
577. And *kverexi* and prayers are made, then they say the Great *Hypakoe* from "The Mountains rejoice" and then prayers are offered and the psalm is done, Tone 1, "The Mountains rejoice. . ." Ps 97.8
 Verse: Sing to the Lord a {new} song" Ps 97.1
 And palms are blessed. (written between the lines of *P*)
L The Alleluia is not said, at this place three gospels are taken.
S - And they read the gospel, bless the palms, and go out making litanies.
578. *P* - Gospel: Jn 12.12-22
L Jn 12.12-18
S - First Gospel: *S*; *K* Jn 12.12-23
579. And after the Gospel they make *kverexi* and prayers, and they come as far as Gesaminiam (Gethsemane) with this hymn, Tone 4, "Who sits at the right hand of the Father . . ."
 Another: "Today is fulfilled . . ."
580. And when they have come together into Gethsamani, they make *kverexi* and prayers, and they say the Great *Hypakoe* from "The Mountains Exalt" and they make prayers and they say this psalm: "The Mountains Exalt . . ." Ps 97.8
 Verse: Sing to the Lord {a new} song Ps 97.1
581. Gospel according to Luke: 19.29-38
582. And after the gospel they make *kverexi* and prayers and they go forth as far as the Probaticum with this song, Tone 8, "Sitting at his right . . ."
 Another: "Today the Savior has entered. . ."
583. And when they have come together into the Probaticum, they make *kverexi* and prayers, and they say the Great *Hypakoe* from "The Mountains Exalt" and they make prayers and they say this psalm: "The Mountains Exalt . . ." Ps 97.8
 Verse: Sing to the Lord {a new} song Ps 97.1

584. Gospel of Mark 11.1-10

585. After this they make prayers and they go forth as far as the Catholicas with this song: "Blessed is the one who comes . . ." Ps 117.26

Verse: "Blessed is the King of Glory, upon the colt of an ass, Hosanna Son of David""

586. And then they fulfill the kanon of the sacrifice of the mass,
Troparion, Tone 1, "Giving to all an assurance of your resurrection before your passion . . ."

Psalm, {Tone} 1, psalm: "The Mountains Exalt . . ." Ps 97.8

Verse: Sing to the Lord {a new} song Ps 97.1

587. First Reading, Proverbs: 24.17-30

588. 2nd Reading: Zephaniah the Prophet: 3.14-17

589. 3rd Reading: Isaiah the Prophet: 42.1-6

590. 4th Reading: Jeremiah the Prophet: 4.36 - 5.9

591. 5th Reading: Isaiah the Prophet: 62.10-12

592. 6th Reading: Ezekiel the Prophet: 31.3-13

593. 7th Reading: Eph 1.3-14

Alleluia: Ps 8.2

594. Gospel: Mt 21.1-17

595. At the Washing of the Hands: Tone 1, "He has seen wondrous and glorious deeds . . ."

Another: "Who is above the throne but . . ."

596. Sanctificatorium: "Today has entered into Sion . . ."

597. At Vespers: Troparion, Tone 1, "Give thanks for the Savior . . ."

Psalm: {Tone} 7: Ps 121.18-19

Verse: Ps 121.2

CHAPTER 24

PATRISTIC TREATMENTS OF LAZARUS

Method

Data concerning the discussion of Lazarus among the patristic authors was gathered in two ways. The first was a conventional literature search, looking at published accounts of patristic treatment of the raising of Lazarus, and then tracking down the sources and cross-references given in them. It turns out that several recent publications are very informative for our study.

The second strategy was based on a search of the textbase of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for the string $\Lambda\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho^*$.¹ That data was then sorted, putting aside all references to the Lukan Lazarus unless there was a possibility that the discussion had echoes of the Johannine Lazarus. For those passages dealing with the raising of Lazarus, source information was gathered from *Canon of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and added to the list. These texts were then sorted into the most common themes represented in them.

¹ Prof. Edward G. Mathews of the Department of Foreign Languages at the University of Scranton did the actual search and presented me with the data on disk, one of several such courtesies which have provided valuable assistance on this thesis.

Preliminary Observations

The sheer mass of data produced by the TLG search deserves its own detailed analysis, something which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Several preliminary observations can be made, however, which will enable us to focus our analysis on a few of the elements which have already been identified as being central to our study.

The Raising of Lazarus

The TLG data offer many examples which support the general categories which Kremer had already identified as being characteristic of the patristic discussions about the raising of Lazarus. Many of these are also among the thematic elements associated with our target texts. A few examples will suffice here to illustrate the general trend.

The Raising of Lazarus as an example of Christ's divine power

There were a variety of contexts in which the Fathers of the Church were fond of enumerating a list of Jesus' miracles as a sign of his divine power. The polemical literature in which they attacked various enemies of the faith, the apologetic literature in which they attempted to explain and defend the faith to those who did not share it, and the homiletical genre in which they sought to explain the faith to those who had already accepted it, are three of the largest categories of patristic writings, and such lists of miracles are prominent within each of them. The fact that the raising of Lazarus is usually included, and often emphasized within, such lists, is not surprising. The following are just a few examples of such citations derived from the search of the TLG.

- * TLG 2115: 002 Hippolytus of Rome, *Contra Noetum* 18,7;
- * TLG 0646: 443 Pseudo Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*
- * TLG 2042: 001 Origen, *Contra Celsum*
- * TLG 2041: 001 Marcellus, *Fragmenta* Fragment 2

The Raising of Lazarus as an example of the power of Christ's word.

It is easy to understand why the early Christian writers would utilize the Raising of Lazarus as an example of the power of Christ's word, for in doing so they were simply developing a theme which was already present in the text of the Fourth Gospel. Among the works of John Chrysostom, two examples can be seen in *De sancto hieromartyre Phoca* and in his Homilies on 1 Corinthians.² Similarly John of Damascus writing on the two wills of Christ³

The Raising of Lazarus as an example of Jesus' humanity.

Chapter 21 above demonstrated that many contemporary scripture scholars find in the details of John 11 arguments for the humanity of Jesus. It is not surprising that patristic commentators discerned this same theme. John of Damascus in *Contra Jacobitas*, section 82, argues that Jesus' tears show his human nature. Earlier, John Chrysostom in his first homily *De cruce et latrone* used the raising of Lazarus as proof of Christ's willing acceptance of death. It would not be difficult to multiply these examples.

² PG: 66, "The resurrection of Lazarus only needed a word. . . ."

³ TLG 2934: 36, *De duabus in Christo voluntatibus*.

The Raising of Lazarus as an example of Christ's two natures

We have already referred to the work of John of Damascus on the two wills of Christ, but long before the speculative controversies over monophysitism and the various attempts to forge a common theocentric anthropology with the non-Chalcedonian traditions, Irenaeus of Lyons had utilized the Raising of Lazarus as a witness to the two natures of Christ in Book 3, section 34 of his work *Against Heresies*.⁴ Here, Jesus' tears over Lazarus included in a list of symbols of the word having come down upon the earth and taking on our flesh, thus recapitulating (all) in himself, to save material creation. In the same vein the later Byzantine author Nicephoras Gregoras⁵ offers the Raising of Lazarus as an example of 2 natures of Christ.

It is quite possible that a more detailed analysis of the full works from which these excerpts referring to Lazarus were identified might provide fuller or even new insights about the patristic understandings of the raising of Lazarus. For the purposes of our study, however, a more productive path is the examination of some passages where the raising of Lazarus is associated with other elements of interest to our study.

Before going on to those other elements, however, one observation needs to be made about the majority of citations produced by the TLG search, i.e., that they dealt with either the Johannine, or the Lukan Lazarus, exclusively. As was true of the Byzantine hymns from the Sixth Week of the Fast which were analyzed above, the vast

⁴ TLG 1447: 001, *Adversus Haereses*.

⁵ TLG 4145, *Historia Romana*, Vol. 1, p. 443.

majority of Patristic references to Lazarus dealt with one and only one of the two figures who bear that name in the Christian Scriptures.

The Lukan "poor man Lazarus"

The Lukan Lazarus was a favorite topic of the Fathers of the Church, especially in their homilies. Then, as now, the parable from Luke 16 could be applied to many lessons which Christian pastors felt obliged to offer their congregations. As was noted above with regard to the Johannine Lazarus, the vast majority of patristic texts which refer to the poor man Lazarus limit themselves to themes which are present within the Lukan parable.

John Chrysostom can serve as an illustrative example of this point. The "poor man Lazarus" of Luke was a favorite biblical example of the moralizing Bishop, as can be seen by examining the seven Homilies *De Lazaro [et Dives]*. The Lukan Lazarus is prominent in all of the following works attributed to the Golden-mouthed orator:

De mutationes nominum
Ad Theodorum lapsum
Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae
Ad Stagirum adaeumone vexatum
De Virginitate
Ad viduam juniorem
Adversus Judaeos
Ad populum Antiochenum; homiliae 1-21
Non esse ad gratiam concionandum
De sancta Droside martyre
De fato et providentia
De decem millium talentorum debitore
In paralyticum demissum per tectum
In illud: habentes eundem spiritum
Peccata fratrum non evulganda
Quod nemo laeditur nisi a se ipso
Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt
Epistulae ad Olympiadem Epistles 5, 8, 10, 14, 15

Epistulae 18-242

Expositiones in Psalmos 6X

In illud: Ne timueritis cum dives factus fuerit homo

In illud Isaiae: Ego Dominus deus feci lumen

In Mattheum (homiliae 1-90) Recurs often; Echoes Lazarus also occurs

In Joannem (homiliae 1-88) Lk common; Jn also

In Acta apostolorum (homiliae 1-55)

In epistulam ad Romanos (homiliae 1-32) 2X

In epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1-44)

In epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1-30)

In epistulam ad Galatas commentarius 2X

In epistulam ad Philippenses (homiliae 1-15) 1X

In epistulam ad Colossenses (homiliae 1-12) 1X

In epistulam i ad Thessalonicenses (homiliae 1-11) 1X

In epistulam ad Hebraeos (homiliae 1-34) 1X

Epistula ad Cyriacum (in various recensions)

*In Isaiam*⁶

We will not offer here any serious study of those texts which refer to the Lukan Lazarus alone. Two categories of texts dealing with the Lukan Lazarus deserve further attention. The first of these includes texts in which both the Lukan and Johannine Lazaruses are referred to. The second would be works which creatively expand the

⁶ Among the *Spuria* attributed to Chrysostom, the example of the poor Lazarus of Luke's parable is also popular. See, *inter alia*, the following:

In Ps 118

De perfecta caritate

De Lazaro et divite makes connection of Lukan parable with Job

In secundum domini adventum

In venerandum crucem

De paenitentia Sermo 1 & 2

De eleemosyna

De patientia Sermo 2

De spe example of patient endurance paying off, reason to hope

In illud: Homo quid descendebat

De eleemosyna

Eclogae 1-xlvi ex diversis homiliis

De eleemosyna [et dives et Lazarum]

account of the experiences of the Lukan Lazarus after death. Both groups are relatively rare, and are highlighted here because they are suggestive of potential trajectories related to the cluster of themes characteristic of our target texts.

"The Enlightenment Beforehand"

As part of her ongoing investigations of patristic homiletical literature, Pauline Allen has drawn attention to some data which would not have surfaced in a thematic search focusing on the central commemorations of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. In her article, "Reconstructing Pre-Paschal Liturgies at Constantinople: Some Sixth Century Homiletic Evidence,"⁷ she begins by examining texts attributed to two sixth century Churchmen of the Byzantine capital: the presbyter Leontius, who was active in that city around the year 560, and the Patriarch Eutychius, who served at about the same time.⁸

In two homilies of Leontius, *On Palm Sunday*,⁹ the preacher makes free use of the scriptural texts not only of the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem but also of the Raising of

⁷ A. Schoors and P. van Deun, eds., *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in Honorem Caroli Laga Septuagenarii = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 60, 217-228. I am indebted to Fr. Thomas Talley for bringing this article to my attention.

⁸ Eutychius served as Patriarch of Constantinople from 552-565, and returned to that office after being exiled to serve a second term from 577-582.

⁹ CPG 7983 & 7898. The Greek text is edited in C. Datema and P. Allen, *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae = Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*, 17 (Leuven: Turnhout, 1987), while an English translation is available in P. Allen and C. Datema, *Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople. Fourteen Homilies = Byzantina Australiensia* 9 (Brisbane, 1991).

Lazarus. While this is supportive of Talley's thesis about a Constantinopolitan origin for the Jerusalem commemorations of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, the fact that the Constantinopolitan homilies are at least 150 years after the Jerusalem visit of Egeria removes any probative value from that support.

The title of the second of these homilies is entitled: "Sermon on the Illumination Beforehand and on Palm Sunday and on the raising of Lazarus. The Greek word underlying "Illumination Beforehand" is προφωτίσματα, which Lampe renders as "baptism preceding {the} Easter festival."¹⁰ The word is found in 17 of 19 manuscripts which preserve the work, but it is not found within the homily itself. The closest the text of the homily comes to explicitly addressing baptism is in the following section:

Just as John is the precursor of the Lord, so is this day the precursor of the resurrection. And just as John, pointing to the Lord, said: 'Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world' (Jn 1,29), so too this day, pointing to the coming Sunday, has cried aloud with the words: 'Behold the mother of those who are going to be born.'¹¹

The most natural interpretation of this passage would be to take it to refer to the upcoming paschal baptism, a celebration fore-shadowed by the commemorations of the raising of Lazarus and Palm Sunday which thus become "the mother of those who are going to be born." Allen does not attend to this possibility. Noting that the scriptural images used to develop the theme are those associated with the raising of Lazarus, she feels the evidence

¹⁰ G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1198.

¹¹ Allen, *op. cit.*, 219.

suggests that the baptisms took place the day before, or during the vigil from Saturday night to Sunday, rather than on the feast of Palm Sunday itself. On the basis of Leontius' preaching, however, this cannot be proven conclusively.¹²

We have already referred to the witness of the 10th century *Typikon of the Great Church* which prescribes a full baptismal liturgy after Matins on Lazarus Saturday.¹³ It is certainly tempting to assume that the baptism referred to by the presbyter Leontius was that same Lazarus Saturday Christening in the Little Baptistery of *Hagia Sophia*, but there is simply nothing in the text to offer specific support for that assumption. The use of the unusual term for "Enlightenment Beforehand" in most of the manuscripts which preserve the homily of Leontius suggests that later Byzantine compilers understood Leontius' use of the imagery of the raising of Lazarus and of Palm Sunday to be referring to such a pre-paschal Initiation, which in turn suggests that they were familiar with such a ritual in their own time.

Allen finds support for the sixth-century practice of the προφωτίσματα in the work of Eutychius of Constantinople, *On the Pascha and the most holy Eucharist*.¹⁴ The extant fragments of the Patriarch's homily deal with the events of Holy Thursday, and it is

¹² *Ibid.*, 220.

¹³ This evidence is presented below in chapter 26.

¹⁴ CPG 6939. This is the only homily of Eutychius which has been preserved, and this only in four fragments contained within the catena of Nicetas of Heracleia on Luke. CPG IV, C135; PG 86(2) 2392 A - 2396 C6; 2396C6 - 2400 A8; 2400 A9 - C1; 2400 C2 - 2401 B8. Allen (*Ibid.*, 221) finds similar arguments in the work of John Philoponus, *On the Pascha* CPG 7267, available in editions by C. Walter, *Ioannes Philoponus. Disputatio de Paschate* (Iena, 1899) and Andreas Gallandius, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiastorum XII* (Venice, 1778): 610-617. I have not yet examined this work to see if the argumentation fits her characterization.

probable the homily was given on that occasion. Allen's analysis of these fragments concludes that

in this work, the Patriarch was concerned both with establishing a chronology for events in Holy Week which concurred with liturgical practice in his church, and with denouncing aberrant practices in his day connected with the Eucharistic liturgy. He would not appear to be at the forefront of the liturgical innovation which is so characteristic of the sixth century.¹⁵

It is in this context that she interprets Eutychius' reference to the first of three meals which the Patriarch understood Christ to have eaten with his disciples near the time of his death.

We find that at the time of the Pascha the Lord had three meals, in different places. There was one in Gethsemane, which comprised the washing {of the feet} on the Sabbath Day, when the Sunday or the first day was beginning. This is why at that time we perform the illuminations beforehand.¹⁶

Allen notes that the association of the Foot-washing with Holy Thursday comes late to Byzantium,¹⁷ but she can "see no other way of interpreting νιπτήρ in Eutychius than 'foot-washing'."¹⁸ In her subsequent discussion, she assumes that this foot-washing must be that described in John 13. Referring to the work of Schäfer and Beatrice, she

¹⁵ Allen, *op. cit.*, 224.

¹⁶ The translation is that of Allen, *Ibid.* The Greek is found in PG 86[2]:2392. Τρία γε μὴν δεῖπνα τὸν Κύριον, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Πάσχα καιρὸν πεποιηκότα εὐρίσκομεν, τὰ καὶ τοῖς τόποις διάφορα: ἐν μὲν ἐν Γεθσημανῇ, ὃ καὶ τὸν νιπτῆρα περιέχει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σαββάτου ἡμέραν, τῆς Κυριακῆς ἥτοι τῆς πρώτης ἐναρχομένης ἡμέρας: διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς τηνικοῦτα ποιούμεν τὰ προφωτίσματα.

¹⁷ She dates the earliest Constantinopolitan witness to the middle of the eighth century. See the discussion of the Foot-washing, especially of Janeras contribution to our understanding of the movement of the ritual from Jerusalem to Constantinople, above in chapter 9.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 225.

observes:

Now the actual ceremony of foot-washing was associated variously in the early church, but particularly in the West and Syria, with pre- and post-baptismal purification. Eutychius' case is quite different, as he is not dealing with the ceremony of *νιπτήρ* itself. Rather, having assigned the meal recorded in the Echoes account to the evening of Lazarus Saturday, he has the symbolism of the washing of the feet also at his disposal. This he then relates to the purification of pre-Paschal baptism. We have to conclude that in Eutychius' day in Constantinople there was no connection, liturgical or otherwise, between the washing of the feet and Maundy Thursday.¹⁹

In chapter 9 above, the manuscript evidence described by Janeras was used to support the same conclusion, but it seems Allen has made a mistaken assumption that Eutychius' use of *νιπτήρ* must refer to the foot-washing described in John 13. Noting that many patristic authors from the late fourth century on will distinguish two meals during the last week of Jesus' life as a way to resolve the synoptic and Echoes accounts of the passion, she observes,

However, as far as I have been able to discover, Eutychius is the only author to distinguish *three* meals, and there is no other evidence for associating the meal which contained the footwashing with the liturgy of Lazarus Saturday.²⁰

If Eutychius' first of three meals "near the time of Pascha" is assumed to be that described in Jn 12.1-8, rather than Jn 13.1-20, most of the problems described by Allen can be addressed, although some new ones emerge. First we can list the problems solved.

The association of the meal with Pascha is explicitly addressed by Jn 12.1 which locates the meal in Bethany "Six days before the Passover."

This would also fit with Eutychius' description of the meal taking place

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

"on the Sabbath day, when the Lord's Day or the first day was beginning." Jn 12.12 explicitly places the triumphal entry into Jerusalem on "the next day."

In distinguishing the meal with Foot-washing of Jn 13 from the Paschal *Seder* of the Synoptics, Eutychius would then be in accord with many other patristic writers who sought to reconcile the divergent details of the passion narratives.

There are, as we saw above in Part Three of this study, several elements in the contemporary celebration of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday which are associated with the anointing in Bethany of Jn 12.

The biggest problem with such an identification is that, as far as I know, the term *νιπτήρ* is not used to refer to the anointing of Jesus which took place in Bethany as described in Jn 12.1-8. Yet in the parallel accounts of Mk 14.3-9 and Matthew 26.6-13, it is Jesus' head that is anointed, while in Luke 7.36ff. the sinful woman who anoints Jesus' feet also bathes them with her tears. There do exist patristic precedents to speak of this washing with tears as *νιπτήρ*.²¹

Another problem would be Eutychius' association of this meal with Gethsemane, since all of the canonical gospels place the anointing in Bethany. Yet this same problem would apply to identifying the meal as that described in John 13, since at the conclusion of that meal, Jn 18.1 tells us, "After these words, Jesus went out with his disciples and crossed the Kedron ravine. There was a garden there, and he and his disciples went into it." Unlike the synoptic gospels, John's account does not identify this garden as Gethsemane, but there can be no doubt that the meal of Jn 13 did not take place in Gethsemane.

²¹ See G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v..

While all of the patristic evidence mentioned here deserves more careful analysis, our survey must move on to another aspect of the patristic testimonies related to our theme, this time concerning the elements associated with the Destruction of Hades.

Chapter 25

PATRISTIC TREATMENTS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF HADES

The examination of the theme of the Destruction of Hades which was undertaken above in chapters 19 and 20 demonstrated the complex *bricolage* of themes which are included in the contemporary Byzantine anthologies. This is another area where further work on the imagery of the Byzantine texts promises to be productive, however in this case the broader foundational work has already received a significant amount of scholarly attention. This fact will allow us to briefly survey this foundational research before devoting most of the chapter to an examination of a series of homilies which demonstrate the dramatic conflation of themes which are also found in our target texts.

Background Surveys

Excellent surveys of previous research are conveniently available. J. Chaine's treatment of the "Descente du Christ aux enfers"¹ first looks at the theme in pagan antiquity, then surveys how it emerges in the context of Jewish ideas of Hades as expressed in the Jewish Scriptures and in the Apocrypha. He then goes on to consider the theme in the Christian Scriptures before summarizing later dramatic developments.

¹ *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement*, 395-431, s.v..

Similarly Richard Bauckham's article on "Descent to the Underworld"² surveys expressions of the theme in the literature of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria and Palestine, the Old Testament, Iran, Greece and Rome, and in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic. Only after offering this extensive contextual background does he go on to examine Christ's Descent to Hades as it is expressed in the New Testament and the Early Church.³

Bauckham rejects the influence of pagan myths on the early Christian development, self-consciously rejecting a position which is well represented in earlier research on the theme.

The influence of pagan myths of descent to the underworld on Christian ideas of Christ's descent to Hades was probably minimal. The parallels with Orpheus and Heracles were noticed and exploited in minor ways by some later writers, but there is no indication that they account for the origin of any of the Christian ideas.⁴

Christian Development of the Theme

Bauckham discerns two main reasons for the emphasis Christian teaching placed on Christ's descent to Hades, the second of which is expressed in three motifs which eventually become inter-related.

² ABD II:145-159.

³ In addition to being more recent, the Bauckham article has the advantage of offering an excellent bibliography. The following works are among those which were consulted in the research phase of this dissertation but are not utilized in the present discussion. J. A. MacCullough, *The Harrowing of Hell* (Edinburgh, 1930); B. Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Pet iii. 19 and its Context*, (Copenhagen, 1913); Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

⁴ Bauckham, *op. cit.*, 157.

As well as retaining the fundamental notion that Jesus Christ's soul had to descend to Hades in order for him to fully share the human lot of death (*Sib. Or.* 8:312; *Iren. Haer.* 5.31.2; *Tert. De anim.* 55.2), Christians from a very early date saw in the descent to Hades an event of soteriological significance for the righteous dead of the period before Christ, whose souls were in Hades. This significance was expressed in three main motifs: (1) that while in Hades Christ preached to the dead, announcing and conferring on them the benefits of the salvation he had achieved; (2) that he brought the righteous out of Hades and led them into the paradise or heaven; (3) that he defeated the powers of death or Hades which keep the dead captive in the underworld. The second of these motifs is usually combined with the first or the third, as its consequence. Only rarely (*Odes Sol.* 42.11-14) are the first and third combined.⁵

It is striking how much this categorization of the patristic literature on Christ's descent to Hades parallels the themes discerned in our own survey of the theme of the Destruction of Hades in Byzantine hymns which was undertaken in chapter 19 above. It offers an example where the formative influence of the patristic literature on Byzantine hymnography could be documented, as well as a demonstration that the hymns of the Byzantine anthologies have become one of the most influential ways in which patristic insights were communicated to later generations of believers.

Bauckham's evidence for the three motifs which express the soteriological significance of Christ's descent into Hades in the early Christian literature will not be reproduced here. Sirarpe Der Nersessian's synthesis of the patristic context offers a focused overview which will introduce a series of texts which are of central importance to our own study of the history of the commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus.

Belief that Christ had descended into hell to free the souls imprisoned there since the creation of man was very popular during the middle ages. Referred to in veiled terms in Apostolic writings, commented and amplified by the Church

⁵ *Ibid.*, 156.

fathers, the account of Christ's triumph over Satan also formed the subject of several apocryphal texts. The so-called Gospel of Nicodemus, i.e. the second part of the *Acta Pilati*, is the best known of these, but while this story enjoyed wide popularity in western Europe, it does not seem to have been widely spread in the East Christian world. Only a few Greek copies have survived, and no version in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian, or Arabic has been discovered so far. This is very surprising, for there are numerous references to the destruction of hell in the writings of the Eastern Church Fathers, especially in Ephrem Syrus, and the Harrowing of Hell is the iconographic type adopted in East Christian art for the Resurrection of Christ.⁶

Der Nersessian's main concern is an Armenian homily which she accidentally discovered among the illuminated manuscripts of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem. On pages 291-231 of Manuscript 1293 of that Library is a "story" with the title:

History of John, son of Zacharias, concerning the destruction of hell and concerning Satan. How the Lord captured the incorporeal enemy and freed those who had been imprisoned by him.

In the article cited, Der Nersessian offers an English translation of this homily, as well as a series of observations about the relationship of this Armenian version to some of the Greek antecedents she was able to identify.

Greek homilies which related Christ's descent in a dramatic manner seem to have found greater favor. The Easter Eve homily, wrongly ascribed to Epiphanius of Cyprus, exists in Coptic, Arabic, and Armenian versions. The story of the liberation of souls is told in greater detail in the homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria or to Eusebius of Emesa and it is with the Armenian version of these homilies that the present study is concerned.⁷

⁶ Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "An Armenian Version of the Homilies on the Harrowing of Hell," *DOP* 8 (1954): 203-224, reprinted in *Idem., Byzantine and Armenian Studies I* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1973): 437-455, here p. 437. I am indebted to Prof. Edward Mathews of the Department of Foreign Languages at the University of Scranton for bringing this article and the one that follows to my attention, as well as for providing copies of them from his personal library.

⁷ *Ibid.*

The Greek text of the homily which is spuriously attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus has been published in *PG* 43:440-464.⁸ There are four homilies dealing with this theme which have been (probably falsely) attributed to Eusebius of Alexandria or Eusebius of Emesa. Each of these was included in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

PG 86.1: 509-523 = Augusti's version of the manuscript Vienna 284;

PG 86.1: 523-536 = Mai's text of Vaticanus 1633;

PG 86.1: 384-406 = the same Vaticanus 1633; here however the text of Vienna 307 is offered as *editio altera* and Vienna 284 gives a *editio tertia*.

PG 62. 721-724 = Thilo's Edition⁹

Nersessian was aware of two Armenian versions, the one translated in the article and another found in manuscript 511 of the Library of St. Joseph's University of Beirut, which has the title, "Sermon on the Entrance of John the Forerunner into Hades and the capture of the devil and the salvation of the souls who are imprisoned there, Adam and his descendants." Although she was not able to consult this manuscript directly,

⁸ Nersessian's research uncovered a series of versions in other languages. A Coptic version was published by Henri De Vis, "Homélie cathédrale de Marc Patriarche d'Alexandrie," *Le Muséon* 35 (1922) 37; another is referred to in *Idem.*, "Allocution de Timothée d'Alexandrie," *Le Muséon* 47 (1934) 24, note 31. An Arabic version is mentioned by G. Graf in *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, = *Studi e Testi* 118 (1944): 357. Among the Armenian versions known to Nersessian were those found in manuscript 154 of the Library of Armenian Patriarchate at Jerusalem, and manuscripts 456 and 1014 of the Mekhitharist Library at Venice.

⁹ Latin versions of the 3 and 4th homilies have been published with commentary by E. K. Rand, "Sermo de Confusione Diaboli," *Modern Philology* 2 (Chicago, 1904-5) 261-278. An Old Slavonic Version which contains aspects of all 4 homilies merged into a continuous narrative was published in 1647. (See the discussion in Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 438, who also offers a Russian citation for an unpublished Arabic version of the homilies attributed to Eusebius.)

according to the investigations of Frs. Jean Mécérian and Ignace Khalifé, it was a free translation of the first and fourth homilies mentioned above, with excerpts of the dialogues between Satan and Hades which are found in the third.

Giorgio La Piana had already considered the Homilies attributed to Eusebius as expressive of the theme of the Harrowing of Hell.¹⁰ The details of LaPiana's argument would take us too far afield from our target texts, however his hypotheses about the way themes and even specific texts came to be transformed from one literary genre to another undoubtedly have much to offer research on the sources of many of the hymns found in the current Byzantine liturgical anthologies. Nersessian's research identified a large number of relevant source texts concerning the Destruction of Hades within the patristic literature. As she herself repeatedly observed, fuller investigation of unpublished manuscript sources would likely uncover many more.

Lazarus and the Destruction of Hades

Shortly after publishing the text described above, Nersessian became aware of similar account in a Manuscript of the library of the Mekhitharist Congregation which was eventually given the number 1048. This particular manuscript was written in Sebastia in the year 1302 by the scribe Ghazar, and includes a work entitled, "By the Blessed Theophilus. On the Raising of Lazarus and the Harrowing of Hell."¹¹

¹⁰ *La rappresentazioni sacre nella letteratura bizantina dalle origine al sec. IX.* (Grottaferrata, 1912).

¹¹ Sirarpie der Nersessian, "A Homily on the Raising of Lazarus and the Harrowing of Hell," in J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson, eds., *Biblical and Patristic Studies in*

Nersessian's survey of the contents of this "homily" concludes:

... it is clear that the homily on "The Raising of Lazarus and the Harrowing of Hell" is one of those composite texts, made up of excerpts from different homilies, of which there are several examples in Greek patristic literature, as well as in the translations of the East Christian nations.¹²

Her research clarified the sources of this composite text.

This text . . . and the one in the Jerusalem manuscript are ultimately derived from the same source, but this new version differs both from the Armenian model and the Greek original through the insertion of several passages of varying length. The name of the supposed author of the homily, "the blessed Theophilus," served as a guide in identifying most of the additions; they are taken from two unpublished homilies ascribed to Theophilus, one on the Raising of Lazarus, the other on the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. These homilies are found in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale, copied in Crimea in the early fourteenth century: Par. arm. 116, fol. 210v^o - 216v^o, and fol. 225v^o - 229v^o.¹³

The full titles of the homilies which supplied the additional material make clear the relevance of this new source for our own study:

On the great day of the coming of our Lord, Jesus Christ, to Bethany where Lazarus was dead. By Theophilus, the chosen and famous disciple of John Chrysostom, on the raising of Lazarus (dead) for four days. *Incipit* "Resurrection of the dead and life to mankind . . ."

By the blessed Theophilus, homily for Palm Sunday on the coming of the Lord.

Memory of Robert Pierce Casey, (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1963): 219-234; reprinted in S. der Nersessian, *Byzantine and Armenian Studies I* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1973): 457-467.

¹² *Ibid.*, 458.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 458. Nersessian also makes note of another homily which she had not seen. Its title is, "By the blessed Theophilus. On the Raising of Lazarus (dead) for four days, on the sisters Mary and Martha, and on the coming of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ." It is listed in the description of manuscript 154 of the Armenian Patriarchate at Jerusalem, pp. 871-9, as well as folia 277v^o - 282 of manuscript 202 of the Mekhitharist Library at Venice.

On Adam and Eve. And on charity and vainglory and on love. *Incipit* "Rejoice greatly daughter of Sion . . ."

One particular insertion makes clear how the imagery of the Destruction of Hades comes to be associated with the Raising of Lazarus. As in the presumed *Vorlage* and in the text of the Jerusalem manuscript described above, the narrative begins with the beheading of John the Baptist who then joins all of the dead in Hades.

As John was beheaded and died, he entered hell. And the prophets recognized him by the brilliance of the light and questioned him concerning the coming of the sun of righteousness. John said to them,

"What you prophesied about him will I tell you, not through prophecy but as an eyewitness, for I baptized him."

There follows a series of prophetic testimonies, beginning with Adam, Moses, and David. The Forerunner offers David a list of the "works of our God," in this case an enumeration of twelve miracles of Christ, of which the last concerns our target texts: "Twelfth, he raised from the dead Lazarus who had been dead for four days."¹⁴ The result of this proclamation of the Baptist is described in a series of short clauses which personalize the Destruction of Hades which seems to already be taking place.

As John spoke these words to the prophets and comforted them with the true hope of the son of God, the foundations of hell were shaken, the king of hell was defeated, his power was weakened; the corruptors were destroyed; those who had been corrupted were restored; those who had been saddened rejoiced; the incredulous believed; death was ruined; those who were in fetters were released; good tidings were given to the dead. Adam rejoiced, Eve was jubilant, Noah was exultant, Abraham was elated: all the patriarchs were freed from the bonds of hell; they sounded the good tidings to one another for the voice of the son of God shook the foundations of hell.

¹⁴ Nersessian notes that the Jerusalem Manuscript had eighteen miracles. See also the discussion of these lists in the previous chapter of this dissertation.

The powers of Hades argue among themselves what to make of these dramatic accompaniments to the arrival of John, while during this demonic disputation the prophets had their own discussion.

The prophets began to say to one another,

"With our ears we heard the voice of (a) man and with our eyes did we see the works of God. The corporeal spoke and the incorporeal heard: and we the created saw that he wishes to open our way. Adam was the cause of our descending here, while with the raising of Lazarus came the tidings that if you have ears (know) that he came here because of you who are imprisoned, for he who freed Lazarus from his bonds by his voice, he wishes with the same voice to free you from your bonds."

And what shall we say concerning this voice to the wicked heretics who divide into two the two natures of Christ which have united in him without distinction and without separation?

A long polemic on the unity of the two natures of Christ then follows, until the compiler catches himself and returns to his sources.

But we should leave the quarrels to the adversaries and speak of the prophetic sayings. From the beginning of the world no soul was saved until Christ came. And from the time of Adam until Christ no soul came out of hell. The beginning of the path our release from hell came with the raising of Lazarus, and the beginning of our blessing and (release) from the curse of Eve came with Mary.

The text then returns to the prophetic sayings, of Isaiah, David, Jeremiah, and Zechariah, culminating in the words of Habakkuk, "He will descend into the sepulcher and raise the dead from the sepulchers."

All the prophets thus repeated how they had said that he would come to save us. The master of hell said to Satan,

"What is this that these arrogant men are saying that he will come to save us. For though we seized them yet they were not tormented by us. And I myself heard these arrogant ones say to Lazarus that the Lord will delay his coming to us; and he {Lazarus} said to them:

'I do not know that, for after four days I shall rise from the dead.'

"When I heard their words, I became his master for four days and kept him carefully. But when the Lord whom these men proclaim came to the tomb

of Lazarus and spoke to raise him from the dead, at his powerful word the deep was shaken, my power was dissolved and he, like a swift eagle, escaped from my bosom and disappeared from my sight. And he became so bold that he did not go through the doors of my prison, but he struck against the legions at the brazen ramparts destroying them as he went out. Now if he {whom the prophets were discussing} is the one who raised Lazarus calling him to him {self}, do not bring him here, otherwise there will be woe unto thee."

The homily then goes on to imagine further dialogue between Satan and Hades leading up to the crucifixion of Christ and his descent to the "lowest region." The destruction of Hades, the liberation of the righteous and their entrance into Paradise, and a collection of prophetic descriptions of the "great day of the coming of Christ" are then described in dramatic detail.

In this composite text, the actual destruction of Hades is still associated with Hell's ill-advised attempt to subject Christ to the powers of death. Within an imagined dialogue among the just in Hades, however, the Raising of Lazarus is given a new prominence within the history of salvation. To be sure it is still a prelude and type of the resurrection of Christ, but now the imagery of the destruction of Hades which had slowly developed around the accounts of Christ's Descent into Hell comes to be associated with the Raising of Lazarus.

Now that the component elements of this association of the Destruction of Hades with the Raising of Lazarus have been identified in the homiletic literature of the Fathers, it should be possible to identify more specific sources which played particular roles in development and transferral of that imagery. But that is one more task that must await future endeavors. Before turning to a summary of our research, however, there is one

more source which has already been mentioned several times that deserves further examination, that is the Typikon of the Great Church.

CHAPTER 26

THE TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH

"The Great Church" is the title often given in manuscripts to Justinian's magnificent Church dedicated to Holy Wisdom, most often referred to by its transliterated Greek title, *Hagia Sophia*. This architectural wonder had a crucial role in shaping the structure, and thus ultimately the content, of a properly "Byzantine" liturgical tradition.

The Sources

Juan Mateos' edition of this Typikon has encouraged the utilization of this important source by scholars. The base manuscript for Mateos' edition is Holy Cross (most commonly referenced using the Greek initials HS) # 40, dated by Mateos to between 950 and 959.¹

Mateos utilised six other manuscripts for his edition. Four of these do not contain

¹ For the dating of the manuscript see Mateos, *Typicon I*, pp. xviii-xix. V. Grumel, "Le Typicon de la Grande- Église d'après le manuscrit de sainte-croix: datation et origine," *AB* 85 (1967): 45-57, argues that HS 40 is an edited copy from around 992 of an earlier original. For our purposes, the liturgical prescriptions would in any case be from the middle of the Xth century. For earlier scholarly interest in the manuscript by Dmitrievskij, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, and Delahaye see Mateos, *Typicon I*, p. ii, with a description of the manuscript on p. iii. Summaries of the significance of this source are found in Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, 113-114; Janeras, *Vendredi-saint*; Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy*, 190-197.

the lenten material with which this study is concerned.² That leaves two additional manuscripts which can be utilized for this study. Dresden 104 was published, (although many sections are given only in Russian paraphrase) by Dmitrievskij in *Drevnejšie patriarshie tipikony svjatogrobskij ierusalimskij i Velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj Tserkvi. Kritiko-bibliograficheskoe izsledovanie. [The Oldest Patriarchal Typika of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of the Great Church at Constantinople: A Critical-bibliographic Study]*

³ Patmos 266 (from the Monastery of John the Theologian, Mateos' *siglum* P) does provide material relevant to our study.⁴ The broad characteristics of "Patriarchal Cathedral" worship at Constantinople are largely abstracted from the descriptions

² Paris Greek 1590, a Synaxarion and Typicon from September to February (*Siglum* Fa in Mateos); Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. E. 5 10 (Summary Catalogue # 30322, *siglum* Ox), described by Mateos as a Synaxarion/Typicon from September to February, although the title on the first folio promises "A Synopsis of the services ... of the entire year" (Mateos, p. vi); Paris Greek 1587, a Synaxarion/Typicon from March to August (*siglum* D in Mateos); and "Kiev," a manuscript fragment in the Archeological Museum of Kiev, published in Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* I, 152-154. Fa, Ox, and D may be useful as witnesses to the process of organizing hymnic material in differing patterns (See the discussion of Karabinov's five types in Chapter 3 above) although given the limited focus of the published accounts, this must remain speculative until further further studies are done.

³ (Kiev, 1907). Mateos (*Typicon* I, p. viii) reports that it was taken to the Soviet Union after the Second World War and could not be located. Bertoni re, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 114-115 reports that the manuscript has been returned to Dresden, but is in "a poor state of preservation." He also gives an example of the need to use Dmitrievskij's paraphrase with caution. Mateos does not give any variants from Dresden 104 in his treatment of the services surrounding Lazarus Saturday, and Dmitrievskij's study has not been available to this author for consultation.

⁴ It was originally published in Dmitrievskij *Opisanie*, I pp. 1-152, with the material for Lazarus Saturday printed on pp. 126-7. Mateos notes that he worked from photos of the original, correcting and completing Dmitrievskij where necessary. It does not seem that any of these emendations influence the section we will be using.

provided by these documents.

After a rather lengthy, if schematic, review of the previous opinions, Mateos dates P to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, and he supports the earlier conclusion of Delahaye that the manuscript was written by a monk of the St. Sabas Lavra in Palestine. He lists a variety of indications that P represents a Constantinopolitan Typikon that was adapted to monastic usage outside of the capital:

- * the absence of many topographic indications and processions;
- * the frequently faulty transcription of or confusion concerning place names;
- * references to the priest and brothers rather than to the Patriarch and Metropolitans;
- * a liturgical vocabulary which reflects Palestinian usages, e.g. *exapostolarion*, *Theos Kurios*, *katavasia*;
- * the almost total lack of directions for distributing the psalms throughout the office, as was common Constantinopolitan practice at the time;
- * ignoring the practice of the Great Church to transfer the feasts of important saints to Sunday.⁵

HS 40, by contrast, has several indications of its Constantinopolitan origins:

- * the accurate transcription of proper names;
- * the frequent mention of processions and synaxes;
- * the precise directions for the use of the psalmody;
- * the consistent liturgical vocabulary;

⁵ Mateos, *Typicon I*, p. ix. The list amounts to a comparison of the characteristics of P and H.

* the continuous references to Patriarchal liturgy.⁶

Lazarus Saturday at Hagia Sophia

A synoptic comparison of the two manuscripts provides specific examples of the general characteristics just noted, as well as allowing additional inferences about the relationships among the differing practices contained in each.⁷ The following sections will comment briefly on the characteristics of each manuscript as it emerges from examination of the synopsis which is found on pages 599 ff. before drawing some conclusions about the elements of the celebration of Lazarus Saturday that are relevant to our study.

According to Patmos 266

The weekdays preceeding Palm Sunday are identified as "of the Palms," (τῶν βαίων) while Saturday and Sunday are qualified as "of the bearing of the Palms" (τῆς βαιοφόρου). Saturday is also given the "sub-title" "the memory of the holy and

⁶ *Ibid.* Mateos does acknowledge that H shows some Jerusalem influence, however with one exception these are limited to the "Appendices" at the end of the manuscript, in the listing of the Prokeimena and the Gospel readings at Matins. In this, H would be a witness to the early stages of Palestinian Sabbaitic usages infiltrating the capital. The other example of Palestinian influence in H is on the Sunday before Lent, where there is inserted an "announcement" that the service of *apodeipnon* will not be sung. Mateos (p. 11, footnote 1) notes how the language of this announcement is full of Jerusalem terminology not found elsewhere in H.

⁷ It should be noted that many differences in details may well be attributable to different editorial decisions by Dmitrievskij and Mateos, e.g. capitalization, where to correct errors, etc. Mateos has also referred to corrections and additions made to Dmitrievskij's text.

righteous Lazarus" (μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου.).

For the Friday of the Palms, the manuscript follows the pattern of previous weekdays in giving directions for the Third/Sixth Hour and for the Evening Service.

Τῷ ς' τῶν Βαῖων
εἰς τὴν τριτοδέτην

τροπάριον ἦχος γ'. Ἀνυπόστατος, Κύριε, ἡ οργὴ
τῆς ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλοῦς ἀπειλῆς σου. (προσεγράφη τῇ β' τῆς
παρουσίας ἐβδομάδος).

Προκείμενον α'. ψαλμὸς ρκα'. ἦχος δ'. [ψ 121.9]
Ἐνεκα τοῦ οἴκου Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐξετίγησα ἀγαθά
σοι. Στίχος· Εὐφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρηαῖσι. [121.1]

Ἀνάγνωσμα προφητείας Ἡσαίου· Εὐφράνθητι
ἔμα Ἱερουσαλήμ, τέλος· πάση σαρκί. [66.10-24]

Προκείμενον β'. ψαλμὸς ρβ'. ἦχος πλ.

β'. [122.3] Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον· τέλος·
[122.1] Πρὸς σὲ ἦρα τοὺς ἀφθαλμοὺς μου.

Ἐσπέρας προκείμενον α' ψαλμὸς ργ' ἦχος πλ. β'.

[123.8] Ἡ βοήθεια ἡμῶν ἐν δυνάμει Κυρίου. Στίχος·

[123.1] Εἰ μὴ ὅτι Κύριος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν εἰπάτω.

Ἀνάγνωσμα α'. Γενέσως· Κατέπαυσεν Ἰακώβ,
τέλος· ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. [49.33-50.26]

Προκείμενον β'. ψαλμὸς ρδ', ἦχος δ'. [124.1α]

Οἱ πετυθέντες ἐπὶ Κύριον ὡς ὄρος Σιών. Στίχος·

[124.1β] Οὐ σαλευθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Ἀνάγνωσμα β'. Παροιμιῶν· Τίε, ἀνοιγες σὸν
στόμα, τέλος· ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς. [31.8-31]

Τῷ σαββάτῳ τῆς Βαῖοφόρου

μνήμῃ τοῦ δαίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου.

Ἐφαιρεύεται εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον ἀντίφωνον ἔν, καὶ
ψάλλονται ἡ ἕως τῷ ἀγίῳ σαββάτῳ.

Ὁ δὲ ὄρθρος γίνεται ἐν τῷ κήρῃ, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὸ
τελευταῖον εισέρχεται ἔσω καὶ λέγεται τὸ Εὐλογεῖτε,
καὶ εἰς τὸν γ'. λέγεται τροπάριον ἦχος α'. Τὴν
κοιτὴν ἀνάστασιν πρὸ τοῦ σὸς πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ
νείκων ἡγέμενος τὸν Λάζαρον, Χριστὲ ὁ θεός.
Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόδυναν τοῦ ὄρθρου προανέγνωσις τῆς

Patmos 266, following Dmitrievskij *Opisanie* Vol. I, pp.
126-127, rearranged, with scriptural references to the
LXX from Mateos added.

Τῷ παρασκευῇ τῶν Βαῖων
εἰς τὴν τριτοδέτην

τροπάριον ἦχος γ'. Ἀνυπόστατος, Κύριε, ἡ οργὴ
τῆς ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλοῦς ἀπειλῆς σου.

Προκείμενον α'. ψαλμὸς ρκα'. ἦχος δ'. [121.9]
Ἐνεκα τοῦ οἴκου Κυρίου. Στίχος· [121.1] Εὐφράνθη ἐπὶ
τοῖς εἰρηαῖσι μοι.

Ἀνάγνωσμα Ἡσαίου· Εὐφράνθητι ἔμα Ἱερουσαλήμ,
καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν. [66.10-24]

Προκείμενον β'. ψαλμὸς ρβ'. ἦχος πλ. β'.

[122.3] Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον· στίχος· [122.1]
Πρὸς σὲ ἦρα τοὺς

Ἐσπέρας προκείμενον α' ψαλμὸς ργ' ἦχος πλ. β' [123.8]
Ἡ βοήθεια ἡμῶν ἐν δυνάμει Κυρίου. Στίχος· [123.1] Εἰ μὴ ὅτι Κύριος.

Ἀνάγνωσμα α'. Γενέσως· Κατέπαυσεν Ἰακώβ.
[49.33-50.26]

Προκείμενον β'. ψαλμὸς ρδ'. [124.1α] Οἱ
πετυθέντες ἐπὶ Κύριον ὡς ὄρος Σιών. Στίχος· [124.1β]
Οὐ σαλευθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Ἀνάγνωσμα β'. Παροιμιῶν· Τίε, ἀνοιγες τὸ
στόμα λόγῳ θεοῦ. [31.8-31]

Τῷ σαββάτῳ τῆς Βαῖοφόρου
μνήμῃ τοῦ δαίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου.

Πρῶτὸν τὸ τελευταῖον εισέρχόμεθα ἔσω καὶ λέγομεν τὸ
εὐλογητός,
καὶ εἰς τὸν γ'. λέγομεν τροπάριον ἦχος α'. Τὴν
κοιτὴν ἀνάστασιν.
Καὶ μετὰ τὸν ὄρθρον

Ἐσπέρας εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν, λέγομεν τὸ Κλῆρον, Κύριε [ψ 85], τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐκέραξα [ψ 140], καὶ τὰ τρία ἀντίφωνα τὰ μικρά. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἰσόδον τοῦ πατριάρχου, εὐχὴ συναπτῇ,

Προκείμενον α', ἦχος πλ. α'. [ψ 8.2α] Κύριε ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου.

Στίχος· [ψ 8.2β-3α] Ὅτι ἐπήρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια σου ἕως αἰῶν.

Ἀνάγνωσμα Γενέσεως· [49.1-12] Ἐκέλευσεν Ἰακώβ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, τέλος· ἡ γὰρ α.

Προκείμενον β', ἦχος βαρύς· Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν. [ψ 96.1]

Στίχος· Προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἕως τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [ψ 96.7γ-8β]

Ἀνάγνωσμα προφητείας Σοφονίου· Τάδε λέγει Κύριος· χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ, τέλος· ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ. [3.14-19]

Προκείμενον γ', ἦχος βαρύς· Ἐπαίνει, Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὸν Κύριον. [ψ 147.1]

Στίχος· Ὅτι ἐνίσχυας τοὺς μοχλοὺς, ἕως· ἐν σοί. [ψ 147.2]

Ἀνάγνωσμα γ', προφητείας Ζαχαρίου· Χαῖρε, σφόδρα, θύγατερ, τέλος· ὑπερασπιεῖ αὐτοῦ. [9.9-15]

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λέγουσιν οἱ ψάλλται τροπάρων ἦχος πλ. δ'. Συναφέντες σοὶ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος,

Ἐσπέρας μετὰ τὰ ἀντίφωνα τὰ μικρά γίνεται εὐχὴ συναπτῇ μετὰ τῶν αἰτήσεων,

καὶ λέγεται προκείμενον ἦχος πλ. α'. Κύριε ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου.

Στίχος· [λ. 211][ψ 8.2β-3α] Ὅτι ἐπήρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια σου.

Ἀνάγνωσμα Γενέσεως· [49.1-12] Ἐκέλευσεν Ἰακώβ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ.

Προκείμενον ἦχος βαρύς· Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀγαλλιάσθε λαοί, [ψ 96.1]

Στίχος· Προσκυνήσατε αὐτὸν πάντες. [ψ 96.7γ-8β]

Ἀνάγνωσμα β'. Προφητείας Σοφονίου· Τάδε λέγει Κύριος· χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών. [3.14-19]

Προκείμενον ἦχος βαρύς· Ἐπαίνει, Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὸν Κύριον. [ψ 147.1]

Στίχος· Ὅτι ἐνίσχυας τοὺς μοχλοὺς σου. [ψ 147.2]

Ἀνάγνωσμα προφητείας Ζαχαρίου· τάδε λέγει Κύριος· χαῖρε, σφόδρα, θύγατερ. [9.9-15]

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λέγουσιν οἱ ψάλλται τροπάρων ἦχος πλ. δ'. Συναφέντες σοὶ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος,

Καὶ λοιπὸν προσέρχεται πάλιν προειργασίας τῶν
Πράξεων Ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Φίλιππον
[8.26], καὶ ἀναγκάσματος ἕως τῶν ἀντιφώνων τῆς
λειτουργίας.

Καὶ λοιπὸν ἀντίφωνον α'. Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς
θεότητος,

Τὸ β'. Ἀλληλούια,

Τὸ γ'. τὸ προγεγραμμένον τροπάριον ἡχος α'. Τὴν
κοιτὴν ἀνάστασιν.

Καὶ οἱ ψάλλται ἀντὶ τοῦ τρισαγίου, Ὅσοι εἰς
Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε.

Προκειμένον ἡχος γ'. Κύριον φωτισμός μου, καὶ
σωτήρ μου. [Ψ 26.1α]

Στίχος· Κύριος, ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου,
ἀπὸ πίνος δειλιάσσομαι. [Ψ 26.1β]

Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἑβραίους· Ἀδελφοί,
βασιλεῖαν ἀσάλευτον, τέλος· ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας. [12.28 - 13.8]

Ἀλληλούια ἡχος δ'. Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἕως·
περιεζώσατο. [Ψ 92.1αβ]

Ἐθαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην κεφάλαιον 45'. Τῷ
καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἣν τις ἀσθενὴν Λάζαρος, τέλος· καὶ
ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν. [11.1-45]

Κοινωνικόν· Αἰνεῖτε. [Ψ 148.1]

Ἄλλο· Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων. [Ψ

8.3]

καὶ λοιπὸν ἀνέρχεται πάλιν
προειργασίας ἐκ τῶν Πράξεων Ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου
ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Φίλιππον [8.26]
Καὶ ἀναγκάσσει ἕως τῶν ἀντιφώνων τῆς λειτουργίας
καὶ λοιπὸν.

Ἀντίφωνον α'. Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς θεότητος,
τὸ β'. Ἀλληλούια,

τὸ γ'. τὸ προγεγραμμένον τροπάριον ἡχος α'. Τὴν
κοιτὴν ἀνάστασιν πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους.

Καὶ οἱ ψάλλται ἀντὶ τοῦ τρισαγίου, Ὅσοι εἰς
Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε.

Προκειμένον ἡχος γ'. Κύριον φωτισμός μου, καὶ
σωτήρ μου. [Ψ 26.1α]

Στίχος· Κύριος, ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου. [Ψ
26.1β]

Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἑβραίους· Ἀδελφοί,
βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον παραλαμβάνοντες. [12.28 - 13.8]

Ἀλληλούια ἡχος πλ. δ'. Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν.
[Ψ 92.1αβ]

Ἐθαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην κεφάλαιον 45'. Τῷ
καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἣν τις ἀσθενὴν Λάζαρος. [11.1-45]

Κοινωνικόν· Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον. [Ψ 148.1]

Ἐωθεν δὲ συντρέχουσι μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου συνήθως ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῶν ἁγίων μ' μαρτύρων, πλησίον τοῦ Χαλκοῦ Τετρακτύλου, καὶ οὕτω λιτανεύοντες ἀπέρχονται ἐν τῇ ἀγιωπάτῃ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Οἱ μέντοι Βουλόμενοι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συνήθειαν συνάγονται ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Τρύφωνος, πλησίον τοῦ Χαμοῦδου, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν λιτανεύοντες παραγίνονται ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεβίχου.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῦν συνήθειαν, ἀπέρχεται, ὡς προεῖρηται, ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους μ', καὶ διανέμει τοὺς συνελθόντας, ἱερατικῶς καὶ λαϊκῶς, τὰ Βάσια. Καὶ γίνεται εὐχή τοῦ τρισαγίου, καὶ ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλλται ἐν τῷ ἁμβων τροπαρίῳ, ἦχος α'. Τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ Φῶφ δοξάζουσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμοίως δοξάζουσι.

Ἀντίφωνα δὲ οὐ γίνονται, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὸ τρισάγιον.

Προκείμενον ἦχος δ', ψ ριζ' [117.26] Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Στίχος· Ἐξομολογείσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅτι ἁγαθός. [117.1]

Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Φιλιππίους· Ἀδελφοί, χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντοτε, τέλος· ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν. [4.4-9]

Ἀλληλουία ἦχος α', στίχος· Ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔσμα καὶνόν, ὅτι θανυμαστόν. [ψ 97.1; 2ε]

στίχος· Ἐγώρισε Κύριος τὸ σωτήριον, ἕως τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ. [ψ 97.2].

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην κεφάλαιον 4ζ'. Πρὸς ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα, τέλος· τὸ σημεῖον. [12.1-18]
Κοινωνικόν· Ἐκ στόματος. [ψ 8.3]

Ἄλλο· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος. [ψ 117.26]
Ἄλλο· Ποτήριον. [ψ 115.4]

Καὶ τῆς λιτῆς εἰσερχομένης εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μ'.

ἀντίφωνα δὲ οὐ γίνονται, ἀλλ' αὐθὺς ψάλλεται τὸ Τρισάγιον καὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἦχος δ'. [117.26]
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Στίχος· Ἐξομολογείσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἁγαθός. [117.1]

Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Φιλιππίους· Ἀδελφοί, χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντοτε. [4.4-9]

Ἀλληλουία ἦχος α', στίχος· Ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔσμα καὶνόν, [ψ 97.1; 2ε]

στίχος· Ἐγώρισε Κύριος τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ. [ψ 97.2]

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην κεφάλαιον 4ζ'. Πρὸς ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα. [12.1-18]

Κοινωνικόν· Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον. [ψ 148.1]

Ἄλλο· Ποτήριον σωτηρίου. [ψ 115.4]

Third/Sixth Hour

Troparion (Tone 3) Ἀνυπόστατος, Κύριε, ἡ ὀργὴ τῆς ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλοὺς ἀπειλῆς σου.

First Prokeimenon - Ps 121.9, verse 121.1 ⁸

Reading - Is 66.10-14

Second Prokeimenon - Ps 122.3, verse 122.1

In the Evening

First Prokeimenon - Ps 123.8, verse 123.1

First Reading - Genesis 49.33 - 50.26

Second Prokeimenon - Ps 124.1a, verse 124.1b

Second Reading - Proverbs 31.8-31

{The Saturday of the Bearing of the Palms: Memory of the holy and righteous Lazarus.

Morning: {Matins}⁹

The entrance is completed, and the "Blessed" is said.

At Psalm 50, we say the Troparion (in Tone 1): Τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν

And after Matins

The Reading of the Acts (of the Apostles)
and the remainder of the Baptism takes place.

And the reader stands before him, chanting

Ps 31.1, verse 31.2, verse 31.5.

⁸The manuscript itself only gives the *incipit* of each reading. Since these are the same as those given in H, we have followed Mateos' calculation of the LXX citation of the Readings. Mateos' edition gives both the beginning and end of each reading, while Dmitrievskij's edition of P only gives the *incipit*. I have not yet been able to determine if this is characteristic of P or of Dmitrievskij's shorthand transcription, although I would suspect the latter.

⁹ For Saturday, directions begin "In the Morning" (Πρωὶ) where Matins is clearly expected since we are shortly given the rubric "After Matins the Acts of the Apostles are read."

Conclusions on the Typikon of the Great Church

The generalization that HS 40 represents Patriarchal Constantinopolitan usage is supported by a number of details, most tellingly in the references to the baptisms on Lazarus Saturday and in the directions for Palm Sunday. The Patriarch's role is made explicit, as is the liturgical environment of Hagia Sophia. The Stational character of Palm Sunday at Constantinople is clearly expressed, even with the mention of an alternative earlier usage for the the Stations. The patriarchal retinue is clear in the account of the procession to the Forum and on to the Great Church.

The generalization that Patmos 266 represents a Palestinian Monastic recension of the Constantinopolitan usages reflected in HS 40 also is supported by detailed comparison of the texts at hand. P's dependance upon H (or more probably on a common *Vorlage*) is clearly seen. Often (although not always) P will drop details of Constantinopolitan usage that were presumably irrelevant to those who would use it. On Palm Sunday, the continued reading of the Acts of the Apostles replaces the Stational processions described in H.

Several elements surface here which disappear from the later tradition. Most significant of these is the baptism on Lazarus Saturday. P retains reference to it, but there are hints that the scribe who was selecting among the texts offered by the model did not appreciate those that had baptismal echos.¹⁰ The Constantinopolitan usage continued the *lectio continua* of Genesis on Saturday night, however the other Old Testament readings

¹⁰ E.g. the alternative Communion Verse from Ps. 8.3 at the Saturday and Sunday Liturgies.

and the Prokeimena cycle are not in continuity with those that came before or after and reflect thematic choices.

Chapter 27

CONCLUSIONS

It is ironic that after hundreds of pages surveying a wide range of source documents, the strongest impression left at the conclusion of this study is how much more remains to be done. At times along the way, this awareness of the immensity of the tasks which need to be addressed in the field of Byzantine liturgical hymnography has become oppressively overwhelming, and the knowledge that the relatively few scholars who have dared to labor in this particular vineyard have wrestled with the same temptation to despair offers little consolation. In a broader perspective, however, this dissertation has been able to establish some firm foundations for further research, refine the methodological tools necessary to build on these foundations, and begin to set an agenda for further research which can add whole new structures to our intellectual understanding of Byzantium while reconstructing existing notions to better respond to the realities of contemporary inquiry. In the long run this foundational work may well be the most significant result of this research, and one of the tasks of this concluding chapter will be to articulate some of the main pathways for future efforts which will explore the trajectories set by this dissertation.

There are, of course, positive results from this research which it will also be the task of this chapter to enumerate. Before addressing either of these areas, however, it

seems fruitful to comment on the methodological issues which claimed so much attention at the beginning of this study.

Structural Analysis of the Triodion

One of the most striking conclusions of this study is its demonstration of the value of the methodological approach of Structural Analysis to the study of the Lenten Triodion, and by extension to the entire corpus of Byzantine hymnography.

The first step of such analysis, to identify the particular elements which make up a liturgical unit, is especially appropriate for this immense body of poetic compositions. It has the immediate practical effect of rendering more manageable a collection of writing whose very size is one of the impediments to effectively understanding it. It turns out that differing cues as to where the elements should be divided are in themselves important witnesses to the historical evolution of the anthologies. Finally the insight that each element has its own history helps to clarify the incredibly complex history of these documents, and offers a path for research which can realistically be undertaken.

In terms of this particular study, the fact that Lazarus Saturday often stood at the very cusp of the division of the Triodion into Lenten and Bright Triodia is an important witness to the pivotal significance of this commemoration. More research into the contexts and motivations which eventually led to the inclusion of Great Week in the Lenten Triodion might well be instructive of the underlying liturgical *typos* which governs the Byzantine traditions characteristic understanding of these liturgical seasons.

Structural analysis enabled us to identify the structural similarity between Lazarus

Saturday as the culmination of the "Great and Holy Forty-days" by one calculation, and Wednesday of Great Week, which concluded the forty-day period in another. This structural similarity led to examination of other common elements in both commemorations, in this case the anointing at Bethany.

The identification of a particular liturgical elements within the Triodion offers direction in investigating some of the more intriguing among them. The Synaxaria notices stand out as an element which so far has not received significant attention, likewise the Greek practice of administering the Mystery of Anointing of the Sick on Wednesday of Great Week. Other elements which have already received scholarly attention, such as the Foot-washing of Holy Thursday or the Consecration of the Myron in Patriarchal Churches, can be understood more fully if their structural roles within the Byzantine *cursus* are addressed.

Finally, the parsing out of particular elements within the texts of Lazarus Saturday proved to be a surprisingly rich field of endeavor. Our study focused on three areas of the commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus, the celebration of baptism on Lazarus Saturday, and the imagery of the Destruction of Hades associated with this commemoration, and even within this limited range the sources proved too rich to be adequately addressed within the scope of this dissertation. Structural analysis offers a perspective which can allow each of the constituent elements to be investigated in the depth they deserve without losing the crucial contextual grounding which must shape how they are understood.

The History of the Commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus

In her article on "Reconstructing Pre-paschal Liturgies in Constantinople. . .,"

Pauline Allen observed,

we are poorly informed about the origin and development of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, and still await a comprehensive study dedicated to these two feasts and their place in the liturgical cycle of the early church. Only after such a study has been done will we be able to ascertain the peculiar contribution of Constantinople to the liturgies of these days.¹

Hopefully this study makes a contribution to that task, but because of its broader scope as well as because of the absence of any new specific evidence, the broad contours of this history remain unchanged from those sketched by Thomas Talley in his book *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, first published in 1986.

Egeria's account of her experiences in Jerusalem in the year 385 remains our earliest explicit witness to the celebration of Lazarus Saturday. The buildings at "the Lazarium" were expanded soon after that, and their subsequent history is well documented. Excavations at Bethany are suggestive of earlier pilgrim activity there, which we know from literary evidence to have begun as early as the second century with Melito of Sardis. We know that Melito visited Palestine and can infer from his language that he visited the city of Aelia Capitolina which the Romans had built over the ruins of Jerusalem. Unfortunately, the fleeting references to Lazarus in the extant works of Melito do not allow us to infer anything about a possible visit to Bethany. Similarly Origen explicitly tells us that he visited the area around Bethany as part of his research into the

¹ *Op. cit.*, 228.

place names given in the Gospel of John, but nowhere in his comments about Lazarus does he give any indication that he had visited a site where the Raising of Lazarus was commemorated. In both cases it is conceivable that these early Christian authors had visited such a site and simply had no reason to mention it in their works which have come down to us; no conclusion can be drawn from the lack of evidence, especially so early in the Christian era. The association of the Lazarium with the Epiphany Vigil is an intriguing detail which so far has not received scholarly attention. It is tempting to see in it associations of the baptismal significance of Epiphany with the Lazarium, unfortunately at this point that can be no more than a reasonable conjecture.

On one level this lack of evidence would seem to support Talley's hypothesis that the liturgical celebrations associated with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday were not native to the Hagiopolite tradition, but rather were imported along with the increased pilgrim traffic which resulted from the Constantinian building program. Unfortunately there is as yet no hard evidence for a liturgical commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus anywhere before the end of the fourth century. This is just as true for Alexandria and Constantinople as it is for Jerusalem.

The evidence of the Armenian and Georgian Lectionaries does show adaptation in the stationary liturgy of Jerusalem after Egeria, specifically with a reduced role for Bethany and the Lazarium. The Christian community in Palestine underwent dramatic changes in social situation in the sixth and seventh centuries as a result of conquests by non-Christian invaders, however, so that speculation on theological motives for such changes can only be considered as one among several plausible explanations for the

reduced role for the Lazarium.

The Patristic references to Lazarus show a widespread use of this striking gospel pericope in a variety of polemical, catechetical, and apologetic contexts. Homilies assigned to Palm Sunday often refer to the Raising of Lazarus, but our earliest extant examples are from the fifth century onward. The existence of technical term for pre-paschal baptism, προφωτίσματα or "enlightenment beforehand," witnesses to some attention to this practice in the early Byzantine tradition, and the association of this term with Lazarus Saturday is striking. So far, however, the only known use of the term within a homily is in the fragment of the homily attributed to the Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople in the late sixth century. The use of the term in the descriptions of the homilies of Leontius of Byzantium may go back to the sixth-century life of the author, but they could just as well be later scribal interpretations of the manuscripts they were copying. These sixth-century homilies are the earliest extant evidence for the association of baptism with Lazarus Saturday. The homily of Proclus of Constantinople (434-446) on Palm Sunday (CPG 5808) provides equivocal evidence for the association of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday in 5th century Constantinople since Lazarus is only mentioned briefly at the end of the homily, something which could be explained simply as part of the commentary on the texts of John 12. John Chrysostom's homily *On Psalm 145* (CPG 4415) does witness to the association of these two commemorations at the end of the fourth century, however it is still a matter of debate if that homily was delivered at Antioch or Constantinople.

We have to wait for the late ninth-century witnesses to the Typikon of the Great

Church for an explicit description of the liturgical commemoration of Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine tradition. Subsequent Typika are primarily monastic, and their lack of attention to the baptismal dimension of Lazarus Saturday is not surprising. Still it would be worthwhile to survey a sampling of these later Typika to gain more insights into the gradual loss of this distinctive feature of Lazarus Saturday.

The Anointing at Bethany, Lazarus Saturday, and Palm Sunday

Palm Sunday entered our study from two directions. First of all, the liturgical texts of Palm Sunday in the Lenten Triodion make frequent mention of Lazarus, and so they were included in our target texts. Secondly, many of the Patristic homilies ascribed to Palm Sunday also make reference to Lazarus. There are certainly many of the elements characteristic of the Byzantine celebration of Palm Sunday which deserve examination in their own right, and it is very possible that clarification of those elements would cast light on the liturgical history of Lazarus Saturday.

What our study has shown is that the association of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday is firmly rooted in narrative of the gospel of John, and that all of the known references to Lazarus Saturday imply or express a connection with Palm Sunday.

The Fourth Gospel also presents an integral connection between the Raising of Lazarus in Chapter 11 and the Anointing at Bethany and the triumphal entry into Jerusalem which are described at the beginning of Chapter 12. The anointing at Bethany is the element which might seem surprising here, even though it is included in the Gospel pericope read at the Divine Liturgy on Palm Sunday. There is a striking lack of

references to the anointing in the hymns of Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, which might be explained by the fact that the current Byzantine tradition commemorates this event on Wednesday of Great Week, following the Matthean chronology used during most of the services of that week. Structural analysis confirms that at one point Wednesday of Great Week was considered the end of the "Great and Holy Forty-days," even as Lazarus Saturday is explicitly identified as the end of that period in the hymns of the current Lenten Triodion. Current Greek practice also celebrates the Mystery of the Anointing of the Sick on Great Wednesday evening, which at least theoretically would seem to be connected to the commemoration of the anointing at Bethany at that time.

Lazarus Saturday and the Destruction of Hades

Our earliest examination of the hymns of Lazarus Saturday noted with some surprise that the imagery associated with the Destruction of Hades played a prominent role in the existing texts. Our research indicated that it is in the transmission of the homiletical literature of the early Church that this conflation of themes took place, and the studies of Sirarpie Der Nersessian gave specific examples of that process occurring. We did not get to pursue the fact that this imagery of the Harrowing of Hell is also associated with baptism in the Patristic tradition. Only further research can clarify if this association might have influenced the association of baptism with Lazarus Saturday.

Lazarus Saturday and Baptism

Beyond documenting those sources which associate baptism with Lazarus Saturday, our study did not locate any sources which might offer further clarification as

to how this connection was initiated. Talley's thesis for the Alexandrian origins of a post-Epiphany fast of forty days which would culminate in baptism thus remains the most plausible proposal, although as was noted above, all of the evidence supporting Talley's hypothesis comes from sources which are much later than the second and third century era when the transition supposedly took place. Again we have only a few sources from these first Christian centuries, especially concerning Christian Egypt, and we need to be cautious not to use what little evidence there is to support whatever theoretical proposal strikes our fancy. Tantalizing hints of a connection are found in Egeria's travelogue, especially in the use of the Lazarium during the stational liturgies of the octave of Epiphany. These hints are no more than possible conjectures, however, and while they contribute to a body of suggestive evidence supporting Talley's thesis, neither individually nor collectively can these hints be considered probative.

Lazarus Saturday and the Origins of Lent

The paucity of the sources and the equivocal nature of their testimony remain the biggest obstacles to fuller acceptance of Talley's thesis on the Alexandrian origins of Lent. The best that can be said is that all of the available evidence can be understood in a way that is consistent with Talley's hypothesis, and there is no unequivocal evidence against it.

Trajectories for Future Efforts

The pages above have repeatedly referred to areas where this dissertation has identified areas which promise to be productive for future research. In this final section

of our study, a few of the more significant of these areas are singled out for emphasis.

Creation of Machine-Readable Texts

One of the initial intentions of the transcription of the Greek Text which is given in Appendix 1 and the original translation given in Appendix 3 was to test the creation of a Machine-Readable Text of the corpus of Byzantine Hymnography. Even though this dimension of the project had to be foregone in the hope of achieving a manageable focus, the research which has been undertaken here has only strengthened the impression of how beneficial the creation of such a computer corpus could be.

Exploration of the Manuscript Sources

Related to that project is the exploration of the manuscript sources listed in Appendix 9. The existing computer files with the texts of Lazarus Saturday should make it relatively easy to document what is distinctive about the various manuscript witnesses to those texts. Furthermore the computer's ability to do much of the detailed search and comparison work which is so tedious in such a large anthology should make it possible to do research which up to now only a privileged few have been capable of, and then only at the end of a long career of study and preparation.

Refinement of the Taxonomy of Byzantine Liturgical Sources

If and when such computer analysis becomes feasible, it would be possible to do a much more sophisticated analysis of the types of sources included in the Byzantine manuscripts. Descriptors used within the document as well as structural indicators of the

content and organization could all be analyzed to give a clearer understanding of how sources were adapted and evolved over time.

Refinement of our understanding of Byzantine Liturgical terminology

Similarly word studies of technical liturgical terminology could both respect how these terms are used within a particular source while recognizing the later associations the same terms might have acquired through tradition or scholarship.

Analysis of particular elements of the Triodion

Finally we have identified many of the constitutive elements of the Byzantine hymnographic anthologies which are worthy of further study. Slowly the results of studying these elements should contribute to a new consensus concerning the meaning and importance of the entire body of Byzantine liturgical poetry.

Appendices

Appendix 1

GREEK TEXT OF LAZARUS SATURDAY AND PALM SUNDAY

PART ONE

Lazarus Saturday: Critical Comparison of Athens and Roman Editions

Ρωμη, 1879

!Page numbers!

(Unique to Athens Edition)

/Unique to Roman 1879 Edition/

#Romanian Edition# Used only where A and R disagree, or to confirm that the same liturgical units are being utilized.

&Comments or clarifications by PEY&

!Σελ.Ρ 578! ΤΗ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΤΗ ΠΡΟ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΙΟΝ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝΟΝ # !p. 443! Sîmbătă în săptămîna Floriilor. La Vecernie, Vineri Seara#

Ἡ συνήθης Στιχολογία. (Μετὰ τὴν συνήθη Στιχολογίαν τοῦ Προοιμιακοῦ καὶ τῶν, Πρὸς Κύριον, ἐ)Εἰς τὸ, Κύριε ἐκέκραξα ἰστώμεν Στίχ/ους/ ι', καὶ ψάλλομεν (τὰ ἐπόμενα.) /τὸ παρὸν Ἰδιόμελον τῆς ἡμέρας, δῖς· καὶ τὸ Μαρτυρικὸν, καὶ τὰ ἐ. Ἰδιόμελα τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου, ποιῶντες αὐτὰ ἐπτά.

(Στιχηρὸν) Ἰδιόμελον. Ἦχος πλ. δ'. /Δίς/

Τὴν ψυχωφελῇ(,) * πληρώσαντες Τεσσαρακοστήν, * καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν (ἐ)Ἑβδομάδα τοῦ Πάθους σου(,) * αἰτοῦμεν κατιδεῖν Φιλάνθρωπε, * τοῦ δοξάσαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ μεγαλεῖα/(ιά) σου, * καὶ τὴν ἄφατον * δί ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίαν σου, * ὁμοφρόνως μελῳδοῦντες· * Κύριε, δόξα σοι. ((Δίς))

Μαρτυρικόν. Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.

Μάρτυρες Κυρίου, * ἱκετεύσατε τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, * καὶ αἰτήσαι/τε/(σθε) ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, * πλήθος οἰκτιρμῶν, * καὶ τὸν ἱλασμὸν * τῶν πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων δεόμεθα.

!Σελ. 366! /Εἶτα ψάλλομεν τοῦ ἁγίου Λαζάρου Ἰδιόμελα ἐ./ (Στιχηρὰ Ἰδιόμελα τοῦ ἁγίου Λαζάρου.)

Ποίημα /τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς Βασιλέως Κυρίου/ Λέοντος τοῦ /Σοφοῦ/ (Βασιλέως).

Ἦχος πλ. β'. /Δίς/

Κύριε, * Λαζάρου θέλων τάφον ἰδεῖν, * ὁ μέλλων γνώμη τάφον οἰκεῖν, * ἐπηρώτας· * Ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτὸν; * μαθὼν δὲ ὁ οὐκ ἠγνόεις, * ἐφώνεις ὃν

ἐπόθεις· * Λάζαρε/,/ δεῦρο ἔξω· * καὶ ἐπήκουσεν ὁ ἄπνους * τῷ πνοῇν αὐτῷ
 δίδοντι, * σοὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. ((Δίς))

Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός. &Πλ. β' & /Δίς/

Κύριε, * ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον * τοῦ τετραήμερου, * ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἡλθες Λαζάρου,
 * καὶ ἐπὶ φίλῳ δάκρυα ράνας, * νεκρὸν * τετραήμερον * ἡγειρας, ὁ στάχυς
 τῆς ζωῆς· * (Δ)/δ/ιὸ * θάνατος ἐδέθη φωνῇ, * τὰ σπάργαντα ἐλύθη χερσί· *
 τότε χαρᾶς ἐπληροῦτο(,) * τὸ στίφος τῶν Μαθητῶν, * καὶ μία παρὰ
 πάντων(,) * ἐλειτουργεῖτο συμφωνία(,)/·/ Εὐλογημένος εἶ/,/ Σωτήρ(,)/·/
 ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. (Δίς.)

(Ἦχος πλ. β'.)

Κύριε, * ἡ φωνή σου κατέλυσε(,) * τοῦ (᾿Α)/ῥ/δου τὰ Βασιλεια, * καὶ ὁ
 λόγος τῆς ἐξουσίας σου(,) * ἡγειρεν ἐκ τάφου τετραήμερον(·)/,/ * καὶ
 γέγονεν ὁ Λάζαρος(,) * τῆς καλιγενεσίας(,) * προοίμιον σωτήριον. * Πάντα
 * δυνατά σοι/,/ Δέσποτα, * τ(ῶν)/ῥ/ πάντων Βασιλεῖ· * δώρησαι τοῖς δούλοις
 σου(,) * ἱλασμὸν/,/ * καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

!Σελ.Ρ 579!

(Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.) &πλ. β' &

Κύριε, * πιστώσαι θέλων τοὺς Μαθητάς σου(,) * τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν σου
 (᾿Ε)/ῥ/γερσιν, * ἐν τῷ μνήματι * Λαζάρου παραγέγονας· * καὶ φωνήσαντός
 σου τοῦτον, * ὁ (᾿Α)/ῥ/δης * ἐσκυλεύθη, * καὶ ἀπέλυσε * τὸν τετραήμερον(,) *
 Βοῶντά σοι· * Εὐλογημένε Κύριε/,/ δόξα σοι.

(Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.) &πλ. β' &

Κύριε, * παραλαμβάνων τοὺς Μαθητάς σου, * ἐν βηθανίᾳ παρεγένου, * ἵνα
 ἐγείρῃς τὸν (Λάζαρον) /φίλον σου· #sā scoli re Lazār;# * καὶ δακρύσας
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ/(όν,) * νόμῳ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης, * ὡς θεός(,) * τοῦτον τετραήμερον
 ἡγειρας/,/ * καὶ ἐβόα σοι, Σωτήρ· * Εὐλογημένε, Κύριε, δόξα σοι.

Δόξα. Ἰδιόμελον. Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Επιστάς τῷ μνήματι Λαζάρου, * ὁ Σωτήρ ἡμῶν, * καὶ φωνήσας τὸν νεκρόν,
 * ὡς ἐξ ὕπνου ἐξανέστησας· * ἀπεσεύσατο τὴν φθοράν(,) * τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τῷ
 (π)νεύματι, * καὶ συνεξῆλθε τῷ λόγῳ * δεδεμένος κειρίαις. * Πάντα δύνασαι,
 * πάντα σοι δουλεύει, φιλόανθρωπε, * πάντα σοι ὑποτέτακται/,/ (,) * Σωτήρ
 ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι.

Καὶ νῦν, /᾿Ε/(ῥ)τερον Ἰδιόμελον /ποίημα Ἀνδρέου Τυφλοῦ/.

Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός &Πλ. δ' & (Ἀνδρέου Τυφλοῦ.)

Τὴν ψυχῶφελῇ, * πληρώσαντες Τεσσαρακοστήν, * Βοήσωμεν· * Χαίροις
 πόλις Βηθανία, * πατρίς ἡ τοῦ Λαζάρου· * χαίρετε/,/ * Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία, *
 αἱ τοῦτου ἀδελφαί· * αὐριον /γὰρ/ * Χριστὸς παραγίνεται, * ζῶσαι
 ρήματι(,) * τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἀδελφόν· * οὐ φωνῆς ἀκούσας(,) * ὁ πικρὸς καὶ
 ἀκόρεστος /ῥ/(᾿Α)δης, !#p. 444#! * φόβῳ τρομάξας(,) * καὶ μέγα στενάξας,
 * ἀπολύσει Λάζαρον(,) * κειρίαις ἐσφιγμένον· * /οὐ τῷ θαύματι */ (τοῦτον)
 δῆμος (βλέπων) Ἑβραίων ἐκπλαγεῖς, * μετὰ Βαΐων καὶ κλάδων(,) * αὐτῷ
 προσυπαντήσουσι/,/ (·) * καὶ οφθήσονται * εὐφημοῦντες παῖδες(,) * ὃν
 φθονοῦσι πατέρες· * Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος * ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, *

Εἴσοδος; (μετὰ τό,) Φῶς ἰλαρόν, (εὐθύς.)

Ἑστέρας Προκείμε(,)/ερον/ Ἦχος πλ. β'. Ψαλμ/ός/ ρκγ'

Ἡ βοήθεια ἡμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. & τοῦ ποιήσαντός τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.&

Στίχ. Εἰ μὴ ὅτι Κύριος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν, εἰπάτω δὴ Ἰσραήλ.

Γενέσεως τὸ Ἀνάγνωσμα.

Κεγ. ΜΘ'.33 καὶ Ν' 1-26

Κατέπαυσεν Ἰακώβ ἐπιτάσσων τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ... !Σελ. 367! !Σελ.Ρ 580!
... !Σελ.Ρ 581! ... !#p. 445#!

Προκείμενον. Ἦχος δ'. Ψαλμὸς ρκδ'.

Οἱ τεποιθότες ἐπὶ Κύριον ὡς ὄρος Σιών.

Στίχ. Οὐ σαλευθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Παροιμιῶν τὸ Ἀνάγνωσμα.

Κεφ. ΛΑ.8 (-31.)

Τιέ, ἀνοιγε σὸν στόμα λόγῳ θεοῦ, καὶ κρίνε πάντα ὑγιῶς ... !Σελ. 368! ...
!Σελ.Ρ 582!

Καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἀκολουθία (τῆς Λειτουργίας) τῶν Προσηγιασμένων(,)/, ὡς
συνήθως./

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον, οὔτε Μαρτυρικὸν, οὔτε Θεοτοκίον, οὔτε
Ὁκτώηχος ψάλλεται ἄχρι τοῦ Σαββάτου τοῦ ἁγίου Θωμᾶ./ #follows R#

ΤΗ /ΑΥΤΗ/ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ ΕΣΠΕΡΑΣ

Εἰς τὸ Ἀπόδεικνον ψάλλομεν τὸν /παρόντα/ (ἐπόμενον) Κανόνα, ποίημα /τοῦ
ἁγίου Πατρὸς κυρίου/ Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης/, τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου/.

Ὡδὴ α' Ἦχος α'. Ὁ Εἶρμος.

Ὡδὴν ἐπινίκιον(,) * ἄσωμεν πάντες(,) * θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι(,) * θαυμαστὰ
τέρατα(,) * Βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ, * καὶ σῶσαντι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, * ὅτι δεδόξασται.

Νεκρὸν τετραήμερον * ἐξαναστήσας, * Σωτήρ μου/, τὸν Λάζαρον, * τῆς
φθορᾶς ἀπήλλαξας(,) * βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ, * καὶ ἔδειξας/, ὡς δυνατὸς/, * τὴν
ἐξουσίαν σου.

Φωνήσας τὸν Λάζαρον(,) * ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου, εὐθύς ἐξανέστησας· * ἀλλ' ὁ
/ἁ/(Ἄ)δης κάτωθεν(,) * πικρῶς ὠδύρευτο, * καὶ στένων ἔτρεμε/, Σωτήρ, * τὴν
ἐξουσίαν σου.

Εδάκρυσας/, Κύριε/, * ἐπὶ Λαζάρῳ, * δεικνύων τὴν σάρκωσιν(,) * τῆς
οἰκονομίας σου, * καὶ ὅτι φύσει θεός(,) * ὑπάρχων, φύσει καθ' ἡμᾶς(,) *
γέγονας ἄνθρωπος.

Τῆς Μάρθας τὰ δάκρυα * καὶ τῆς Μαρίας(,) * κατέπαυσας/,/ Κύριε, * ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸν Λάζαρον(,) * ἐξαναστήσας Σωτήρ, * καὶ δείξας ἔμπνουν τὸν νεκρόν(,) * τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ σου.

Τῷ νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως * τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, * ἠρώτησας/,/ Δέσποτα(,)/ * τοῦ τέθεται Λάζαρος/,/ (,) δεικνύων πᾶσι/,/ Σωτήρ, * ἀνόθευτον τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς(,) * οἰκονομίαν σου.

!Σελ.Ρ 583!

Τὰ κλειθρα συνέτριψας * τότε τοῦ /ᾱ/(Α)δου(,) * φωνήσας τὸν Λάζαρον, * καὶ τὸ κράτος ἔσεισας(,) * τοῦ πολεμήτορος, * καὶ ἔπεισας πρὸ τοῦ /ς/(Σ)ταυροῦ(,) * τρέμειν σε/,/ μόνη Σωτήρ.

Δεσμώτην τὸν Λάζαρον * ὑπὸ τοῦ /ᾱ/(Α)δου(,) * κρατούμενον/,/ Δέσποτα, * ὡς θεὸς προέφθασας, * καὶ ἔλευσας τῶν δεσμῶν * τῷ σῶ γὰρ πάντα /δ/(Δ)υνατέ, * εἶκει προστάγματι.

Δόξα Πατρί.

Πατέρα δοξάσωμεν, * Τιδὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα, * Τρίαδα ἀχώροστον(,) * ἐν Μονάδι φύσεως, * καὶ σὺν Ἀγγέλοις αὐτήν, * ὡς ἕνα ἄκτιστον θεόν/,/ * δοξολογήσωμεν.

Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον.

Ἀτρέπτως ἐκύησας, * Παρθενομήτορ, * τὸν Κτίστην τῆς φύσεως(,) * ἐξ ἁγίου Πνεύματος/,/ * κατ' εὐδοκίαν Πατρός(,) * γενόμενον ὅπερ ἐσμέν, * δίχα τροπῆς καὶ φυρμού.

Ὡδὴ β'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Πρόσεχε, * /ο/(Ο)ὕραν, καὶ λαλήσω, * καὶ ἀνυμνήσω Χριστόν, * τὸν Σωτήρα τοῦ Κόσμου, * τὸν μόνον φιλόανθρωπον.

Δόξα σοι(,) * τῷ φωνήσαντι μόνον, * καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου, νεκρὸν * τεταρταῖον(,) τὸν φίλον * ἐγείραντι Λάζαρον.

Ἦκουσε(,) * τῆς φωνῆς σου ὁ ἄπνους, * καὶ ψυχωθείς ἐκ νεκρῶν(,) * ἐξανέστη εὐθέως(,) * δοξάζων σε/,/ Κύριε.

!Σελ. 369! Πρόσταγμα(,) * ζωφόρου φωνῆς σου(,) * δεξάμενος ὁδὸδ/ὦ/(ὠ)ς, * ἐξηγέρθη τοῦ τάφου, * Σωτήρ μου, ὁ Λάζαρος.

Ἐδάκρυσας * ἐπὶ φίλῳ/,/ Σωτήρ μου, * πιστούμενος τὴν ἡμῶν(,) * ὡς ἐφόρεσας φύσιν, * καὶ τοῦτον ἀνέστησας.

Ἐτρόμαξεν/,/ * ὡς κατείδεν ὁ /ᾱ/(Α)δης(,) * παλινδρομοῦντα εὐθ/ὕς/(ύς,) * τὸν δεδεμένον κειρίαις(,) * φωνῇ πρὸς τὴν ὠδε ζωὴν.

(Δόξα.)

Ἐξέστησαν * τῶν Ἑβραίων οἱ δῆμοι, * ὅτε φωνήσας/,/ Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, *

ἐξανέστησας λόγῳ(,) * ὁδωδότα τὸν Λάζαρον.

(Καὶ νῦν)

Ἐσείσθησαν * τὰ ταμεῖα τοῦ /ᾱ/(Α)δου/, * ὡς ἐψυχούτο εὐθ/ὺς(ύς,) * κάτω Λάζαρος(,) τότε * τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ Ζωώσαντος.

Ἦδὴ γ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Λίθον/, * ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν * οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, * οὗτος ἐγενήθη * εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· * αὐτ/ὸς/(ὁς) ἐστὶν ἡ πέτρα, * ἐν ᾗ ἐστερέωσε * τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν(,) ὁ Χριστ/ὸς/(ὁς), * ἣν ἐξ ἐθνῶν * ἐξηγοράσατο. (Δίς)

Θαῦμα * ξένον καὶ παράδοξον! * πῶς ὁ Κτίστης πάντων(,) * ὅπερ οὐκ ἠγνόει, * ὡς ἀγνοῶν ἠρώτα· * Ποῦ κεῖται ὃν θρηνεῖτε; * ποῦ τέθ/ει/(απ)ται Λάζαρος, * ὃν μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκ νεκρῶν(,) * ζῶντα ἡμῖν * ἐξαναστήσω ἐγώ; !P 584!

Λίθον * ὃν σοι προσεκύλισαν * οἱ κηδεύσαντές σε, * τοῦτον συγκινησά(,) * ὁ Ἰησοῦς προστάξας, * εὐθὺς ἀνέστησε σε, * φωνήσας σοί/, Λάζαρε· * Ἀνάστα!/, δεῦρο πρὸς με, ἵνα τὴν σὴν * ὁ /ᾱ/(Α)δης πτήξῃ φωνήν.

Μάρθα * καὶ Μαρία!/, Κύριε, * ὀδυρμοῖς ἐβόων· * Ἴδε!/, ὃν ἐφίλει(,) * τεταρταῖος ὄζει!/(,) * εἰ /δὲ/ ἤς ὧδε τότε, * οὐκ ἔθνησκε Λάζαρος!/(,) * /ᾱ/(Α)λλ' ὡς ἀχώρ/ις/(η)τος παντί, * τοῦτον εὐθὺς * φωνήσας ἡγείρας.

Ράνας(,) * ἐπὶ φίλῳ δάκρυα, * δι' οἰκονομίαν * ἔδειξας τὴν σάρκα, * τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσαν, * οὐσίᾱ!/, οὐ δοκήσει, * Σωτήρ!/, ἐνωθεῖσάν σοι, * καὶ ὡς φιλάνθρωπος θε/ὸ/(ὁ)ς, * τοῦτον εὐθὺς * φωνήσας ἡγείρας.

Οἶμοι!/, * ὄντως νῦν ἀπόλωλα! * ἐκβοῶν ὁ /ᾱ/(Α)δης(,) * οὕτω προσεφώνει(,) * τῷ θανάτῳ λέγων· * Ἴδου!/, ὁ Ναζωραῖος(,) * τὰ κάτω συνέσεισε, * καὶ τὴν γαστέρα μου τεμών, * ἄπνουν νεκρὸν * φωνήσας ἡγείρε.

Ποῦ ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἄνοια; * ποῦ ἡ ἀπιστία; * ἕως πότε πλάνοι; * ἕως πότε νόθοι; * ὁρᾶτε τὸν θανόντα * φωνῇ εξαλλόμενον, * καὶ ἀπιστεῖτε τῷ Χριστῷ; * ὄντως υἱοὶ * τοῦ σκότους πάντες ὑμεῖς!

Δόξα.

Ἐνα * τῆς Τριάδος οἶδ/α/(ᾱ) σε, * εἰ καὶ ἐσαρκώθης!/(,) * ἔνα καὶ δοξάζω(,) * Τῶν σεσαρκωμένων, * τὸν ἐκ τῆς θεοτόκου(,) * ἀσπόρως βλαστήσαντα, * καὶ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι(,) * ἔνα Τῶν * δοξολογούμενον.

Καὶ νῦν ... Θεοτόκιον.

Ξένον(,) * καὶ φρικτὸν τὸ ὄραμα, * ἐξ οἰκονομίας, * ὅπερ προεώρων(,) * οἱ ἀψευδεῖς Προφῆται, * Παρθένον θεοτόκον(,) * ἀσπόρως μὲν κύουσιν, * ἀφθόρως τίκτουσαν θεόν, * μένουσαν δὲ * μετὰ (τὸν) τόκον ἀγνήν.

Ἦδὴ δ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Ἐπήρθη ὁ ἥλιος, * καὶ ἡ σελήνη(,) * ἔστη ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτῆς· * ὑψώθης!/,

/μ/(Μ)ακρόθυμε, * ἐπὶ τοῦ /ζ/(Ξ)ύλου, * καὶ ἔπηξας ἐν αὐτῷ * τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν σου.

Ἐδάκρυσας Κύριε, * ἐπὶ Λάζαρφ, * δείξας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶ/,(,) * καὶ ἡγείρας Δέσποτα, * τὸν τεθνεῶτα, * καὶ ἔδειξας τοῖς λαοῖς(,) * ὅτι Τίδος εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Ὁ ἄπνους /ὡς/ ἤκουσε * τὸ πρόσταγμά σου, * Δεῦρο ἔξω/,/ Λάζαρφ/,(,) * δρομαῖος ἀνίστατο * σὺν τοῖς σπαργάνοις, * καὶ ἤλλετο/,/ ἰά/(Α)γαθέ, * δεικνὺς τὸ κράτος σου.

!P 585!

Τῆς Μάρθας τὰ δάκρυα(,) * καὶ τῆς Μαρίας * κατέπανυσας/,/ Χριστέ ὁ θεός/,(,) * φωνήσας τὸν Λάζαρρον(,) * αὐτεξουσίως * σινῆγειρας τῇ φωνῇ/,/ * καὶ προσεκύνῃσέ σοι.

Δακρύσας/,/ ὡς ἄνθρωπος/,/ * ἐπὶ Λαζάρφ, * ἐξήγειρας αὐτόν/,/ ὡς θεός· * ἡρώτας/,/ Ποῦ τέθει(απ)ται(,) & Ιωαν. 11.34· Ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτόν;& * ὁ τετραταῖος; πιστούμενος/,/ ἰά/(Α)γαθέ, * τὴν ἐνανθρώπησίν σου.

Τοῦ /π/(Π)άθους τὰ σύμβολα(,) * καὶ τοῦ /σ/(Σ)ταυροῦ σου(,) * γνωρίσαι βουληθείς/,/ ἰά/(Α)γαθέ, * τοῦ !Σελ. 370!/ῖ/(Α)δου τὴν ἄπληστον(,) * γαστέρα ρήξας(,) * ἀνέστησας/,/ ὡς θεός, * τὸν τετραήμερον.

Τίς οἶδε, τίς ἤκουσεν, * ὅτι ἀνέστη(,) * ἄνθρωπος νεκρὸς ὁδωδώς; * Ἡλίας μὲν ἡγείρε(,) * καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος, * ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ μνήματος, * ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τετραταῖον.

Ἦμνοῦμεν σου Κύριε, * τὴν δυναστείαν, * ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ τὰ /π/(Π)άθη/,/ Χριστέ· * τῇ μὲν γὰρ/,/ ὡς εὐσπλαγχνος, * ἐθαυματουργεῖς, * τὰ δὲ οἰκονομικῶς(,) * εἰλον/,/ ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

Θεὸς εἶ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, * ἐκαληθεύων * τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ ὀνόματα/,(,) * ἐπέστης τῷ μνήματι(,) * σαρκὶ ὁ Λόγος, * καὶ ἡγείρας/,/ ὡς θεός * τὸν τετραήμερον.

Ἐξέστησαν/,/ Δέσποτα, * Ἑβραίων δήμοι, * ὡς εἶδον ἀναστάντα νεκρόν(,) * ἐκ τάφου /τὸν/ Λάζαρρον(,) * σὺν τῇ φωνῇ σου, * καὶ ἔμειναν ἀπειθεῖς * τῶν θαυμασίων σου.

Δόξα.

/Ἀχρόνως/ (Ἀνάρχως) ἐξελαμψας(,) * ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός σου, * ὡς εἶς τῆς Τριάδος/,/ Σωτήρ/,(,) * ἐν χρόνῳ, ἐ/ν/(κ) Πνεύματι/ί(ος), * /ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου/ (παρθενικῶν,) * (σὺ) προήλθες (αἰμάτων,) σάρκα λαβὼν * ὁ ὑπερούσιος.

Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον.

Ἡ σύλληψις ἄσπορος(,) * τῆς θεοτόκου, * ὁ τόκος ἄνευ πάθους φθορᾶς· * Θεὸς γὰρ ἀμφότερα * θαυματουργήσας, * ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν, * ἵνα ἡμῖν ἐνωθῇ.

Ὡδὴ ε΄. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν/, / * Τίς τοῦ θεοῦ * ἄλλον γὰρ ἐκτός σου(,) θεὸν οὐ
γινώσκουμεν * τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν, * ὅτι θεὸς ζώντων(,) * καὶ τῶν
νεκρῶν ὑπάρχεις. (Δίς.)

Ζωὴ ὑπάρχων Κύριε, * καὶ φῶς ἀληθινόν, * Λάζαρον (νεκρὸν) φωνήσας
ἀνέστησας * ὡς δυνατὸς γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔδειξας, * ὅτι θεὸς ζώντων * καὶ /τῶν/
νεκρῶν ὑπάρχεις.

Τὴν ἄστεκτόν σου πρόσταξιν(,) * μὴ φέρων Ἰησοῦ, * /ᾧ/(᾿Α)δὴς ὁ πολλοὺς
δεξιόμενος ἔπηξε, * καὶ τεταρταῖον(,) ὄντα Λάζαρον(,) * σὺν τῇ φωνῇ
ζῶντα(,) * καὶ νεκρὸν ἐδίδου.

Τὸν χοῦν συνάψας /Π/(π)νεῦματι, * ὁ πάλαι τὸν πηλὸν(,) /Π/(π)νεῦμ!ΣΡ
586!ατι ψυχώσας(,) ζώης/, / Λόγει/, / λόγῳ σου/, / (·) * καὶ νῦν δὲ λόγῳ
ἐξανέστησας(,) * ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς φίλον(,) * καὶ τῶν καταχθονίων.

Τ/ῶ/(ῶ) νεῦματί σου, Κύριε, * ἀνθέστηκεν οὐδεὶς * ὅτε γὰρ νεκρὸν(,)
ἐφώνεις τὸν Λάζαρον, * εὐθύς ὡς ὁ ἄπνους ἐξανίσ(τ)ατο/, / * καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ
(μὴ) φέρων(,) * ποσὶ περιεπάτει.

Ὡ Ἰουδαίων ἄνοια! * ὦ πώρῳσις ἐχθρῶν! * τίς οἶδε νεκρὸν ἐκ τάφου
ἐγειράντα; * Ἠλίας πάλαι ἐξανέστησεν, * ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ μνημήματος, * ἀλλ'
οὐδ/(τ)ε τεταρταῖον.

Ανείκαστε/, / μακρόθυμε, * ὁ πάντα δι' ἡμᾶς * πράττων ὡς θεός, καὶ πάσχων
ὡς ἄνθρωπος/, / * πάντας μετόχους ἡμᾶς ποίησον(,) * τῆς σῆς Βασιλείας, *
πρεσβεΐας τοῦ Λαζάρου.

Δόξα.

Προάναρχε, συνάναρχε, * ὁμοτίμε Τριάς, * Πάτερ παντοκράτορ, Τίς,
Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, * Μονὰς /ᾱ/(᾿Α)γία/, / τρισυπόστατε, * τοὺς ἐξ Ἀδὰμ σῶξε(,) *
* πιστῶς σε ἀνυμνοῦντας.

Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον.

Τὴν ἄχραντον γαστέρα σου(,) * ἡγίασεν/, / /ᾱ/(᾿Α)γνή, * σάρκα ἐξ αὐτῆς(,) *
λαβὼν ὁ ὑπέρθεος/, / * ὁ ἐν Τριάδι προσκυνούμενος, * ὁ ἐκ Πατρὸς Λόγος, *
καὶ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι θεός.

Ὡδὴ ς΄. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Ἀπέρριψάς με εἰς βάθη(,) * καρδίας θαλάσσης, * καὶ ἔσωσάς με/, /
Σωτὴρ/(ῆ)ρ, * δουλείας θανάτου, * καὶ ἔλυσας τὸν δεσμ/ῶ/(ὸ)ν * τῶν ἀνομιῶν
μου. Δίς

Ἠρώτησας /π/(Π)οῦ εἰμι, * ὁ πάντα γινώσκων * ἐδάκρυσάς με/, /
Σωτὴρ/(ῆ)ρ, * ὡς ἄνθρωπος φύσει, * καὶ ἡγειράς με νεκρ/ὸ/(ὀ)ν(,) * τ/ῶ/(ῶ)
προστάγματί σου.

Ἐφώνησάς με ἐξ /ᾱ/(ʿA)δου, * Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, κατωτάτου, * Βοᾱ Λάζαρος(,) πρὸς σὲ * τὸν λύτην τοῦ /ᾱ/(ʿA)δου, * καὶ ἡγειράς με νεκρ/ὀ/(ὀ)ν(,) * τῷ προστάγματί σου.

Ἐνέδυσάς με/, / Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, * τὸ πῆλινον σῶμα, * καὶ /ἔ/(ἐνε)πνευσάς μοι /ζ/(Z)ω/ῆ/(ῆ)ν, * καὶ εἶδον τὸ φῶς σου, * καὶ ἡγειράς με νεκρ/ὀ/(ὀ)ν(,) * τῷ προστάγματί σου.

Ἐψύχωσας σὺ(,) τὴν ἄπνουν * μορφὴν τῆς σαρκός μου/·/(,) * συνέσφιγξάς με/, / Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, * ὀστέοις καὶ νεύροις, * καὶ ἡγειράς με νεκρ/ὀ/(ὀ)ν(,) * τῷ προστάγματί σου.

!Σελ. 371! Τὴν παμφάγον διαρρήξας(,) * γαστέρα τοῦ /ᾱ/(ʿA)δου, * ἐξήρπασάς με, Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, * τῇ σῇ δυναστεῖ, * καὶ ἡγειράς με νεκρ/ὀ/(ὀ)ν(,) * τῷ προστάγματί σου.

Εφόρεσάς μου/, / Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, * τὸ φύραμα ὅλον, * ἐφύλαξας δὲ ἀγνήν(,) * τὴν ἀχραντὸν μήτραν/, / * ἐξ ἧς προήλθες σαρκωθε/ῖ/(ι)ς, * εἰς ὧν τῆς Τριάδος.
!ΣΡ 587!

Δόξα.

Τριάς ἀγία δοξάζω(,) * τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν, * καὶ σὺν Ἀγγέλοις ὑμνῶ(,) * τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον· * ἐλέησον τὰς ψυχὰς (ἡμῶν,) * τῶν σὲ ἀνυμνούντων.

Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον.

Τὴν ἀχραντὸν σου νηδ/ὺ/(ύ)ν(,) * ὑπέδου ὁ Λόγος, * ἐτήρησε δὲ αὐτίς(,) * μετὰ γέννησιν ταύτην(,) * ἀγνήν//, / θεογεννήτορ· * θαῦμα ὄντως παράδοξον!

Ὡδή ζ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Τοὺς ἐκ καμίνψ Παῖδάς σου/, / Σωτήρ, * οὐκ ἤψατο(,) * οὐδὲ παρηνώχλησε τὸ πῦρ· * τότε οἱ τρεῖς, * ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος, ὕμνουν * καὶ εὐλόγουν λέγοντες· * Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, * ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Ἐπὶ νεκρῷ ἐδάκρυσας/, / Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, * /ὡς ἄνθρωπος/(φιλόανθρωπε), * ἵνα δείξης πᾶσι τοῖς λαοῖς, * ὅτι θεὸς ὢν(,) * δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὤφθης/·/(,) * καὶ ἐκῶν ἐδάκρυσας, * τύπους ἡμῖν προτιθεῖς, * ἐνδιαθέτου στοργῆς

Ὁ τεταρταῖος Λάζαρος Σωτήρ, * ὡς ἤκουσε(,) * κάτω τῆς φωνῆς σου/, / ἀναστ/ἀ/(ά)ς(,) * ἀνυμνησέ σε, * καὶ γεγηθῶς οὕτως ἐβόα· * Σὺ Θεὸς καὶ Κτίστης μου· * σὲ προσκυνῶ καὶ ὑμνῶ(,) * τὸν ἀναστήσαντά με.

Εἰ καὶ δεσμὰ περίκεμαι/, / Σωτήρ, * ὁ Λάζαρος(,) * κάτωθεν ἐβόα/, / Λυτρωτ/ἀ/(ά), * ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς(,) * ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ μενῶ τοῦ /ᾱ/(ʿA)δου, * ἐὰν μόνον κράξης μοι/·/(ε), * Λάζαρε δεῦρο ἔξω· * σὺ γὰρ μου φῶς καὶ ζωή.

Παρακαλῶ σε/, / Λάζαρε, φησὶν/, / * ἀνάστηθι/, / * ἔξελθε τῶν κλείθρων μου ταχ/ὺ/(ύ), * ἅπιθι οὖν· * καλὸν μοι γὰρ ἔνα θρηνησαι(,) * πικρῶς

ἀφαιρούμενον * παρὰ πάντος οὗς πρ/ῖ/(ι)ν(,) * πεινῶν κατέπιον.

Καὶ τί βραδύνεις/, Λάζαρε; * φησὶν/·/ * ὁ φίλος σου/·/ * /Δ/(δ)εὔρο ἔξω/,/ κράζει ἐστηκώς * ἔξελθε οὖν, * ἵνα κἀγὼ ἄνεσιν λάβω * ἀφ' οὗ γάρ σε ἔφαγον, * εἰς ἐμετὸν ἢ τροφ/ῆ/(ῆ) * ἀντικατέστη μοι.

Τί οὐκ ἐγείρη/, Λάζαρε/, ταχύ; * ἀνέκραξε(,) * κάτωθεν ὁ /ῥ/(Ὶ)δης θρηνωδῶν * τί οὐκ εὐθύς(,) * ἐξαναστὰς τρέχεις τῶν ὧδε; * ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἄλλους μοι(,) * αἰχμαλωτίση Χριστὸς(,) * ἐξαναστήσας σε.

Ἐθανυμαστῶθης/, Δέσποτα Χριστέ, * ἐξαΐσια(,) * τότε ἐργασάμενος πολλά * φῶς γὰρ τυφλοῖς, * κωφῶν δὲ ὦτα(,) ἠνοιξας λόγῳ, * καὶ τὸν φίλον Λάζαρον(,) * ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν/, ὡς θε/ὸς/(ὸς) * φωνήσας ἡγειρας.

Δόξα.

Τριαδικὴν ὑμνήσωμεν ᾠδ/ῆ/(ῆ)ν, * δοξάζοντες(,) * ἄναρχον Πατέρα(,) καὶ Τίον, Πνεῦμα εὐθ/ῆ/(ῆ)ς, * μοναδικὴν μίαν οὐσίαν, * ἣν τρισῶς ὑμνήσωμεν * Ἄγιος, Ἄγιος, * Ἄγιος εἰ/, ἢ Τριάς.

!ΣΡ 588!

Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον.

Ὡς τῆς Τριάδος ἓνα σε/, Χριστ/ῆ/(ῆ), * δοξάζομεν, * ὅτι ἐκ Παρθένου σαρκωθείς * δίχρα τροπῆς, * ἀνθρωπικῶς πάντα ἠνέσχον, * μὴ ἐκστάς τῆς φύσεως(,) * τῆς πατρικῆς/, Ἰησοῦ/, * εἰ καὶ ἠνώθης ἡμῖν.

Ὡδὴ ἢ Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Οἱ /ο/(Ο)ὐρανοὶ τῶν /ο/(Ο)ὐρανῶν, * καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ(,) * τὸ ὑπεράνω * τῶν /ο/(Ο)ὐρανῶν, εὐλογεῖτε/, * ὑμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον.

Ὁ Ποιητὴς καὶ συνοχεὺς * τῶν ἀπάντων * δι' εὐσπλαγχνίαν(,) * ἐν βηθανίᾳ ἐπέστη, * ἐγείρ/αι/(ων) τὸν Λάζαρον.

Ὁ τεταρταῖος ὁδωδ/ῶ/(ῶ)ς(,) * καὶ κειρίαις * συνειλημ(μ)ένος * ἤλ/α/(λε)το ἔμπνους ὁ ἄπνους, * φωνοῦντός σου Κύριε.

Τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ λα/ὸ/(ὸ)ς(,) * ὡς ἐώρα * τὸν τεθνεῶτα * τῇ σῇ φωνῇ ἀναστάντα, * Χριστὲ/, διεκρίετο.

Οἱ σκοτεινοί/ι/(ι), περὶ τὸ φῶς * Ἰουδαῖοι, * τί ἀπιστεῖτε(,) * τῇ τοῦ Λαζάρου ἐγέρσει; * Χριστοῦ τὸ ἐγχείρημα.

Ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ Σιών/, * καὶ ὑμνεῖτω * τὸν Ζωοδότην/, * τὸν ἀναστήσαντα λόγῳ * ἐκ τάφου τὸν Λάζαρον.

!Σελ. 372! Αἱ στρατιαὶ τῶν /ο/(Ο)ὐρανῶν * καὶ τὸ γένος(,) * τῶν γηγενῶν σε * ὑμνησ/α/(ε)ν, ὅτ/ε/,/ι/ Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ μου, * τὸν Λάζαρον ἡγειρας.

Δόξα.

Σὺν τῷ Πατρί(,) καὶ τῷ Τίῳ/, * καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα * δοξολογοῦμεν/(ῶ), * καὶ

(ὕμνων) ἀσιγήτως βοῶ/μεν/· * Τρισάγιε/,/ δόξα σοι.

Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον.

Σὲ εὐλογῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ(,) * τὸν τεχθέντα * ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου, * μὴ
χωρισθέντα τοῦ θρόνου(,) * τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου.

Ώσῃ θ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Ἐποίησε κράτος * ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ· * καθεῖλε γὰρ δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων,
* καὶ ὑψώσε ταπεινοὺς * ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ/·/(,) * ἐν οἷς ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς(,) *
* Ἀναστολὴ ἐξ ὑψους, * καὶ κατεύθυνεν ἡμᾶς(,) * εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης.

Τμνείτω τὸ θαῦμα(,) * Βηθανία σὺν ἡμῖν· * ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ
Κτίστης(,) * τὸν Λάζαρον ἀνιστῶν, * νόμφ φύσεως σαρκός· * καὶ Μάρθας τὰ
δάκρυα /λοιπὸν/(λιπών,) * καὶ τὸν κλαυθμὸν Μαρίας(,) * εἰς χαρὰν
μεταβαλὼν, * τὸν νεκρὸν ἐγείρει.

Πιστούμενος/,/ Λόγε, * τὴν /ἀ/ Ἀνάστασιν τὴν σὴν, * ἐκάλεσας τὸν Λάζαρον
ἐκ τάφου(,) * καὶ ἡγείρας ὡς θεός, * ἵνα δείξης τοῖς λαοῖς(,) * θεὸν σε καὶ
ἄνθρωπον ὁμοῦ(,) * ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ὄντα, * καὶ ἐγείραντα Ναὸν(,) * τὸν τοῦ
σώματός σου.

Συνέσεισας πύλας(,) * καὶ μοχλοὺς τοὺς σιδηροῦς/·/(,) * ἐφόβησας τὸν
/ἄ/(᾿Α)δὴν τῇ φωνῇ σου, * καὶ ἐπτήξε σὺν αὐτῷ(,) * καὶ ὁ θάνατος(,) !P
589!εὐθ/ῦ/(ύ)ς, * ὡς εἶδον τὸν Λάζαρον/,/ Σωτ/ῆ/(ῆ)ρ, * τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς
δεσμώτην, * ψυχωθέντα τῇ φωνῇ(,) * καὶ ἐξαναστάντα.

Ἐξέστησαν πάντες, * ὡς ἐώρων σε/,/ Σωτήρ, * δακρύνοντα τὸν Λάζαρον
θαν/ό/(ε)ντα, * καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ δεινοί· * Ἴδε πῶς αὐτὸν φιλεῖ!/!(·) * /Ε/(ε)ὐθὺς
οὖν ἐφώνησας αὐτ/ό/(ό)ν, * καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἄπνους(,) * ἀφ/η/(ῆ)ρεῖτο τὴν
φθορ/ἄ/(ά)ν(,) * τῷ προστάγματί σου.

Ἐσεισθησαν πύλαι, * συνετρίβησαν μοχλοῖ/ι/(ι), * ἐλύθησαν δεσμὰ τοῦ
τεθνεώτος· * ὁ /ἄ/(᾿Α)δὴς δὲ τῇ φωνῇ * τῆς δυνάμεως Χριστοῦ(,) * πικρῶς
ἀνεστέναξε /θρηνῶν/, καὶ ἀνεβόα· Οἱμοι! * /τ/(Τ)ίς καὶ πόθεν ἡ φων/ῆ/(ῆ), *
ἡ νεκροὺς ζῶουσα;

Ἀνάστα ἐντεῦθεν(,) * ὑπακούσας τῆς φωνῆς· * ὁ φίλος σου γὰρ ἔξω
προσφωνεῖ σε· * /ο/(Ο)ὕτ/ο/(ό)ς ἐστ/ῦ/(ι)ν, ὁ τὸ πρὶν * ἀναστήσας τοὺς
νεκρούς. * Ἠλίας μὲν ἡγείρε νεκρ/ό/(ό)ν, * καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος ἅμα/,/(·) * ἀλλ'
αὐτὸς ἦν δι' αὐτῶν(,) * καὶ λαλῶν καὶ πράττων.

Τμνοῦμεν σου, Λόγε, * τὴν ἀνείκαστον ἰσχύν/·/(,) * ὁστέοις γὰρ καὶ νεύροις
τὸν θαν/ό/(ε)ντα(,) * ἡγείρας λόγῳ τῷ σῷ, * ὡς τῶν ὅλων
/Π/(π)λαστοουργ/ό/(ό)ς, * καὶ τοῦτον ἀνέστησας/,/ Σωτῆρ/,/ * ἐκ τῶν
καταχθονίων, * ὡς τῆς χήρας τὸν /υ/(Υ)ῖον(,) * τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης.

Δόξα (Πατρί.)

Τριάς παναγία, * Πάτερ ἄναρχε θεέ, * συνάναρχη Τίε(,) καὶ θεῖε Λόγε, *

Παράκλητε ἀγαθὸς/(ε), * Πνεῦμα ἅγιον θεοῦ, * τὸ /ἐ/(Ε)ν καὶ /τ/(Τ)ρισήλιον
φάος, * ἡ συμφυῆς οὐσία, * εἰς θεὸς καὶ Κύριος, * οἰκτερον τὸν κόσμον.

Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον.

Ὁ πάντα ποιήσας(,) * ἐν σοφίᾳ/, / Ἰησοῦ, * καὶ ὄλον με φορέσας ἐκ
Παρθένου, * καὶ ὅλος μένων ἀεὶ/ἰ/(ι,) * ἐν τοῖς κόλποις(,) τοῦ
/Π/(π)ατρὸς/(ὁ)ς, * τὸ ἅγιόν σου Πνεῦμα/, / Χριστέ, * ἐπὶ τὸ ποιμνίόν σου(,) *
καταπέμψας/, / ὡς θεὸς, * ἐπισκίασον ἡμᾶς.

Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον μέχρι τοῦ Σαββάτου τῆς Διακαινησίμου, οὔτε
Ὀκτώηχος, οὔτε Μαρτυρικὸν, οὔτε Θεοτοκίον ψάλλεται.

Εἰς τὸν Ὁρθρον

(Μετὰ τὸν Ἑξάψαλμον, εἰς τὸν Θεὸς Κύριος, /εἰς Ἦχον α΄. καὶ/ ψάλλομεν
τὸ παρὸν Τροπάριον ἐκ /τρίτου/(γ').

Ἦχος α΄

Τὴν κοινὴν /ἀ/(Α)νάστασιν * πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ /π/(Π)άθους πιστούμενος, * ἐκ
νεκρῶν ἡγειρας τὸν Λάζαρον, * Χριστὲ ὁ θεός· * ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς !Σελ. 373! ὡς
οἱ /π/(Π)αῖδες, * τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, * σοὶ τῷ /ν/(Ν)ικητῇ * τοῦ
θανάτου βοῶμεν· * Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις/·/(,) * εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος
* ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Εἶτα στιχολογοῦμεν τὸ Κάθισμα τό, Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου. Μετὰ δὲ
ταύτην τὴν Στιχολογίαν τὸ παρὸς/(ὁ)ν/ Κάθισμα/.

(Κάθισμα.) Ἦχος α΄.

Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος.

Κατοικτεῖρας τῆς Μάρθας(,) * καὶ Μαρίας τὰ δάκρυα, * ἐκκυλίσαι τὸν
λίθον(,) * ἐκ τοῦ τάφου προσέταξας(, Χριστὲ ὁ θεός)· ἀνέστησας φωνήσας
τὸν νεκρὸν/(ὁ)ν, * /συντρίψας τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς μοχλοὺς/, / * τὴν τοῦ
/κ/(Κ)όσμου/, / /Ζ/(Ζ)ωοδότα, * /ὡς/ δι' αὐτοῦ πιστούμενος /ἀ/(Α)νάστασιν. *
Δόξα τῇ δυναστείᾳ σου/, / Σωτήρ· * δόξα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ σου/, / (·) * δόξα τῷ διὰ
λόγου πάντα συστησαμένῳ.

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν, πάλιν τὸ αὐτό.

Εἶτα /ς/(Σ)τιχολογοῦμεν τὸν Ἀμωμον, / καὶ λέγομεν/(ψάλλομεν δὲ) καὶ τὰ
Ἀναστάσιμα Εὐλογητάρια/, / (, τὰ ἐν ταῖς Κυριακαῖς.)

Τῶν Ἀγγέλων ὁ δῆμος(κτλ.)· / καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὡς συνήθως ἐν Κυριακῇ, καὶ
μετὰ τὴν τούτων συμπλήρωσιν, / (Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα) τὸ παρὸν Κάθισμα.

Ἦχος πλ. α΄. Τὸν συνάναρχον Λόγον.

Ἡ πηγὴ τῆς σοφίας(,) * καὶ τῆς προγνώσεως, * τοὺς περὶ Μάρθαν ἡρώτας,
* ἐν βηθανίᾳ παρῶν, * Ποῦ τεθείκατε, βοῶν, * φίλον τὸν Λάζαρον; * ὃν
δακρύσας συμπαθῶς/, / * τετραήμερον νεκρὸν/(ὁ)ν(,) * ἀνέστησας τῇ φωνῇ
σου/, / (·) * /φ/(Φ)ιλάνθρωπε καὶ /ο/(Ο)ϊκτίρμον, * ὡς /Ζ/(Ζ)ωοδότης καὶ
Κύριος.

Δόξα καὶ νῦν, πάλιν τὸ αὐτό. / Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι, καὶ ὁ Ν'.
 Εὐαγγέλιον δὲ οὐ λέγομεν, εἰ μὴ εἰς τὸν Ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Λαζάρου.
 Ἀναγνώσεις δὲ ποιούμεν/ (Εἶτα γίνεται ἀνάγνωσις) τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ
 Ἰωάννην, περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς /λ/(Λ)όγων ξγ' καὶ ξδ'. (Εὐαγγέλιον δὲ οὐ
 λέγομεν, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ, Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι.)
 (Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ν' τοὺς ἐπομένους δύο) /Οἱ/ Κανόνας μέχρι τῆς /ς'/(στ')
 Ὀδῆς/,/ ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τὰ Τετράδια εἰς Στίχους ιβ'.

1591! Ὁ Κανὼν, ποίημα Θεοφάνους.

Ὀδὴ α'. Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Ἀσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ/,/ * τῷ διαγαγόντι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ(,) * ἐν ἐρυθρῇ
 θαλάσσῃ/,/ * ὧδὴν ἐπινίκιον ὅτι δεδόξασται. Δις

Λάζαρον τεθνεῶτα(,) * νεύματι τῷ Θεῷ ἐξανέστησας, * /Π/(π)λαστουργὸς
 ὡς ὑπάρχων(,) * καὶ Ζωῆς ταμ/ε/ιούχος/,/ /φ/(Φ)ιλάνθρωπε.

Λόγῳ τὸν τεταρταῖον(,) * Λάζαρον ἀνέστησας/,/ /ἀ/(᾿Α)θάνατε, *
 σκοτεινόμορφον /ῥ/(᾿Α)δου(,) * διαλύσας ἰσχυῖ βασιλῆιον.

Πᾶσι τῆς ὑπερθέου(,) * γνώρισμα θεότητος(,) ὑπέδειξας, * ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν
 ἐγείρας(,) * τετραήμερον Λάζαρον/,/ Δέσποτα.

Σήμερον Βηθανία(,) * προανακηρύττει(,) τὴν /ἀ/(᾿Α)νάστασιν * Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 ζωοδότου, * τῇ ἐγέρσει Λάζαρου χορεύουσα.

Ἄλλος Κανὼν/ὦ/(ὦ)ν, ποίημα Κοσμᾶ Μοναχοῦ.

Ὀδὴ α'. Ἦχος πλ. δ'. Ἐγρὰν διοδεύσας.

Ὁ πρὶν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων παραγαγ/ὦ/(ὦ)ν(,) * τὴν σύμπασαν /κ/(Κ)τίσιν, * καὶ
 γινώσκων τῶν καρδιῶν(,) * ταμεῖα/,/ προλέγεις/,/ ὡς Δεσπότης, * τοῖς
 Μαθηταῖς τοῦ Λαζάρου τὴν κοίμησιν.

Τὸν ἄνθρωπον φύσει οὐσιωθε/ῖ/(ῖ)ς, * Χριστὲ/,/ ἐκ /Π/(π)αρθένου, * τοῦ
 Λαζάρου σὺ τὴν ταφήν(,) * μαθεῖν ἐπηρώτας/,/ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, * οὐκ ἀγνοῶν/,/ ὡς
 θεὸς/,/ ὅπου ἔκειτο.

Πιστούμενος/,/ Λόγε/,/ τὴν σεαυτοῦ(,) * /ἀ/(᾿Α)νάστασιν ὄντως, * ὡς ἐξ
 ὕπνου τὸν προσφιλεῖ(,) * ἀνέστησας ἥδη ὁδωδότα, * τὸν τεταρταῖον νεκρὸν ἐκ
 τοῦ μνήματος.

Θεοτοκίον

Τάξεις σε Ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν βροτῶν, * ἀνύμφευτε Μήτηρ/,/ * εὐφημοῦσιν
 ἀνελλιπῶς * τὸν Κτίστην γὰρ τούτων/,/ ὥσπερ βρέφος, * ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλας
 σου ἐβάστασας.

Καταβασία /Ὁ Εἰρμός./ Ἐγρὰν διοδεύσας ὡσεὶ ξηράν, * καὶ τὴν
 /α/(Α)ἰγυπτίαν * μοχθηρίαν διαφυγ/ὦ/(ὦ)ν(,) * ὁ Ἰσραηλῆτης ἀνεβόα * Τῷ

λυτρωτῇ καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ᾔσωμεν.

Ὡδὴ γ' Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Σὺ εἰ τὸ στερέωμα(,) * τῶν προστρεχόντων σοί,/ Κύριε * σὺ εἰ τὸ φῶς * τῶν ἐσκοτισμένων, * καὶ ὑμνεῖ σε τὸ πνεῦμά μου. Δίς

Δύο προβαλλόμενος(,) * τὰς ἐνεργείας σου,/ ἔδειξας(,) * τῶν οὐσιῶν, * Σῶτερ,/ τὴν διπλὴν * θεὸς γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

Ἄβυσσας ὧν γνώσεως, * σὺ ἐρωτᾷς /ὄ/πο/υ/(ῡ) τέθεται(,) * ὁ τεθνεῶ/ῶ/ς, * μέλλων ἀναστήσειν Ζωοδότα τὸν κείμενον.

Τόπους ἀμειβόμενος, * ὡς γεγωνὸς βροτὸς πέφηνας(,) * περιγραπτ/ὸ/(ός), * ὁ πληρὼν τὰ πάντα, * ὡς θεὸς ἀπερίγραπτος.

!Σελ. 374! !P 592! Λάζαρον /ὦς/ /ῃ/(ἐξή)γειρας(,) * τῷ θεϊκῷ,/ Χριστῷ,/ /ρήματι/,/(·) * κάμει πολλοῖς * πταίσμασι θαν/ό/(ἐ)ντα(·) * ἐξανάστησον δεομαι.

Ἄλλος

Οὐρανίας ἀψίδος.

Ἐπιστὰς σὺ(ν) τῷ τάφῳ, * θαυματουργε Κύριε, * ἐν τῇ Βηθανίᾳ(,) Λαζάρου, * τοῦτον ἐδάκρυσας(,) * νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως, * πιστοποιῶν σου τὴν σάρκα, * Ἰησοῦ ὁ θεὸς μου, * ἥνπερ προσείληφας.

Τῆς Μαρίας τὸ πένθος(,) * σὺ παρευθὺς ἔπαυσας, * Σῶτερ,/ καὶ τῆς Μάρθας, δεικνύων * τὸ αὐτεξούσιον * σὺ γὰρ ἀνάστασις * καὶ σὺ ζωὴ,/ ὥσπερ ἔφης/·/(,) * ἀληθεῖα πέλεις γὰρ * καὶ πάντων Κύριος.

Εἰ(ί)λη(γ)μένον κειρίαις(,) * τὸν προσφιλῆ,/ Κύριε, * /ᾱ/(·Α)δου ἐκ νεκᾶδων(,) καὶ ζόφου * τοῦτον ἀφήρπασας, * σὺ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ σου(,) * τῷ πανσθενεῖ τοῦ θανάτου(,) * διαρρήξας κλεῖθρά τε * καὶ τὰ βασιλεια.

θεοτοκίον

Ἐνοικήσας Παρθένῳ(,) * σωματικῶς,/ Κύριε, * ὥφθης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἔπρεπε * θεαθῆναί σε * ἦν καὶ ἀνέδειξας, * ὡς ἀληθὴ θεοτόκον(,) * καὶ πιστῶν βοήθειαν, * μόνε φιλάνθρωπε.

Καταβασία

Οὐρανίας ἀψίδος(,) * ὀροφουργε,/ Κύριε(,) * καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δομῆτορ, * σὺ με στερέωσον(,) * ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ σῇ, * τῶν ἐφετῶν ἡ ἀκρότης, * τῶν πιστῶν τὸ στήριγμα, * μόνε φιλάνθρωπε.

Κάθισμα δ'. Κατεπλάγη Ἰωσήφ.

Συμπαρέστησας Χριστῷ(,) * αἱ τοῦ Λαζάρου ἀδελφαί/ί/(ι), * καὶ δακρύουσαι πικρῶς(,) * καὶ ὀλολύζουσαι αὐτῷ(,) * ἔφησαν/·/ Κύριε, τέθνηκε * Λάζαρος/·/(·) * αὐτὸς δὲ,/ ὡς θε/ὸ/(ός), * οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὴν ταφήν, * ἡρώτα πρὸς αὐτάς * Ποῦ τεθείκατε; * καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ τάφῳ,/ * προσεφώνει(,) * τὸν τετραήμερον Λάζαρον * /εὐθὺς/ (ὁ δὲ) /ᾱ/(·Α)νέστη/·/(·) * καὶ προσεκύνει

* τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναστήσαντα.

Ἔτερον. Ἦχος πλ. δ'. Τὴν Σοφίαν.

Προγινώσκων τὰ πάντα/, * ὡς /Π/(π)οιητῆ/(ῆ)ς, * ἐν Βηθανίᾳ προεῖπας * τοῖς Μαθηταῖς· * Ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν Λάζαρος(,) * κεκοίμηται σήμερον· * καὶ εἰδὼς ἡρώτας, φησί· * Ποῦ /αὐτὸν/ τεθεϊκάτε; * καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ προσηύξω, * δακρύσας ὡς ἄνθρωπος· * ὅθεν καὶ φωνήσας(,) * ὃν ἐφίλεις ἐξ /ἧ/(᾿Α)δου(,) * ἀνέστησας/, /Κύριε, * τετραήμερον Λάζαρον. * Διὰ τοῦτο Βοῶμεν σοί·/ * Πρόσδεξαι/, /Χριστέ ὁ θεός, * τῶν τολμώντων προσφέρειν τὴν αἶνσιν, * καὶ καταξιώσον πάντας * τῆς /μεγάλης/ δόξης σου.

Ἦδὴ δ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Εἰσακήσα Κύριε, * τῆς οἰκονομίας σου τὸ μυστήριον·/(,) * κατενόησα τὰ ἔργα σου, * καὶ ἐδόξασά σου * τὴν θεότητα. Δίς

!P593! Οὐ συμμάχου δεόμενος, * ἀλλ' οἰκονομίαν τελῶν ἀπόρρητον/, * προσευχόμενος ἀνέστησας(,) * νεκρὸν τετ/αρταιοῦν/(ραήμερον) /π/(Π)αντοδύναμε.

Ὁ Πατὴρ συναΐδιος(,) * Λόγος καὶ θεός(,) τὸ πρὶν καθορώμενος, * νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπος προσεύχεται, * προσευχ/ᾶ/(ᾱ)ς ὁ πάντων * προσδεχόμενος.

Ἡ φωνὴ σου κατέλυσε, * Σῶτερ, τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν· * τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ /ἧ/(᾿Α)δου δὲ(,) * θεϊκῇ δυνάμει * διεκλόνησε.

θεοτοκίον

Τὴν Παρθένον ὑμνήσωμεν, * ὡς μετὰ τὸν τόκον /Π/(π)αρθένον μείνασαν, * καὶ κυήσασαν Χριστὸν τὸν θεόν, * τὸν ἐκ πλάνης κόσμον * λυτρωσάμενον.

Εἰρμός ἄλλος. Σύ μου/, Χριστέ./ (ισχύς κύριε.)

Σὺ ὡς ποιμ/ῆ/(ῆ)ν(,) * ἤρπασας/, /Σῶτερ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, * τὸν φθαρέντα(,) * ἤδη τετραήμερον, * /Δ/(δ)ημιουργέ, λύκου ἐκ δεινοῦ(,) * ὄντως καὶ παμφάγου, * ὡς δυνατός τε καὶ Κύριος/, * ἐν τούτῳ προδεικνύων(,) * τὴν παγκόσμιον δόξαν * τῆς σῆς νῦν τριημέρου /ἐ/(᾿Ε)γέρσεως.

Σὲ τὴν ζωὴν(,) * βλέπουσιν αἱ περὶ Μάρθαν/, /Χριστ/ἐ/(ἐ), * ἀνεβόων· * Εἰ ἥς ὧδε/, /Κύριε, * ὁ φωτισμὸς πάντων καὶ ζω/ῆ/(ῆ), * ὅλως οὐ τεθνήκει, * νεκρὸς οὐκ ὤφθη ὁ Λάζαρος· * ζωὴ δὲ τῶν θανέντων(,) * σὺ/, /φιλόανθρωπε/, /πέλων(,) * εἰς χαρὰν μετατρέπεις τὸ πένθος αὐτῶν.

Σὲ τὴν πηγ/ῆ/(ῆ)ν(,) * φρίττουσι/, /Κύριε ἄβυσσοι· * σοὶ δουλεύει(,) * ἡ ἰγρὰ ἢ σύμπασα· * σὲ πύλωροί/(ι,) τρέμουσι/, /Χριστέ· * /ἧ/(᾿Α)δου δὲ τὰ κλειθρα(,) * τῷ κράτει σου διαλύονται, * Λαζάρου ἀναστάντος(,) * ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ φωνῇ σου, * παντοδύναμε/, /Σῶτερ φιλόανθρωπε.

!Σελ. 375! Θεοτοκίον

Σὺ τῶν πιστῶν * καύχημα(,) πέλεις/, /ἰ/(᾿Α)νύμφευτε, * σὺ προστάτις, * σὺ καὶ καταφύγιον, * Χριστιανῶν τείχος καὶ λιμὴν· * πρὸς γὰρ τὸν Τίόν σου(,) *

ἐντεύξεις φέρεις/,/ πανάμωμε, * καὶ σῶξεις ἐκ κινδύνων * τοὺς ἐν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ(,) * θεοτόκον ἀγνήν σε γινώσκοντας.

!Ὁ Εἰρμός/(Καταβασία)

Σύ μου/, Χριστὲ/(ἰσχύς), Κύριος/(ε), σύ μου καὶ δύναμις, * σὺ θεός μου, * σὺ μου ἀγαλλίαμα, * ὁ πατρικοὺς κόλπους μὴ λιπών, * καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν(,) * πτωχείαν ἐπισκεψάμενος· * διὸ σὺν τῷ Προφῆτῃ * Ἀββακο/ύ/(ὕ)μ σοὶ κραυγάζω· * Τῇ δυνάμει σου δόξα/,/ φιλάνθρωπε.

Ἦδῃ ε'. Ὁ Εἰρμός. /Ἵνα τί με ἀπώσω,/

(Ἵνα τί με ἀπώσω, ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου τὸ φῶς τὸ ἄδυτον, καὶ ἐκάλυψέ με τὸ ἀλλότριον σκότος τὸν δειλαιον· ἀλλ' ἐπίστρεψόν με, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, τὰς ὁδοὺς μου κατεύθυνον δέομαι.)

Ἐπιστὰς τῷ Λαζάρου(,) * μνήματι/,/ φιλάνθρωπε, * τοῦτον ἐκάλεσας(,) * καὶ ζῶν παρέσχες, * ὡς Ζωὴ χρηματίζων ἀθάνα!P 594!τος(,) * τῶν Βροτῶν ἀπάντων, * οἷα θεός, τὴν ἐσομένην(,) * προθεσπίζων προδήλως /ἀ/(᾿Α)νάστασιν.

Δεδεμένος τοὺς πόδας(,) * Λάζαρος ἐβάδιζε/,/(·) * θαῦμα ἐν θαύμασι! * καὶ γὰρ μείζων ὤφθη(,) * τοῦ κωλύοντος ὁ ἐνισχύων Χριστός· * οὐ τῷ λόγῳ πάντα * δουλοπρεπῶς ὑπηρετοῦσιν, * ὡς θεῷ καὶ Δεσπότη δουλεύοντα.

Ὁ νεκρὸν ὁδωδότα(,) * Λάζαρον ἐγειρας/,/ Χριστὲ/,/ * τετρήμερον, * ἐξανάστησόν με(,) * νεκρωθέντα νῦν ἀμαρτήμασι, * καὶ τεθέντα λάκκῳ(,) * καὶ σκοτεινῇ σκιᾷ θανάτου· * ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι(,) καὶ σῶσον/,/ ὡς εὐσπλαγχνος.

Εἰρμός ὁ αὐτός.

Τῷ Πατρὶ νέμων δόξαν, * ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀντίθεος, * ἦσθα εὐχόμενος/,/ * τὸν περι(ε)στῶτα(,) * σὺ πιστούμενος ὄχλον/, μ/(Μ)ακρόθυμε, * τὴν εὐχαριστίαν(,) * τῷ σῷ Πατρὶ προσαναφέρων, * τῇ κελεύσει ἐγείρων τὸν Λάζαρον.

Ἦ φωνῆς θεοφθόγγου, * θείας τε δυνάμεως, * Σῶτερ/,/ τοῦ κράτους σου! * δι' ἧς /ᾱ/(᾿Α)δου πύλας * τοῦ καμφάγου θανάτου συνέτριψας· * ἀλλ' ἐξάρπασόν με, * ὥσπερ τὸν πρ/ῖ/(ῖ)ν, ἐκ τῶν παθῶν μου, * τετραήμερον φίλον σου Λάζαρον.

Ἰκεσίαις Λαζάρου, * Μάρθας καὶ Μαρίας τε(,) * ἡμᾶς ἀξίωσον(,) * θεατὰς γενέσθαι(,) * τοῦ /σ/(Σ)ταυροῦ, καὶ τοῦ /Π/(Π)άθους σου/,/ Κύριε, * καὶ τῆς λαμπροφόρου(,) τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ Βασιλίδος(,) * /ἀ/(᾿Α)ναστάσεως τῆς σῆς/,/ φιλάνθρωπε.
θεοτοκίον

Μητρικὴν παρρησίαν(,) * τὴν πρὸς τὸν Τί/ό/(ὸ)ν σου(,) * κεκτημένη/,/ /π/(Π)άναγνε, * συγγενοῦς προνοίας, τῆς ἡμῶν μὴ παρίδης/,/ δεόμεθα/·/(,) * ὅτι σὲ καὶ μόνην(,) * Χριστιανοὶ πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην(,) * ἱλασμὸν εὐμενῇ προβαλλόμεθα.

Ι'Ο Εἰρμός/(Καταβασία)

Ἴνα τί με ἀπώσω(,) * ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου/,/ * τὸ φῶς τὸ ἄδυτον, * καὶ ἐκάλυψέ με * τὸ ἀλλότριον σκότος τὸν δειλαιον; * ἀλλ' ἐπίστρεψόν με, * καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐντολῶν σου(,) * τὰς ὁδοὺς μου κατεύθυνον/,/ δέομαι.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχόμεθα τ/α/(ὦν) Τετραψῳδία/(ψδίων) (ποιοῦντες τοὺς) Εἰρμούς ἀνὰ β' καὶ τὰ /τ/(Τ)ροπάρια ἀνὰ δ'.

Τετραψῳδιον, ποίημα (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) Κοσμῶ/ Μοναχοῦ/.

Ὡδὴ ς'. Ἦχος πλ. δ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Τὸν Ἰωνᾶν * ἐν τῷ κήτει/,/ Κύριε, * μονώτατον κατώκισας * ἐμὲ δὲ * τὸν πεπεδημένον * ἐν ἄρκυσι τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, * ὡς ἐκ φθορᾶς * ἐκείνον/,/ διάσωσον.

!P 595! Ἀγάπη σε(,) * εἰς βηθανίαν/,/ Κύριε, * ἀπήγαγε πρὸς Λάζαρον/,/(·) * καὶ τοῦτον * ἤδη ὁδωδῶτα(,) * ἀνέστησας/,/ ὡς θεός, * καὶ ἐκ δεσμῶν * τοῦ /ῥ/(᾿Α)δου διέσωσας.

Ἡ Μάρθα μὲν(,) * ἀπεγνώκει Λάζαρον, * ὡς ἤδη τετραήμερον, * Χριστὸς δὲ * τὸν διαφθαρέντα(,) * ἀνέστησεν/,/ ὡς θεὸς/δ/(ός), * καὶ εἰς ζωὴν * μετήγαγε ρήματι.

Ἐτερον, ποίημα Ἰωάννου Μοναχοῦ.

Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός. Ἰλάσθητί μοι Σωτήρ.

Θεὸς ὢν ἀληθιν/δ/(ός), * Λαζάρου ἔγνωσ τὴν κοίμησιν, * καὶ ταύτην τοῖς Μαθηταῖς * τοῖς σοῖς προηγόρευσας, * πιστούμενος/,/ Δέσποτα, * τῆς θεότητός σου * τὴν ἀόριστον ἐνέργειαν.

Τῇ σαρκὶ περιγραπ/δ/(ός)(,) * ὑπάρχων ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος, * εἰς βηθανίαν ἐλθ/ὦ/(ῶ)ν, * ὡς ἄνθρωπος! Σελ. 376! πος Δέσποτα, * δακρύεις τὸν Λάζαρον/,/(·) * ὡς θεὸς δὲ/,/ θέλων * ἀνιστᾶς τὸν τετραήμερον.

Ι'Ο Εἰρμός/(Καταβασία.)

Ἰλάσθητί μου/,/ Σωτήρ!/(,) * πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀνομίαι μου * καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ τῶν κακῶν(,) * ἀνάγαγε, δέομαι. * πρὸς σε γὰρ ἐβόησα/,/(·) * καὶ ἐπάκουσόν μου, * ὁ θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας μου.

Κοντάκιον. Ἦχος β'. Τὰ ἄνω ζητῶν.

Ἡ πάντων χαρ/ᾱ/(ᾱ)(,) * Χριστὸς/,/ ἡ ἀλήθεια, * τὸ φῶς/,/ ἡ ζω/ῆ/(ή), * τοῦ /κ/(Κ)όσμου/,/ ἡ ἀνάστασις, * τοῖς ἐν γῇ πεφανέρωται(,) * τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητι. * καὶ γέγονε * τύπος τῆς ἀναστάσεως/,/ * τοῖς πᾶσι παρέχων θείαν ἄφεσιν.

Ὁ Οἶκος. /Πρὸς τό· Τράνωσον./

Τοῖς /Μ/(μ)αθηταῖς * ὁ Κτίστης τῶν ὅλων(,) * προηγόρευσε λέγων. * Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ γνωστοί/ι/(ί), * ἡμῶν ὁ φίλος κεκοίμηται. * τούτοις προλέγων καὶ ἐκδιδάσκων, * ὅτι πάντα γινώσκεις ὡς Κτίστης πάντων. * ἄγωμεν οὖν/,/ * πορευθῶμεν, καὶ ἴδωμεν ξένην ταφ/ῆ/(ή)ν, * καὶ θρήνον τὸν τῆς Μαρίας, * καὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ Λαζάρου ὁψώμεθα. * ἐκεῖ γὰρ μέλλω θαυματουργεῖν, *

ἐκτελῶν τοῦ /ς/(Σ)ταυροῦ τὰ προοίμια/,/ * καὶ πᾶσι παρέχων θείαν ἄφεσιν.

(Συναξάριον τοῦ Μηναίου. Εἶτα τὸ παρόν.

!Σελ. 377! ...)

ᾠδὴ ζ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Παῖδες Ἑβραίων ἐν καμίνῳ * κατεπάτησαν τὴν φλόγα θαρσαλέως, * καὶ εἰς δρόσον τὸ πῦρ(,) * μετέβαλον βοῶντες· * Εὐλογητὸς εἰ/,/ Κύριε(,) * ὁ θεὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Δακρύσας ὡς ἄνθρωπος/,/ * /ο/(Ο)ικτίρμον, * ἐξανέστησας ὡς θεὸς τὸν ἐν τάφῳ/,/ (,) * καὶ τοῦ /ῥ/(᾿Α)δου λυθεῖ/ι(ι)ς(,) * ὁ Λάζαρος ἐβόα· * Εὐλογητὸς εἰ/,/ Κύριε(,) * ὁ θεὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ἐξῆλθε κειρίαις δεδεμένος, * χάους /ῥ/(᾿Α)δου /τε/ καὶ ζόφου ἀποδράσας, * τοῦ Δεσπότη τῷ λόγῳ(,) * ὁ Λάζαρος κραυγάζων· * Εὐλογητὸς εἰ Κύριε(,) * ὁ θεὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

!P 596! Ἄλλος, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

Ἐπὶ φίλῳ δακρύσας, * τὸ τῆς Μάρθας/,/ οἰκτίρμον, * δάκρυον ἔπαυσας/,/ (,) * καὶ πάθει ἐκουσίῳ(,) * ἀφείλες ἐκ προσώπου(,) * τοῦ λαοῦ σου πᾶν δάκρυον/,/ (,) * /ὁ/(Ο) τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν(,) * θεὸς/,/ εὐλογητὸς εἰ.

Τῆς ζωῆς ὁ ταμ/εῖας, * τὸν νεκρὸν ὡς ὑπνοῦντα, * Σῶτερ/,/ ἐκάλεσας, * καὶ λόγῳ τὴν τοῦ /ῥ/(᾿Α)δου(,) * γαστέρα διαρρήξας, * ἐξανέστησας ψάλλοντα· * Ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν, * Θεὸς/,/ εὐλογητὸς εἰ.

Τὸν νεκρὸν ὁδωδότα, * δεδεμένον κειρίαις/,/ * Δέσποτα/,/ ἡγείρας· * κ/ἀ/(ῥ)μὲ πεπεδημένον(,) * σειραῖς ἀμαρτημάτων(,) * διανύστησον ψάλλοντα· * Ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν(,) * Θεὸς/,/ εὐλογητὸς εἰ.

!Ὁ Εἰρμός./ (Καταβασία)

Οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας * καταντήσαντες Παῖδες * ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποτ/ε/,/ (ε) * τῇ πίστει τῆς Τριάδος(,) * τὴν φλόγα τῆς καμίνου(,) * κατεπάτησαν ψάλλοντες· * Ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν(,) * θεὸς/,/ εὐλογητὸς εἰ.

ᾠδὴ η'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Μουσικῶν ὀργάνων συμφωνούντων, * καὶ λαῶν ἀπείρων προσκυνούντων(,) * εἰκόνι τῇ ἐν Δεηρᾷ/,/ * τρεῖς Παῖδες μὴ πεισθέντες(,) * τὸν Κύριον ἀνύμνου(,) * καὶ ἐδοξολόγουν(,) * εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

᾽Ως ποιμὴν τὸν ἄρνα κατιχνεύσας, * καὶ ἐκ λύκου δεινοῦ ὀλετήρος(,) * ἀρπάσας/,/ ὁ ἐπικρατὴς/(ῆ)ς, * φθαρέντα ἐκαινούργεις(,) * βοῶντά σοι· Ἵμνεῖτε(,) * καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε(,) * εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

᾽Ως βροτ/ό/(ὸ)ς τὸν τάφον ἐπεζήτηεις, &* & τὸν νεκρὸν ὡς Πλάστης ἀναστήσας(,) * προστάγματι δεσποτικῷ· * ὃν /ῥ/(᾿Α)δης κατεπλάγη(,) *

Βοῶντά σοι· Ὑμνεῖτε * καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε(,) * εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ἄλλος. Τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν Οὐρανῶν.

Ἐπιζητεῖς μὲν/, ὥσπερ θνητὸν(ός), * ὡς θεὸς δέ, * ἀνιστᾶς λόγῳ τὸν τεταρταῖον· * ὅθεν σε ὑμνοῦμεν, * /Σωτήρ/ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Σοὶ εὐγνωμόνως ὡς ὀφείλῃ/(ῃ)ν * τοῦ συγγόνου(,) * ἡ Μαρία/, Δέσποτα/, προσφέρει(,) * μύρον/, ἀνυμνοῦσα(,) * εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ἐπικαλεῖς μὲν/, ὥσπερ βροτὸν(ός), * τὸν Πατέρα, * ὡς θεὸς δέ/, Λάζαρον ἐγείρεις/·/(,) * ὅθεν σε ὑμνοῦμεν, * Χριστὲ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Αἰνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν, καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον.

/Ὁ Εἰρμός./ (Καταβασία.)

Τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν, * ὃν ὑμνοῦσι(,) * στρατιαὶ τῶν Ἀγγέλων, ὑμνεῖτε * καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε(,) * εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ἡ Τιμιωτέρα οὐ στιχολογεῖται.

Ὡδὴ θ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Τὴν ἀγνὴν ἐνδόξως τιμήσωμεν, * λαοὶ/, θεοτόκον, * τὴν τὸ (θεῖον) πῦρ /τῆς θεότητος * δεξαμένην/ ἐν /τῇ/ γαστρὶ/(ί), * ἀφλέκτως * (συλλαβοῦσαν,) /ἐν/ ὕμνοις (ἀσιγήτοις) μεγαλύνοντες/(ωμεν.)

!Ρ 597!Οἱ λαοὶ ἰδόντες βαδίζοντα(,) * νεκρὸν τεταρταῖον, * ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ θαύματι(,) * ἀνεβόων τῷ Λυτρωτῇ· * Θεόν σε * ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

Προπιστῶν τὴν ἔνδοξον /ἔ/(Ἐ)γερσιν(,) * τὴν σὴν/, ὦ Σωτήρ μου, * νεκρὸν τετραήμερον(,) * ἐκ τοῦ /ἔ/(Ἐ)δου ἐλευθεροῖς(,) * τὸν Λάζαρον· * ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνω σε.

!Σελ. 378!Ἄλλος. Κυρίως θεοτόκον.

Τιμὼν σου τὸν Πατέρα, * καὶ ἀποδεικνύων * ὡς οὐκ ἀντίθεος ἦσθα, προσεύχη/, Χριστὲ/(έ), * αὐτοεξουσίως ἐγείρας * τὸν τετραήμερον.

Ἐκ τάφου τεταρταῖον(,) * Λάζαρον ἐγείρας, * τῆς τριημέρου Χριστέ/, /σι/(μ)ου /ἐ/(Ἐ)γέρσεως(,) * παναληθέστατον πᾶσι(,) * δεικνύων/(εις) μάρτυρα.

Βαδίζεις καὶ δακρύεις(,) * φθέγγῃ τει/, Σωτήρ μου, * τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δεικνύς σου ἐνέργειαν/·/(,) * τὴν θεϊκὴν δὲ μηνύων, * ἐγείρεις Λάζαρον.

Ἐνήγερσας ἀφράστως, * Δέσποτα Σωτήρ μου, * καθ' ἑκατέρων τῶν δύο σου φύσεων(,) * αὐτεξουσίῳ θελήσει(,) * τὴν σωτηρίαν μου.

/Ὁ Εἰρμός./ (Καταβασία)

Κυρίως θεοτόκον(,) * σὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν(,) * οἱ δὲ σοῦ σεσωμένοι/, Παρθένη ἀγνὴ/(ῃ), * σὺν ἀσωμάτοις χορείαις(,) * σὲ μεγαλύνοντες.

(Εἶτα) Ἅγιος Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν /ἐκ τρίτου/(ἐκ γ').
(Καὶ τὸ παρὸν) Ἐξαποστειλᾶριον, /πρὸς τοῦ Ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς,/ ἐκ
/β'/(δευτέρου).

(Ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς)

Λόγω σου,/ Λόγε τοῦ θεοῦ, * Λάζαρος νῦν ἐξάλλεται, * πρὸς Βίον
παλινδρομήσας,/ /·) * καὶ μετὰ κλάδων οἱ λαοί/ /·(ι,) * σὲ,/ /κ/(Κ)ραταιὲ
γεραίρουν, * ὅτι εἰς τέλος ὀλέσεις(,) * τὸν /ῥ/(Ῥ)δην θανάτῳ σου.

Ἐτερον, /'Ο/(Ὁ)μοιον, ἄπαξ.

Διὰ Λαζάρου σε Χριστὶ/ /·(ὁ)ς(,) * ἥδη σκυλεύει,/ θάνατε * καὶ τοῦ σου,/ /
/ῥ/(Ῥ)δῆ/ /· τὸ νίκος/ /·(·) * τῆς Βηθανίας ὁ κλαυθμ/ /·(ὁ)ς(,) * νῦν ἐπὶ σε
μεθίσταται/ /·(·) * /π/(Π)άντες κλάδους τῆς νίκης(,) * /α/(Α)ὐτῷ
ἐπισείω/ /·(ο)μεν.

Εἰς τοὺς Αἵνους, ἰστωμεν Στίχους ἢ καὶ ψάλλομεν τὰ ἐπόμενα Στιχηρὰ
Ἰδιόμελα.

Στίχ. Δόξα αὕτη ἔσται πᾶσαι τοῖς Ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ.

Ἦχος α'.

Ἀνάστασις * καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων(,) ὑπάρχων,/ Χριστὶ/ /·(ἐ) * ἐν τῷ
μνήματι Λαζάρου ἐπέστης, * πιστούμενος ἡμῖν * τὰς δύο οὐσίας σου,/ /
μακρόθυμει/ /·(,) * ὅτι θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρωπος(,) * ἐξ ἀγνῆς Παρθένου
παραγέγονας * ὥς μὲν γὰρ βροτὶ/ /·(ὁ)ς(,) ἐπηρώτας/ /·(,) * τοῦ τέθαπται; *
ὥς δὲ θεὸς ἀνέστησας(,) * ζωηφόρῳ νεύματι(,) * τὸν τετρήμερον.

!P 598! Στίχ. Αἰνεῖτε τὸν θεὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ. Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.

Λάζαρον τεθνεῶτα(,) * τετρήμερον ἀνέστησας ἐξ /ῥ/(Ῥ)δου,/ Χριστὶ/ /·(ἐ),
* πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ θανάτου(,) * διασεύσας τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κράτος, * καὶ δι' ἐνὸς
προσφίλου(,) * τὴν πάντων ἀνθρώπων * προμηνύων(,) ἐκ φθορᾶς ἐλευθερίαν
* διὸ προσκυνούντες σου(,) * τὴν παντοδύναμον ἐξουσίαν βοῶμεν *
Εὐλογημένος εἶ/ /· Σωτήρ/ /·(,) * ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Στίχ. Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις αὐτοῦ. Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.

Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία(,) * τῷ Σωτῆρι ἔλεγον * Εἰ ἡς ᾤδε,/ Κύριε, οὐκ ἂν
τέθνηκε Λάζαρος. * Χριστὸς δὲ,/ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν κεκοιμημένων, * τὸν ἥδη
τετραήμερον(,) * ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστησε/ /·(·) * /δ/(Δ)εῦτε πάντες οἱ πιστοί/ /·(ι),
* τοῦτον προσκυνήσωμεν, * τὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ(,) * σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Στίχ. Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ἡχῷ σάλπιγγος. /Ἦχος ὁ/ /·(Ὁ) αὐτός.

Τῆς θεότητός σου,/ Χριστὶ/ /·(ἐ), * παρέχων τοῖς Μαθηταῖς σου * τὰ
σύμβολα, * ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐταπείνου(ς) σεαυτὶ/ /·(ὁ)ν, * ἀποκρύψαι ταύτην
βουλόμενος * διὸ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, * ὥς προγνώστης (καὶ) θε/ /·(ὁ)ς, τοῦ
Λαζάρου τὸν θάνατον προηγόρευσας * ἐν βηθανίᾳ δὲ παρὼν τοῖς λαοῖς, *
τοῦ φίλου σου τὸν τάφον /οὐκ/ ἀγνοῶν, * μαθεῖν ἐζητεῖς ὥς ἄνθρωπος * ἀλλ'
ὁ διὰ σοῦ τετραήμερος ἀναστ/ /·(ἀ)ς(,) * τὸ θεῖον σου κράτος ἐδήλωσε. *
Παντοδύναμε Κύριε,/ δόξα σοι.

Στίχ. Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν τυμπάνῳ καὶ χορῷ/ αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν χορδαῖς/. Ἦχος
δ'.

Τεταρταῖον ἡγείρας * τὸν φίλον σου,/ Χριστὶ/ /·(ἐ), * καὶ τὸν τῆς Μάρθας

καὶ Μαρίας * θρήνον ἔκανσας, * ὑποδεικνύων τοῖς πᾶσιν, * ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶ/,/ ὁ
τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, * θεϊκῇ δυναστείᾳ(,) * αὐτεξουσίῳ θελήματι * ὃ τὰ
Χερουβὶμ βοᾷ ἀπαύστως * Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις/,(,) * εὐλογημένος εἶ/,/ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός/,(,) * δόξα σοι.

Στίχ. Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις(εὐήχοις).

Μάρθα τῇ Μαρίας ἐβόα * ὁ Διδάσκαλος πάρεστι(,) * καὶ φωνεῖ σε·
πρόσελθε. * Ἡ δὲ δρο! Σελ. 379! μα/ῦ/(ῖ)α ἐλθοῦσα(,) * ὅπου ἦν ἐστὼς ὁ
Κύριος/,/ * ἰδοῦσα ἀνεβόησε, * πεσοῦσα προσεκύνησε/,(,) * (καὶ) τοὺς
ἀχράντους πόδας σου * καταφιλοῦσα ἔλεγε· * Κύριε, * εἰ ἥς ὧδε, * οὐκ ἂν
ἀπέθανεν ἡμῶν ὁ ἀδελφός.

Στίχ. Ἀνάστηθι Κύριε, ὁ θεός μου, ὑψωθήτω ἡ χεὶρ σου, μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ τῶν
πενήτων σου εἰς τέλος.

!P 599! Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Λάξαρν τεθνεῶτα(,) * ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἡγειρας τετραήμερον * μόνον γὰρ ὡς
ἐπέστης τῷ μνήματι, * ἡ φωνὴ ζωῇ τῷ τεθνεῶτι γέγονε/,(,) * καὶ στενάξας ὁ
/ῥ/(Α)δης(,) * ἀπέλυσε φόβῳ. * Μέγα τὸ θαῦμα! * Πολυέλεε Κύριε, * δόξα
σοι.

Στίχ. Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, Κύριε ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου/,(,) διηγῆσομαι πάντα
τὰ θαυμά/τά/(σιά) σου.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Καθὼς εἶπας/,/ Κύριε/,/ τῷ Μαρθα· * Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις, * ἔργῳ τὸν
λόγον ἐπλήρωσας, * ἐξ /ῥ/(Α)δου καλέσας τὸν Λάξαρν/,(,) * /κ/(Κ)ῆμε/,/
φιλάνθρωπε, * νεκρὸν τοῖς πάθεσιν, * ὡς συμπαθῆς/,/ * ἐξανάστασον,
δέομαι.

Δόξα. Ἦχος β'.

Μέγα καὶ παράδοξον θαῦμα(,) * τετέλεσται σήμερον! * ὅτι νεκρὸν
τεταρταῖον ἐκ τάφου * Χριστὸς φωνήσας ἡγειρε, * καὶ φίλον ἐκάλεσε· *
δοξολογήσωμεν αὐτόν(,) * ὡς ὑπερένδοξον, * /ὡς/(ῖ)να ταῖς πρεσβείαις(,) *
τοῦ δικαίου Λαζάρου(,) * σώσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Καὶ νῦν. Ὑπερευλογημένη ὑπάρχεις.

Δοξολογία μεγάλη καὶ Ἀπόλυσις.

Εἰς τὴν Λειτουργίαν

Τὰ Τυπικὰ καὶ /τὰς γ'· καὶ ς'·/(ἐν τοῖς Μακαρισμοῖς, ἐκ τοῦ Κανόνος ἡ γ'
καὶ ἡ στ' Ὠδή.) /Ὡδὰς τῶν Τετραφθίων./

Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Τρισαγίου.

Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε ...

Ἀπόστολος. Προκείμενον. Ἦχος γ'.

Κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου.

Στίχ. Κύριος ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου.

Πρὸς Ἑβραίους Ἐπιστολὴς Παύλου. Ἀδελφοί, Βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον
 παραλαμβάνοντες ἔχομεν χάριν, δι' ἧς λατρευομεν εὐρέστως τῷ θεῷ μετὰ
 αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας· ... Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς χθὲς καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτὸς, καὶ εἰς
 τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Κεφ. ΙΒ'.28 καὶ ΙΓ'.1-8.

Ἀλληλο/υ/(ύ)ῦ/άριον/(α). Ἦχος πλ. α'.

Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο.

/Στίχ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐστερέωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην./

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην (ια' 1-45)

/Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἦν τις ἀσθενῶν Λάζαρος./

Κοινωνικόν.

Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.

Ἀλληλούϊα. (Ψαλμὸς ρις'.)

PART TWO

Palm Sunday

ΚΤΡΙΑΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΙΩΝ

ΤΩ ΣΑΒΒΤΩ ΕΣΠΕΡΑΣ

ΕΝ ΤΩ ΜΙΚΡΩ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝΩ

Εἰς τό Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, ἰστώμεν Στίχους δ' καὶ ψάλλομεν τὰ παρόντα
Στιχηρὰ Προσόμοια.

Ἦχος πλ. δ'. Τριήμερος ἀνέστης.

Νηπίων ἐξ ἀκάκων Χριστέ, τῷ πῶλῳ καθεζόμενος, κατεδέξω, ἐπινίκιον
ῥόδην, ἐρχόμενος πρὸς Πάθος, ὁ τρισαγίῳ Ἱμνῷ ὑπὸ Ἀγγέλων ἀννυμνούμενος.
Ἰδοὺ ὁ Βασιλεὺς σου Σιών, τραῦς καὶ σῶζων ἔρχεται ἐπὶ πῶλου, τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς ἐπι-[σελ. 380]ζητῶν, πατάξαι ἐν ἰσχύϊ χαίρει καὶ κατατέρπου μετὰ
Βαίων ἐορτάζουσα.

Κροτήσωμεν συμφώνως πιστοί, τοὺς κλάδους ἀρετῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς οἱ
Παῖδες, νῦν προσφέροντες Χριστῷ· καὶ τούτῳ θειῶν ἔργων, ἀπλώσωμεν τοὺς
πέπλους, καὶ μυστικῶς τοῦτον δεξώμεθα.

Βαῖα ἀρετῶν ἀδελφοί, προσάξωμεν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ, ἐρχομένῳ, δι' ἡμᾶς
ἀνθρωπικῶς, παθεῖν ἐβελουσίως, θεότητος ἰσχύϊ, πᾶσιν ἀπάθειαν δωρήσασθαι

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν. Ὅμοιον.

Ο νῶτοις Χερουβίμ, ὡς θεὸς ὁχούμενος καθεζέται, ἐπὶ πῶλου, δι' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ
σφαγῇν, ἐρχόμενος θελήσει· δεῦτε προθύμως τοῦτον, μετὰ Βαίων
ἀννυμνήσωμεν.

Ἀπόστιχα Προσόμοια.

Ἦχος β'. Οἶκος τοῦ Εὐφραθᾶ.

Λαμπρύνου ἡ Σιών, ἡ νεά, καὶ Βαίσις, ἀνύμνει μετὰ παίδων· Ἰδοὺ ὁ
βασιλεὺς σου, σῶζων πρὸς Πάθος ἔρχεται.

Στίχ. Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.

Αγάλλεσθε Ἀδάμ, καὶ Εὐὰ σὺν προφήταις, ἰδοὺ ἀνακαλέσαι, ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ
Πάθους, ὁ Κύριος ἐπείγεται.

Στίχ. Κύριε ὁ ἡμῶν ὡς θαυμαστὸν τὸ Ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.

Ὁ ἄνω σὺν Πατρί, καὶ Πνεύματι Ἀγγέλων, δεχόμενος τὸν ὕμνον, πτωχεύει
ξένως κάτω, καὶ Παίδων αἶνον δέχεται.

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν. Ὅμοιον.

Ἱμνῷ σου τὴν φρικτὴν, οἰκονομίαν φόβῳ, τὸ Ὡσαννὰ βοῶ σοι· ἐμὲ γὰρ
ἔρχῃ σῶσαι, εὐλογημένη Κύριε.

Ἀπολυτίκια.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγείρας
τὸν Λάζαρον Χριστέ ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης
σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς
ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Συνταφέντες σοι διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος ...
Ὅρα ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Ἑσπερινῷ Σελ. 382.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν εἰσερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Τράπεζαν.

ΕΝ ΤΩ ΜΕΓΑΛΩ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝῳ

Μετὰ τὸν Προοιμιακόν, καὶ τὸ Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, τὸ Κάθισμα ὅλον, εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, ἱστῶμεν Στίχους ἰ καὶ ψάλλομεν τὰ παρόντα ε' Στιχηρὰ Ἰδιόμελα, δευτεροῦντες αὐτά.

Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἡμᾶς συνήγαγε· καὶ πάντες αἶροντες, τὸν Σταυρόν σου λέγομεν· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.

Ὁ ἔχων θρόνον οὐρανόν, καὶ ὑποπόδιον τὴν γῆν, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος, καὶ Τίς συναΐδιος ἐπὶ πῶλου ἀλόγου ἐμετρίασε σήμερον, ἐν βηθανίᾳ ἐλθὼν· ὅθεν παῖδες Ἑβραίων, κλάδους χερσὶ κατέχοντες, εὐφήμουν φωνῇ· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Δεῦτε καὶ ἡμεῖς σήμερον, πᾶς ὁ νέος Ἰσραήλ, ἡ ἐξ ἐθνῶν Ἐκκλησία, μετὰ τοῦ Προφήτου Ζαχαρίου ἐκβοήσωμεν· Χαῖρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιών, κήρυξε θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ὅτι ἰδοὺ ὁ Βασιλεὺς σου, ἔρχεται· σου πραῦς καὶ σφύων, καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου, υἱὸν ὑποφυγίου· ἐόρταζε τὰ τῶν Παίδων κλάδους χερσὶ κατέχουσα εὐφήμησον· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, Βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Τὴν σεπτὴν Ἀνάστασιν τὴν σὴν προτυπούμενος ἡμῖν, ἡγείρας θανόντα τῇ προστάξει σου, τὸν ἄπρουν Λάζαρον, τὸν φίλον Ἀγαθὲ, ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος τεταρταῖον ὁδωδότα· ὅθεν καὶ τῷ πῶλῳ ἐπέβης συμβολικῶς, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ὀχήματος φερόμενος, τὰ ἔθνη τεκμαιρόμενος Σωτήρ. Ὅθεν καὶ τὸν αἶνόν σοι προσφέρει, ὁ ἡγαπημένος Ἰσραήλ, ἐκ στομάτων θηλαζόντων, καὶ νηπίων ἀκάκων, καθορώντων σε Χριστέ, εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Πόλιν, πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα, ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς βηθανίαν· καὶ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ [σελ. 381] Μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες αὐτῷ· Κύριε ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι φαγεῖν τὸ Πάσχα; ὁ δὲ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτούς· Ἀπέλθετε εἰς τὴν ἀπέναντι κώμην, καὶ εὐρήσετε ἄνθρωπον κεράμιον ὕδατος βαστάζοντα· ἀκολουθήσατε αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ εἵπατε· ὁ Διδάσκαλος λέγει· Πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ Πάσχα, μετὰ τῶν Μαθητῶν μου.

Δόξα. Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.

Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἡμᾶς συνήγαγε· καὶ πάντες αἶροντες, τὸν Σταυρόν σου λέγομεν· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Καὶ νῦν, πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ.

Εἵσοδος μεγάλη τό, φῶς ἱλαρὸν καὶ τό, Προκείμενον.

Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο.

Εἶτα τὰ Ἀναγνώματα.

Γενέσεως τὸ Ἀνάγνωσμα.

Κεφ. ΜΘ'. 1-2. 8-12.

Προφητείας Σοφονίου τὸ Ἀνάγνωσμα.

Κεφ. Γ'. 14-19.

Προφητείας Ζαχαρίου τὸ Ἀνάγνωσμα.

Κεφ. θ'. 9-15.

Εἰς τὴν Λιτὴν. Στιχηρὰ Ἰδιόμελα. Ἦχος α'.

Τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα, τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους διδάξαν λαλεῖν· ἐτέραις ξέναις γλώσσαις, αὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν Ἑβραίων, τοὺς ἀπειροκάκους, προτρέπεται κραυ- [σελ. 382] γάζειν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, Βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Ὁ συνάναρχος καὶ συναΐδιος Τίος, καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρός, ἐπὶ πώλου ἀλόγου, ἦλθε σημερον καθεζόμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλήμ· ὃν τὰ χερουβὶμ μετὰ δέους ἀτενίσαι οὐ δύνανται· Παῖδες ἀνευφήμησαν, μετὰ βαΐων καὶ κλάδων, τὸν αἶνον μυστικῶς ἀναμέλποντες· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, τῷ ἐλθόντι σῶσαι ἐκ πλάνης, ἅπαν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα, ἡ φωνὴ σου ἠκούσθη Κύριε, εἰς τὰ βάθη τοῦ Ἄδου· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον, τεταήμερον ἡγειρας· οἱ δὲ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔκραζον· Ὡσαννὰ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα σοι.

Ἦχος β'.

Εἰσερχομένου σου Κύριε, εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Πόλιν, ἐπὶ πώλου καθήμενος, ἔσπευδες ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος, ἵνα πληρώσης Νόμον καὶ Προφήτας· οἱ δὲ Παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων, τῆς Ἀναστάσεως τὴν νίκην προμηνύοντες, ὑπήντων σοι μετὰ κλάδων, καὶ Βαΐων λέγοντες· Εὐλογημένος εἰ Σωτὴρ· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Ἦχος β'.

Δόξα σοι Χριστέ τῷ ἐν ὑψίστοις καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ νῦν προσδοκωμένῳ, μετὰ τοῦ τιμίου σου Σταυροῦ; διὸ εὐφραίνεται θυγάτηρ Σιών· ἀγάλλονται τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς· κλάδους κατέχουσι Παῖδες· χιτῶνας οἱ μαθηταί· καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Οἰκουμένη ἐδιδάχθη τοῦ βοᾶν σοι· Εὐλογημένος εἰ Σωτὴρ· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν, Ἦχος γ'.

Πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ Πάσχα, ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς βηθανίαν, ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν τεθνεῶτα τετρήμερον Λάζαρον, καὶ προκηρῦξαι τὴν Ἀνάστασιν· ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκες Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία, ἀδελφαὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου, ἀναβοῶσαι πρὸς αὐτόν· Κύριε, εἰ ἦς ὧδε, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν ἡμῶν ὁ ἀδελφός. Τότε λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς· Οὐ προεῖπον ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, κἂν ἀποθάνῃ ζήσεται; ὑποδείξατέ μου, ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτόν· καὶ ἐβόα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ κτίστης τῶν ἀπάντων· Λάzarε, δεῦρο ἔξω.

Καὶ αἱ συνήθεις Εὐχαὶ ἐν τῷ Νάρθηκι.

Εἰς τὰ Ἀπόστιχα τὰ παρόντα Ἰδιόμελα.

Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Χαίρε καὶ εὐφραίνου πόλις Σιών, τέρπου καὶ ἀγαλλου ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου παραγέγονεν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐπὶ πώλου καθεζόμενος, ὑπὸ Παίδων ἀνυμνούμενος· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος εἰ, ὁ ἔχων πληθὺς οἰκτιρμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Στίχ. Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Ἦλθεν ὁ Σωτὴρ σήμερον, ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλήμ, πληρῶσαι τὴν γραφήν·

καὶ πάντες ἔλαβον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ βαῖα, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας ὑπεστρώννουν αὐτῷ, γινώσκοντες, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὃ τὰ χερουβὶμ βοᾷ ἀπαύστως· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος εἶ, ὁ ἔχων πλῆθος οἰκτιρμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Στίχ. Κύριε ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ! Ὁ αὐτός.

Ὁ τοῖς Χερουβὶμ ἐποχοῦμενος, καὶ ὑμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφίμ, ἐπέβης ἐπὶ πάλου, Δανιτικῶς Ἀγαθὲ καὶ Παῖδες σε ἀνύμνουν θεοπρεπῶς· Ἰουδαῖοι ἐβλασφήμουν παρανόμως· τὸ ἀκάθεκτον τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἡ καθέδρα τοῦ πάλουπροετύπου, ἐξ ἀπιστίας εἰς πίστιν μεταποιούμενον. Δόξα σοι χριστέ, ὁ μόνος ἐλεῆμων καὶ φιλόανθρωπος.

Δόξα. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἡμᾶς συνήγαγε· καὶ πάντες αἵροντες τὸν Σταυρόν σου λέγομεν· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. Καὶ νῦν· πάλιν τὸ αὐτό.

Ἀπολυτίκιον. Ἦχος α'.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγειρας τὸν [σελ. 383] Λάξαρὸν Χριστέ ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. [Δίς]

Ἔτερον. Ἦχος δ'.

Συνταφέντες σοι διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος, χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τῆς ἀθανάτου ζωῆς ἡξιώθημεν τῇ Ἀναστάσει σου, καὶ ἀννυνοῦντες κράζομεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

ΤΗ ΚΤΡΙΑΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΗ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΟΡΘΡΟΝ

Ὁ Ἐξάψαλμος, τὸ θεὸς Κύριος, καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἑσπερινὸν Ἀπολυτίκια.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν α' Στιχολογίαν, τὸ παρὸν Κάθισμα.

Ἦχος δ'. Κατεπλάγη Ἰωσήφ.

Μετὰ κλάδων νοητῶς, κεκαθαρμένοι τὰς ψυχάς, ὡς οἱ Παῖδες τὸν Χριστόν, ἀνευφημήσωμεν πιστῶς, μεγαλοφώνως κραυγάζοντες τῷ Δεσπότη· Εὐλογημένος εἶ Σωτήρ, ὁ εἰς τὸν Κόσμον ἐλθὼν, τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρᾶς, πνευματικῶς γενόμενος φιλόανθρωπε, νέος Ἀδὰμ ὡς εὐδόκησας· ὁ πάντα Λόγε, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, οἰκονομήσας δόξα σοι.

Ἔτερον Κάθισμα. Ἦχος δ'. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον.

Τεταρταῖον Λάξαρὸν, ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου, ἀναστήσας Κύριε, πάντας ἐδίδαξας νοῶν, μετὰ βαίῶν καὶ κλάδων σοι· Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Μετὰ τὴν β' Στιχολογίαν, Ἔτερα Καθίσματα.

Ἦχος δ'. Κατεπλάγη Ἰωσήφ.

Ἐπὶ φίλῳ σου Χριστέ, δάκρυα ραίνεις μυστικῶς, καὶ ἐγείρεις ἐκ νεκρῶν, Λάζαρον κείμενον θνητόν· ἐν ᾧ συμπάθειαν ἔδειξας φιланθρώπως· μαθόντα δὲ τὴν σὴν, παρουσίαν Σωτήρ,, τὰ πλήθη τῶν βρεφῶν, ἐξῆλθον σήμερον, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχοντα Βαίᾳ, τὸ Ὑσαννά σοι κραυγάζοντα· Εὐλογημένος εἶ, ὅτι τὸν κόσμον, εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἐλήλυθας.

Ἦχος α'. Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος.

Αἰνέσατε συμφώνως, οἱ λαοὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη· ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀγγέλων, ἐπέβη νῦν τῷ πῶλῳ, καὶ ἔρχεται θέλων ἐν Σταυρῷ, πατάξαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὡς δυνατός· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Παῖδες, μετὰ βαίῳν κράζουσι τὸν ὕμνον· Δόξα σοι τῷ ἐλθόντι Νικητῇ· δόξα σοι τῷ Σωτῆρι Χριστῷ· δόξα σοι τῷ εὐλογημένῳ μόνῳ Θεῷ ἡμῶν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πολυελαϊον, τὸ παρὸν κάθισμα.

Ἦχος πλ. δ'. Τὸ Προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς.

Ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου Χερουβὶμ καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον, ἐπικαθίσας δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Πάθος, τὸ ἐκούσιον φθάσας, σήμερον ἀκούει, τῶν ὀχλῶν, ἀναφωνούντων Τίε Δαυίδ, σπεύσον σῶσαι οὓς ἐπλασας, εὐλογημένε Ἰησοῦ· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐλήλυθας, ὅπως γνῶμεν τὴν δόξαν σου.

Δόξα καὶ νῦν, πάλιν τὸ αὐτό.

Ἀνάγνωσιν δὲ ποιούμεν τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς Λόγων ξε' καὶ ξστ'.

Εἶτα εἰς τὸ α' Ἀντίφωνον τῶν Ἀναβαθμῶν τοῦ δ'. Ἦχον.

Ἐκ νεότητος μου, πολλὰ πολεμεῖ με πάθη· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀντιλαβοῦ, καὶ σῶσον Σωτήρ μου. Δίς.

Οἱ μισοῦντες Σιών, αἰσχύνθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὡς χόρτος γάρ, πυρὶ ἔσσεσθαι ἀπεξηραμμένοι. Δίς.

Δόξα.

Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωοῦται, καὶ καθάρσει, ὑψοῦται λαμπρύνεται, τῇ Τριαδικῇ μονάδι, ἱεροκρυφίως.

Καὶ νῦν.

Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἀναβλύζει τὰ τῆς χάριτος ρεῖθρα, ἀρδεύντα, ἅπασαν τὴν Κτίσιν, πρὸς ζωογονίαν.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ, Πᾶσα πνοή, τό

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. ΚΑ' 1-11 καὶ 15-17.

[σελ. 384] Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ οὐ λέγομεν· ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν Ν' ψάλλομεν τὰ παρόντα.

Δόξα. Ἦχος β'.

Σήμερον ὁ Χριστός, εἰσέρχεται ἐν πόλει τῇ ἀγίᾳ, ἐν πῶλῳ καθήμενος, τὴν ἀλογίαν λύων, τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν ἀκίστον, πᾶσι κεχαρσωμένην.

Καὶ νῦν, πάλιν τὸ αὐτό.

Εἶτα, Στίχ. Ἐλέησον με, ὁ θεός, α.τ.λ.

Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἡμᾶς συνήγαγε· καὶ πάντες αἶροντες τὸν Σταυρόν σου λέγομεν· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Ὡσαννά ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Ἐνῶ δὲ ἀσπάζονται οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, διανέμει ὁ Ἡγούμενος τὰ Βαῖα.

Εἶτα ψάλλομεν τὸν Κανόνα, τοὺς Εἰρμούς ἀνὰ β' τὰ δὲ Τροπάρια ἀνὰ δ' ἢ ἀνὰ στ', ὅτε εἰσὶ δύο, καὶ αὐθις ἔσχατος Καταβασία, οἱ αὐτοὶ Εἰρμοί, ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Χορῶν.

Ὁ Κανὼν οὗ ἡ Ἀκροστιχίς· Ὡσαννά Χριστός, εὐλογημένος θεός.

Ποίημα Κοσμᾶ Μοναχοῦ.

Ὡδὴ α'. Ἦχος δ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Ὦφθησαν, αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου, νοτίδος ἄμοιροι, καὶ ἀνεκαλύφθη θαλάσσης, κομαιοῦσης τὰ θεμέλια· τῇ καταιγίδι νεύματι, ταύτης γὰρ ἐπετίμησας, περιούσιον λαὸν δὲ ἔδωσας, ᾄδοντα, ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον σοι Κύριε. Τροπάρια.

Στόματος, ἐκ νηπίων ἀκάκων, καὶ θηλαζόντων αἶνον, τῶν σῶν οἰκετῶν κατηρτίσω, καταλύσαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον, καὶ ἐκδικῆσαι πάθει Σταυροῦ, τὴν πτώσιν τοῦ πάλαι Ἀδάμ· διὰ ξύλου ἀναστήσαι τοῦτον δέ, ᾄδοντα, ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον σοι Κύριε.

Αἰνεσιν, Ἐκκλησία ὁσίων, τῷ ἐνοικούντι Σιών, σοὶ Χριστέ προσφέρει· ἐν σοὶ δὲ Ἰσραὴλ, τῷ ποιητῇ αὐτοῦ, χαίρει· καὶ ὄρη ἔθνη ἀντίτυπα λιθοκάρδια, ἐκ προσώπου σου ἠγαλλιόσαντο, ᾄδοντα, ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον σοι Κύριε.

Ὡδὴ γ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός. Ὦφθησαν αἱ πηφαί. Καταβασία.

Νάουσεν ἀκρότομον, προστάγματι σῷ, στερεὰν ἐθήλασε πέτραν Ἰσραηλῆτις λαός· ἡ δὲ πέτρα σὺ Χριστέ, ὑπάρχεις καὶ ζωὴ· ἐν ᾗ ἐστερεώθη, ἡ Ἐκκλησία κράζουσα· Ὡσαννά, εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Τροπάρια.

Νεκρὸν τετραήμερον, προστάγματι σῷ, ἐκ νεκάδων σύντρομος Ἄδης ἀφῆκε Λάζαρον· Ἡ ἀνάστασις Χριστέ, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ζωὴ, ἐν ᾗ ἐστερεώθη, ἡ Ἐκκλησία κράζουσα· Ὡσαννά, εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Ἀσατε λαοί, Θεοπρεπῶς ἐν Σιών, καὶ εὐχὴν ἀπόδοτε, Χριστῷ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ· αὐτὸς ἐρχεται ἐν δόξῃ μετὰ κυρείας· ἐν ᾗ ἐστερεώθη, ἡ Ἐκκλησία κράζουσα· Ὡσαννά, εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Καταβασία. Νάουσεν ἀκρότομον.

Ἡ Ἑπακοή. Ἦχος πλ. β.

Μετὰ κλάδων ὑμνήσαντες πρότερον, μετὰ ξύλων συνέλαβον ὕστερον, οἱ ἀγνώμονες Χριστόν, Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν θεόν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πίστει ἀμεταθέτῳ, αἰετιμῶντες ὡς εὐεργέτην, διαπαντὸς βοήσωμεν αὐτῷ. Εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνακαλέσασθαι.

Εἶτα ἀναγινώσκουμεν τὸν Λόγον τοῦ κυρίου Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης.

Ὡδὴ δ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Χριστὸς ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐμφανῶς θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ, ἐξ ὅρους κατασκίου δασέος, Κόρης τικτούσης ἀπειράνδρου. Προφήτης πάλαι φησί, Διὸ πάντες βοῶμεν· Δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου Κύριε.

Τροπάρια.

Ρηξάτω εὐφροσύνην κραταιὰν ἐπ' ἔλεον, ὄρη καὶ πάντες βουνοί, καὶ ξύλα τοῦ δρυμοῦ ἐπικροτησάτω· Χριστὸν αἰνεῖτε ἔθνη, καὶ τούτῳ πάντες λαοοί, ἐπαινοῦντες βοᾶτε· Δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου Κύριε.

Ισχὺν ὁ Βασιλεύων τῶν αἰώνων Κύριος, ἐνδεδευμένος ἥξει· τῆς τούτου ὠραιότητός τε καὶ δόξης, ἀσύγκριτος ὑπάρχει εὐπρέ- [σελ. 385] πεια ἐν Σιών. Διὸ πάντες βοῶμεν· Δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου Κύριε.

Στιθαμὴ ὁ μετρήσας Οὐρανόν, δρακί δὲ γῆν, Κύριος πάρεστι· Σιών γὰρ ἐξελέξατο· ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ οἰκεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν ἡρετίσατο λαὸν, τῶν ἐν πίστει βοώντων· Δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου Κύριε.

Καταβασία. Χριστὸς ὁ Ἐρχόμενος.

ᾠδὴ ε'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Τὴν Σιών ἐπ' ὅρους ἀνάβηθι, ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος καὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὁ κηρύσσων ἐν ἰσχυί ὑψωσον φωνήν· Δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ σοῦ, ἡ Πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ σωτήριοι ἔθνησιν.

Τροπάρια.

Ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις καθήμενος, ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ θεός, καὶ ἐφορῶν ταπεινά, αὐτὸς ἔρχεται, ἐν δόξῃ μετὰ κυρείας· καὶ πληρωθήσεται τὰ πάντα, θεϊκῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ· εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ σωτήριοι ἔθνησιν.

Σιών θεοῦ ὅρος τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ, κύκλω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου ἄρον, καὶ ἴδε συνηγμένα τέκνα σου ἐν σοί· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἤκασι μακρόθεν, προσκυνῆσαι τῷ Βασιλεῖ σου· εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ σωτήριοι ἔθνησιν.

Καταβασία. Τὴν Σιών ἐπ' ὅρους.

ᾠδὴ ς'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Ἐβόησαν, ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ Δικαίων τὰ πνεύματα. Νῦν τῷ Κόσμῳ, διαθήκη καινὴ διατίθεται· καὶ ραντίσματι, καινουργείσθω λαὸς θεοῦ αἵματος.

Τπόδειξαι, Ἰσραήλ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεῖον, καὶ ὁ βαίνων ἐν τῷ σκότει, τὸ φῶς θεασάσθω μέγα· καὶ ραντίσματι, καινουργείσθω λαὸς θεοῦ Αἵματος.

Λελυμένους, σοὺς δεσμίους Σιών ἐξαπόστειλον, καὶ ἐκ λάκκου, ἀγνωσίας ἀνύδρου ἐξάγαγε· καὶ ραντίσματι, καινουργείσθω λαὸς θεοῦ Αἵματος.

Καταβασία. Ἐβόησαν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ

Κοντάκιον αὐτόμελον. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Τῷ θρόνῳ ἐν Οὐρανῷ, τῷ πῶλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐποχούμενος Χριστὲ ὁ θεός, τῶν Ἀγγέλων τὴν αἶνεσιν, καὶ τὴν Παίδων ἀνύμνησιν προσεδέξω βοώντων σοι· Εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνακαλέσασθαι.

Ὁ Οἶκος.

Επειδὴ Ἄδην ἔδησας ἀθάνατε, καὶ θάνατον ἐνέκρωσας, καὶ Κόσμον ἀνέστησας, βαίεις τὰ νήπια ἀνευφήμουν σε Χριστέ, ὡς νικητὴν κραυγάζοντά σοι σήμερον· Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Τιῷ Δαυίδ· οὐκέτι γὰρ φησι, σγαγήσονται βρέφη διὰ τὸ βρέφος Μαριάμ· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντων νηπίων καὶ πρεσβυτῶν, μόνος σταυροῦσαι· οὐκέτι καθ' ἡμῶν χωρήσει τὸ ξίφος· ἡ σὴ γὰρ πλαυρὰ νυγίσεται λόγχῃ· ὅθεν ἀγαλλόμενοι φαμέν· Εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνακαλέσασθαι.

Συναξάριον τοῦ Μηναίου. Εἶτα τὸ παρόν.

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κυριακῇ τῶν βαΐων, τὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ ἑνδοξον πανήγυριον τῆς εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ εἰσόδου τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐορτάζομεν.

Στίχοι

Πῶλψ καθίσας ὁ λόγψ τείνας πόλον.
Βροτοὺς ἐκζητεῖ λῦσαι, τῆς ἀλογίας.

Μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Λάζαρον ἐκ νεκρῶν, πολλοὶ κατιδόντες τὸ γεγονός, ἐπίστευον εἰς τὸν Χριστόν. Καὶ δὴ κυροῦται ψῆφος τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγῇ, τὸν τε Χριστόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει τὸν Λάζαρον. Φεύγει τοίνυν ὁ Ἰησοὺς χώραν τῇ κακίᾳ διδούς· οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν τῇ Ἑορτῇ τοῦ Πάσχα ἀποκτείνει τούτον μελέτην ἔθεντο. Καὶ χρόνου τῇ φηγῇ δοθέντος συχνοῦ, πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα φησὶν, ἦλθεν Ἰησοὺς εἰς Βεθηθανίαν, ὅπου ἦν Λάζαρος ὁ τεθνηκώς· κάκεισε ἀρίστου γενομένου συνήσθιεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος· ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ Μαρία τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ μύρον κατέχευε. Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον, στέλλει τοὺς Μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἄγοντες τὴν ὄνον, καὶ τὸν πῶλον. Καὶ δὴ ὁ ἔχων θρόνον τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἐπιβεβηκώς τῷ πῶλψ εἰσῆει τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Οἱ δὲ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπέρριπτον αὐτῷ τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ κλάδους φοινίκων τοὺς μὲν, κόπτοντες, ἄλλους δὲ, ταῖς χερσὶ περιφέροντες, ἁβδὼν αὐτὸν προτέμπτοντες. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Τίῳ Δαυίδ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, ὁ Βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Τοῦτο δὲ γέγονε, τὰς ἐκείνων γλώσσας κινήσαντος τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος εἰς αἶνον καὶ εὐφημίαν Χριστοῦ· ἐδήλουν δὲ διὰ τῶν βαΐων, οἷονεὶ τῶν κλάδων, (βαῖον γὰρ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὁ ἀπολὸς κλάδος λέγεται) τὴν κατὰ θανάτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσημαινόντων νίκην. Εἰωθὸς γὰρ ἦν, τοὺς νικητὰς ἀγώνων, ἢ πολέμων τινῶν (Σ 386) κλάδοις δένδρων ἀειθαλῶν, ἐν ταῖς ἐπινικίς προπομπαῖς τιμᾶσθαι καὶ περιάγεσθαι. Ἠνίσσετο δὲ ὁ πῶλος, τὸν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἡμᾶς λαόν, ἐφ' οὗ, κεκαθηκώς ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἐπαναπαυθεὶς τροπαιοῦχος καὶ νικητὴς, Βασιλεὺς τε πάσης τῆς γῆς ἀνηγόρευται. Περὶ ταύτης τῆς Ἑορτῆς καὶ ὁ Προφῆτης ἔλεγε Ζαχαρίας· Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών· ἰδοὺ ὁ Βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται· σου πρᾶγς, καὶ ἐπιβεβηκώς ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίον καὶ πῶλον ὄνου, υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου. Καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ πάλιν περὶ τῶν Παίδων· Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον. Ἀλλ' εἰσιόντος, φῆσι, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐσείσθῃ πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ εἰς ἄμυναν οἱ ὄχλοι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων διερεθισθέντες, ἐσκόπουν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. Ὁ δ' ἐλάνθανε κρυπτόμενος, καὶ φαινόμενος, καὶ διὰ παραβολῶν ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς.

[π. 386]

Τῇ ἀφάτψ σου εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ, Χριστὲ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, νικητὰς ἡμᾶς τῶν παραλόγων παθῶν ποιήσον, καὶ τὴν σὴν ἐναργῇ κατὰ θανάτου νίκην, τὴν φαιδρὰν σου καὶ ζωηφόρον Ἀνάστασιν ἰδεῖν καταξιώσον, καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ὡδὴ ζ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Γονυπετοῦντες οἱ λαοί, καὶ σὺν Μαθηταῖς γεγηθόντες μετὰ βαΐων Ὡσανά, τῷ Τίῳ Δαυίδ ἔκραζον· Ἐπερύμνητε Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων, εὐλογητὸς

εἰ.

Τροπάρια

Ἡ ἀπειροίκακος πληθὺς, ἐπὶ νηπιάζουσα φύσις, θεοπρεπῶς σε Βασιλεῦ,
Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἀγγέλων ἀνύμνησεν· Ὑπερύμνητε Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων,
εὐλογητὸς εἰ.

Μετὰ βαΐων σε Χριστέ, κλάδοις ἐπεκρότει τὰ πλήθη, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐλθὼν,
Βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, ἐβόα τε· Ὑπερύμνητε Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων,
εὐλογητὸς εἰ.

Καταβασία. Ὁ διασώσας ἐν πυρί.

Ὡδὴ η'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Εὐφράνθητι Ἱερουσαλήμ· καὶ πανηγυρίσατε οἱ ἀγαπῶτες Σιών· ὁ
Βασιλεύων γὰρ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Κύριος τῶν Δυνάμεων ἦλθεν· εὐλαβεῖσθω
πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ βοάτω· Πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε τὸν
Κύριον.

Τροπάρια.

Νέον πῶλον ἐπιβεβηκώς, ὁ βασιλεὺς σου Σιών, ἐπέστη Χριστός· τὴν γὰρ
ἀλόγιστον, εἰδώλων πλάνην λῦσαι, καὶ ἀκάθεκτον ὁρμὴν ἀναστεῖλαι· Πάντων
ἔθνων παραγέγονεν εἰς τὸ μέλπειν· Πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον.

Ὁ θεὸς σου, χαῖρε Σιών σφόδρα, ἐβασίλευσεν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Χριστός·
οὗτος ὡς γέγραπται πραῦς, καὶ σφῶν, δίκαιος λυτρωτὴς ἡμῶν ἦλθεν, ἐπὶ
πῶλου, ἵππειον θράσος ὀλέσων ἐχθρῶν, μὴ βοώντων· Πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε
τὸν Κύριον.

Στανίζεται θεῖων περιβόλων, τὸ παράνομον συνέδριον ἀπειθῶν· τὸν
προσευχῆς θεοῦ ἐπεὶ περ οἶκον, σπῆλαιον ἀπειργάσατο ληστῶν, ἐκ καρδίας
τὸν λυτρωτὴν ἀπωσάμενον· ᾧ βοῶμεν· Πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον.

Καταβασία. Εὐφράνθητι Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Ὡδὴ θ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Θεὸς, Κύριος, καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν· συστήσασθε ἑορτήν· καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι,
δεῦτε μεγαλύνωμεν Χριστόν, μετὰ Βαΐων καὶ κλάδων, ὕμνοις κραυγάζοντες·
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Τροπάρια.

Ἔθνη ἵνα τί ἐφρυνάξατε; Γραφεῖς, καὶ Ἱερεῖς, τί κενὰ ἐμελετήσατε; Τίς
οὗτος εἰπόντες, ᾧ παῖδες μετὰ βαΐων καὶ καλάδων, ὕμνοις κραυγάζουσιν·
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Οὗτος ὁ θεός, παρόμοιος οὐδεὶς, δικαίαν πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξευρών, δέδωκε τῷ
ἡγαπημένῳ Ἰσραὴλ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράγη ὀφθεῖς·
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Σκάνδαλα τρίβου, τί ἐχόμενα ἡμῖν, τιθέατε ἀπειθεῖς; πόδες ὀξεῖς ὑμῶν,
αἷμα διεκχέαι Δεσπότην· ἀλλ' ἀναστήσεται πάντας σῶσαι τοὺς κράζοντας·
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Καταβασία. Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν.

[π. 387] Ἐξαποστειλάριον. Ἅγιος Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ψάλλομεν τὸ αὐτὸ
καὶ μόνον, ἐκ γ'.

Εἰς τοὺς Αἵνους, ἰστώμεν Στίχους στ' καὶ ψάλλομεν τὰ ἐπόμενα Στιχηρά,

δευερούντες τὰ πρῶτα δύο.

Στιχηρὰ Ἰδιόμελα. Ἦχος δ'.

Ὁ πλεῦστος ὄχλος Κύριε, ἐστρώννουν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν· ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκοπτον κλάδους, ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ ἐβασταζον· οἱ προάγοντες δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἔκραζον λέγοντες· Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Τιῷ Δαυίδ, εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐλθὼν, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. Δίς.

Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.

Μέλλοντός σου εἰσιέναι, εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Πόλιν Κύριε, τὰ κλάδη τῶν φυτῶν οἱ λαοὶ ἐβάσταζον, σὲ ὑμνοῦντες τὸν τῶν ὅλων Δεσπότην, ὀρώντές σε ἐπὶ πώλου καθήμενον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἐθεώρουν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ἐβόων· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐλθὼν, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. Δίς.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Εἰέλθετε ἔθνη, εἰέλθετε καὶ λαοί, καὶ θεάσασθε σήμερον, τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν Οὐρανῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ πώλου εὐτελοῦς, τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ προσεπιβαίνοντα· γενεὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἄπιστε καὶ μοιχαλὶς, δεῦρο, θεάσαι, ὃν εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας ἐν σαρκὶ δι' ἡμᾶς παραγενόμενον, πῶς νυμφεύεται ὡς σῶφρονα τὴν νέαν Σιών, καὶ ἀποβάλλεται τὴν κατάκριτον συναγωγὴν· ὡς ἐν ὀφθάρτῳ δὲ γάμφ καὶ ἀμιάντῳ, ἀμιάντοι συνέδραμον εὐφημοῦντες, οἱ ἀπειρόκακοι Παῖδες, μεθ' ὧν ὑμνοῦντες βοήωμεν, ὕμνον τὸν Ἀγγελικόν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, τῷ ἔχοντι τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

Ὁ αὐτός.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ ἐκουσίου Πάθους σου, εἰς πίστῳσιν πάντων, προενδειξάμενος, Χριστὲ ὁ θεός, τὸν μὲν Λάζαρον ἐν Βηθανίᾳ, τῇ κραταιᾷ δυνάμει σου, τετραήμερον νεκρὸν ἀνέστησας, καὶ τυφλοῖς δὲ τὸ βλέπειν, ὡς φωτοδότης ἐδώρήσω Σωτήρ· καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν μετὰ τῶν σῶν Μαθητῶν εἰσῆλθες, καθήμενος ἐπὶ πώλου ὄνου, τὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐκπληρῶν κηρύγματα, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἐποχοῦμενος· καὶ παῖδες Ἑβραίων μετὰ κλάδων καὶ Βαΐων προῦπήντων σοι· Διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς, κλάδους ἐλαιῶν βαστάζοντες καὶ βαῖα, εὐχαρίστως σοι βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν. Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς Βηθανίαν· καὶ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ Μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες αὐτῷ· Κύριε, τοῦ θέλεις, ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι φαγεῖν τὸ Πάσχα; ὁ δὲ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτούς· Ἀπελθετε εἰς τὴν ἀπέναντι κώμην, καὶ εὐρήσετε ἄνθρωπον, κεράμιον ὕδατος βαστάζοντα· ἀκολουθήσατε αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ οἰκοδεσπότη εἴπατε· Ὁ Διδάσκαλος λέγει· Πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ Πάσχα, μετὰ τῶν Μαθητῶν μου.

Δοξολογία μεγάλη καὶ Ἀπόλυσις.

Ἡ δὲ Λιτὴ γίνεται ἔξω τοῦ Μοναστηρίου καὶ ἡ Κατήχησις.

Εἰς τὴν Λειτουργίαν

Ψάλλομεν τὰ παρόντα Ἀντίφωνα.

Ἀντίφωνον α'. Ἦχος β'.

Στίχ. Ἠγάπησα, ὅτι εἰσακούσεται Κύριος τῆς φωνῆς τῆς δεήσεώς μου.

Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς θεοτόκου.

Στίχ. Περιέσχον με ὠδίνες θανάτου, κίνδυνοι Ἰδοῦ εὐροσοάν με.

Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς θεοτόκου.

Στίχ. Θλίψιν καὶ ὀδύνην εὐρον, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐπεκαλεσάμην.

Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς θεοτόκου.

Στίχ. Εὐαρεστήσω ἐνώπιον Κυρίου ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων.

Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς θεοτόκου.

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν.

Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς θεοτόκου.

Ἀντίφωνον β'. Ἦχος ὁ αὐτός.

Στίχ. Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐταπεινώθην σφόδρα.

[Σελ. 388] Σώσον ἡμᾶς Τίε θεοῦ ὁ ἐπὶ πάλου ὄνου καθεσθείς, ψάλλοντάς σοι· Ἀλληλούϊα.

Στίχ. Τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ Κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἀνταπέδωκέ μοι;

Σώσον ἡμᾶς Τίε θεοῦ ὁ ἐπὶ πάλου ὄνου καθεσθείς, ψάλλοντάς σοι· Ἀλληλούϊα.

Στίχ. Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐπυκαλέσομαι.

Σώσον ἡμᾶς Τίε θεοῦ ὁ ἐπὶ πάλου ὄνου καθεσθείς, ψάλλοντάς σοι· Ἀλληλούϊα.

Στίχ. Τὰς εὐχάς μου τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀποδώσω ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Σώσον ἡμᾶς Τίε θεοῦ ὁ ἐπὶ πάλου ὄνου καθεσθείς, ψάλλοντάς σοι· Ἀλληλούϊα.

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν.

Ὁ Μονογενὴς Τίος καὶ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ.

Ἀντίφωνον γ'. Ἦχος α'.

Στιχ. Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅτι ἀγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγειρας τὸν Λάξαρρον Χριστὲ ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Στιχ. Εἰπάτω δὴ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι ἀγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγειρας τὸν Λάξαρρον Χριστὲ ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Στιχ. Εἰπάτω δὴ οἶκος Ἀαρῶν, ὅτι ἀγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγειρας τὸν Λάξαρρον Χριστὲ ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Στιχ. Εἰπάτωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγείρας τὸν Λάζαρον Χριστὲ ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Εἰσοδικόν.

Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν.

[ὁ ἐπὶ πώλου ὄνου καθεσθείς ...]

Σῶσον ἡμᾶς Τίς θεοῦ.

Εἶτα τὸ Ἀπολυτίκιον.

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν, πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγείρας τὸν Λάζαρον Χριστὲ ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Δόξα Πατρί

Συνταφέντες σοι διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος, χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τῆς ἀθανάτου ζωῆς ἡξιώθημεν τῇ Ἀναστάσει σου, καὶ ἀνυμνοῦντες κράζομεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Καὶ νῦν. Τὸ Κοντάκιον

Τῷ θρόνῳ ἐν Οὐρανῷ, τῷ πῶλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐποχούμενος Χριστὲ ὁ θεός, τῶν Ἀγγέλων τὴν αἴνεσιν, καὶ τὴν Παίδων ἀνύμνησιν προσεδέξω βοώντων σοι· Εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνακαλέσασθαι.

Τὸ Τρισάγιον· καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος.

Προκείμενον. Ἦχος δ.

Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Στίχ. Ἐξομολογείσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἀγαθός.

Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῆς Παύλου. Κεφ. Δ΄. 4-9

Ἀλληλουῖα. Ἦχος α΄. Ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ᾠσμα καινόν.

Στίχ. Εἴσοδον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην ιβ.1-18

Καὶ καθεξῆς ἡ θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

Κοινωνικόν.

Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

Εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν γίνεται πράκλησις τοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς ἐσθίωμεν γὰρ ἰχθύας.

ΤΗ ΚΤΡΙΑΚΗ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΙΩΝ ΕΣΠΕΡΑΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΛΤΧΝΙΚΟΝ

Μετὰ τὸν Προοιμιακόν, εἰς τό, Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, ἰστῶμεν Στίχους στ' καὶ ψάλλομεν τὰ ἐκόμενα Στιχηρὰ Ἰδιόμελα, δευτεροῦντες αὐτά.
Ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Τὴν νομικὴν ἀκαρτίαν προκάτηράσω, ὡς φύλλα ἐξανθοῦσαν, τοῦ γράμματος σκιώδη γνώμην, τοὺς καρποὺς δὲ τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἔχουσιν δι' ἀνομίαν, ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας τοὺς τῆς χάριτος, υἱοὺς Σωτῆρ εὐλόγησον.

Ἡ ράβδος μὲν Μωϋσέως τὸ πρὶν εἰς ὄφιν, ἡ Ἀαρὼν δὲ ράβδος, εἰς χλωρὸν μετεβλήθη, καὶ ἐξήνθησε φύλλα, ἡ ἀκαρτος καὶ ξηρανθεῖσα· συναγωγὴ δὲ ἡ παράνομος, εἰς ἄκαρπον μετήχθη συκὴν.

Ετοίμαζε Ἰουδαία τοὺς ἱερεῖς σου, εὐτρέπιζε τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς θεοκτονίαν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἦλθε πρᾶϋς, καὶ ἡσυχος ἐπὶ τὸ Πάθος, Ἀμνὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ Ποιμὴν ἡμῶν, Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ.

Ἐπόδεξαι Ἰουδαία τὸν Βασιλέα· ἰδοὺ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἔρχεται ἐκουσίως, ἵνα πάθῃ καὶ σώσῃ τοὺς κράζοντες ἀκατακαύστως· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, Σταυρῷ σώσαι τὰ σύμπαντα.

Μετέστρεψεν Ἰουδαία τὰς ἐορτάς σου, εἰς πένθος ὁ Δεσπότης, κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν· Θεοκτόνος γὰρ ὤφθη, τοῦ στρέψαντος ποτὲ τὴν πέτραν, καὶ τὴν ἀκρότομον εἰς ὕδατα, καὶ λίμνας καθὼς ψάλλει Δαυίδ.

Δόξα.

Ἀλλότριον τοῖς ἀνόμοις τὸ σὲ δοξάζειν, τὴν ἀναρχον οὐσίαν, Πατέρα, καὶ Τίὸν τε, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τὴν ἄκτιστον παγκρατορίαν· δι' ἧς ὁ σύμπας Κόσμος ἡδρασταί, τῷ νεύματι τοῦ θείου κράτους αὐτῆς.

Καὶ νῦν. θεοτοκίον.

Προσάγομεν εἰς πρεσβείαν τὴν θεοτόκον· αὐτῆς ταῖς ἱκεσίαις, καὶ τῶν σῶν Ἀποστόλων, κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ποιήσον, Δέσποτα τῶν ἀγαθῶν σου, καὶ τῆς λαμπρότητος ἀξίωσον, Σωτῆρ τῆς Ἀναστάσεώς σου.

Ἰστέον ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην Ἑβδομάδα, ἅπαξ πληροῦμεν τὸν ψαλτήριον, καὶ λέγομεν τῷ μεγάλῃ Δευτέρᾳ, εἰς τὸν Ὅρθρον, Καθίσματα γ' καὶ εἰς τὴν Τριθέκην β' ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τρίτῃ καὶ τελειοῦται τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τετάρτῃ· ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεγάλῳ Σαββάτῳ στιχολογεῖται ὁ Ἄμωμος.

Appendix 2

Comparison of RT and AT

A. Consistent Differences between the Roman (1879) and Athenian (196?) Editions of the Triodion

I. Punctuation

- a. R always uses comma before title of address, A never;
- b. A often uses a comma where R has the *;

II. Capitalization

- a. A often capitalizes proper nouns that R does not;
/ᾱ/(A)δου /σ/(Σ)ταυροῦ

III. Accents

- a. Final Syllable before a stop
A often has ' / where R has '\.

B. Textual differences

!365! !R578!

First Idiomelon

* τοῦ δοξάσαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ μεγαλεῖα(ά) σου,

Marturikon

Μάρτυρες Κυρίου, * ἱκετεύσατε τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, * καὶ αἰτήσα/τε/(σθε) ταῖς
ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, * πλήθος οἰκτιρμῶν, * καὶ τὸν ἰλασμὸν * τῶν πολλῶν
παραπτωμάτων δεόμεθα.

!R 578! * Πάντα * δυνατά σου/, / Δέσποτα, * τ(ῶν)/ῶ/ πάντων Βασιλεῖ· *

!R 579! * ἵνα ἐγείρης τὸν (Λάζαρον) / φίλον σου/· #să scoli pe Lazăr;# * καὶ
δακρύσας ἐπ' αὐτῷ/(όν,) *

Friday Vespers, before Entrance, N&E by Andrew the Blind

* αἱ τοῦτου ἀδελφαί· * αὔριον / γὰρ/ * Χριστὸς παραγίνεται,

* /οὗ τῷ θαύματι * / (τοῦτον) δῆμος (βλέπων) Ἑβραίων ἐκπλαγεῖς,

!R 583! !369!

* τοῦ τέθ/ει/(απ)ται Λάζαρος,

!R-584!

* /ἀ/(Α)λλ' ὡς ἀχώρις/(η)τος παντί, *

!R 585!

Ποῦ τέθ/ει/(απ)ται(,) * &Ιωαν. 11.34· Ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτόν;&

!370!

Δόξα.

/Ἀχρόνως/ (Ἀνάρχως) ἐξέλαμψας(,) * ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός σου, * ὡς εἰς τῆς Τριάδος/,/ Σωτήρ/,/ (,) * ἐν χρόνῳ, ἐ/ν/(κ) Πνεύματι/ι/(ος,) * /ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου/ (παρθενικῶν,) * (σὺ) προήλθες (αἱμάτων,) σάρκα λαβὼν * ὁ ὑπερούσιος.

Ζωὴ ὑπάρχων Κύριε, * καὶ φῶς ἀληθινόν, * Λάζαρον (νεκρόν) φωνήσας ἀνέστησας·

!R 586!

Τ/ῶ/(ῶ) νεύματί σου, Κύριε, * ἀνθέστηκεν οὐδεὶς· * ὅτε γὰρ νεκρόν(,) ἐφώνεις τὸν Λάζαρον, * εὐθύς ὡς ὁ ἄπνους ἐξανίσ(τ)ατο/,/ * καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ (μὴ) φέρων(,) * ποσὶ περιεπάτει.

!371! !R 587!

Ἐπὶ νεκρῷ ἐδάκρυσας/,/ Σωτ/ή/(ή)ρ, * /ὡς ἄνθρωπος/(φιλόανθρωπε), * ἵνα δείξης πᾶσι τοῖς λαοῖς, * ὅτι θεὸς ὢν(,) * δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὤφθης/,/ (,) * καὶ ἐκὼν ἐδάκρυσας, * τύπους ἡμῖν προτιθεῖς, * ἐνδιαθέτου στοργῆς

!372! !R 588!

ᾠδὴ η', Δόξα.

Σὺν τῷ Πατρί(,) καὶ τῷ Τιῷ/,/ * καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα * δοξολογ/οῦμεν/(ῶ), * καὶ (ὑμνῶν) ἀσιγήτως βοῶ/μεν/· * Τρισάγιε/,/ δόξα σοι.

!373! !R 590!

(Κάθισμα.) Ἦχος α'.

Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος.

Κατοικτεῖρας τῆς Μάρθας(,) * καὶ Μαρίας τὰ δάκρυα, * ἐκκυλίσαι τὸν λίθον(,) * ἐκ τοῦ τάφου προσέταξας(, Χριστὲ ὁ θεός)· ἀνέστησας φωνήσας τὸν νεκρ/ὸ/(ό)ν, * /συντρίψας τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς μοχλοὺς/,/ * τὴν τοῦ /κ/(Κ)όσμου/,/ /Ζ/(Ζ)ωοδότα, * /ὡς/ δι' αὐτοῦ πιστούμενος /ἀ/(Α)νάστασιν. * Δόξα τῇ δυναστείᾳ σου/,/ Σωτήρ· * δόξα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ σου/,/ (·) * δόξα τῷ διὰ λόγου πάντα συστησαμένῳ.

A would appear to be correct in including the address to "O Christ our God," since otherwise "the lifegiver of the world" has no antecedent to refer to.

!373! !R 591!

* Ἀβυσσας ὧν γνώσεως, * σὺ ἐρωτᾷς /ὄ/πο/υ/(ὕ) τέθεται(,) * ὁ τεθνε/ὦ/(ώ)ς,
* μέλλων ἀναστήσειν Ζωοδότα τὸν κείμενον.

!377! !R 597!

Ἦδη θ'. Ὁ Εἰρμός.

Τὴν ἀγνὴν ἐνδόξως τιμήσωμεν, * λαοὶ/, / θεοτόκον, * τὴν τὸ (θεῖον) πῦρ /τῆς
θεότητος * δεξαμένην/ ἐν /τῇ/ γαστρ/ῖ/(ί,) * ἀφλέκτως * (συλλαβοῦσαν,) /ἐν/
ῥυμοῖς (ἀσιγήτοις) μεγαλύν/οντες/(ωμεν.)

!378! !R 597!

Ἐκ τάφου τεταρταῖον(,) * Λάζαρον ἐγείρας, * τῆς τριημέρου Χριστέ/, /
/σ/(μ)ου /ἐ/(Ἐ)γέρσεως(,) * παναληθέστατον πᾶσι(,) * δεικνύ/ων/(εις)
μάρτυρα.

C. Apparent errors of R

!R579?! * τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τῷ (π)νεύματι,

!R585! Δόξα.

Ἔνα * τῆς Τριάδος οἶδ/α/(ά) σε,

!R586! * τ/ὦ/(ῶ) προστάγματί σου.

!R 593! !375!

/Ο Εἰρμός/(Καταβασία)

Σύ μου/, Χριστέ/(ἰσχύς), Κύρι/ος/(ε), σύ μου καὶ δύναμις, * σὺ θεός μου, * σὺ
μου ἀγαλλίαμα, * ὁ πατρικοὺς κόλπους μὴ λιπών, * καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν(,) *
πτωχεῖαν ἐπισκεψάμενος * διὸ σὺν τῷ Προφῆτῃ * Ἀββακο/ύ/(ὕ)μ σοὶ
κραυγάζω * Τῇ δυνάμει σου δόξα/, / φιλόανθρωπε.

D. Apparent errors of A.

!368! ποῦ τέθεται Λάζαρος/;/(,)

!371!

Ὁ Ποιητὴς καὶ συνοχεὺς * τῶν ἀπάντων * δι' εὐσπλαγχνίαν(,) * ἐν βηθανίᾳ
ἐπέστη, * ἐγείρ/αι/(ων) τὸν Λάζαρον.

APPENDIX 3

THE TARGET TEXTS IN ENGLISH

I. TEXTS PROPER TO LAZARUS SATURDAY¹

Sigla

(Unique to Athens Edition)

/Unique to Roman 1879 Edition/

#Romanian Edition#

{Additions, comments or clarifications by PEY}

The Friday before Palm Sunday

At Vespers

/The Following Stanzas/ At "O Lord I have cried. . ." we take ten stanzas and we sing the following Idiomelon of the day, twice, then the Marturikon, then the 5 Idiomela of the holy and righteous Lazarus, making them {into} ten.

/Idiomelon/ Tone 8 /Twice/

We beseech you, O Lover of us all,
that having completed the soul-enriching forty days,
you will grant us to behold the Holy Week of your Passion,
so that in it we might glorify your mighty deeds,
and your inscrutable plan of salvation for us,
singing as with one voice, "O Lord, Glory to You!". (Twice)

Hymn to the Martyrs - In the Same Tone {8}

O Martyrs of the Lord,
we beg you to interceed with God for us,
pleading for abundant mercy on our souls
and forgiveness for our many sins.

¹ These texts are presented in an original translation by the author, and thus they follow the principles explained in the section on "Editorial Method" which is included in the fore-matter of this paper.

*/Then we sing the 5/ Idiomela (Stanzas) {Proper} to the Holy Lazarus,
Composed by the /pious/ Emporer /Lord/ Leo /the wise/,*

Tone 6 /Twice/

O Lord, wishing to see the tomb of Lazarus,
for shortly you would willingly inhabit a tomb,
you asked, "Where have you laid him?"
On being told what you already knew,
you called out to your friend, "Lazarus, come forth!"
Then the the lifeless one
obeyed the Life-giver
You who are the Savior of our souls. (twice)

In the Same Tone {6} /Twice/

O Lord, you came to the grave of Lazarus,
to the tomb of one who was four days dead,
and shedding tears for your friend, O Wheat of Life,
you raised up the body which had been dead for four days.
Therefore death was confined by your voice,
and the shroud of death was set free by your hands.
Thus the group of your disciples abounded with joy,
and all acting as one, they offered harmonious service, saying,
"Blessed are You, O Savior, have mercy on us!" (Twice)

(Tone 6)

O Lord, your voice annihilated the reign of Hades,
and the word of your authority
raised from the tomb the one who was four days dead,
and Lazarus became the first fruits of salvation
for the rebirth of the world.
O Master and King of all,
everything is possible for you,
Grant to your servants conciliation and great mercy.

(The Same Tone) {6}

O Lord, wishing to give your disciples
a pledge of your resurrection from the dead,
You arrived at the tomb of Lazarus;
As you summoned him, Hades was devastated,
and set free the one who had been dead for four days,
who cried out to you, "O Blessed Lord, Glory to You!"

(The Same Tone) {6}

O Lord, taking along your disciples,
 you arrived at Bethany in order to raise #(Lazarus)# /your friend/.
 Weeping over him according to your human nature,
 As God, You raised up the one who had been dead for four days.
 who cried out to you O Savior,
 "Blessed are You, Lord, Glory to You!"

Glory, Idiomelon. Tone 8

O our Savior, standing before the tomb of Lazarus,
 and calling to the dead one,
 you raised him as if from sleep.
 He shook off corruption through the spirit of incorruption,
 and at your word he came forth,
 still wrapped in the shroud of death.
 O loving Lord, all is possible to you,
 all serves you,
 all obeys you,
 O our Savior, Glory to You!

Now and ever . . .**Tone 8. By Andrew the Blind**

Having completed the forty soul enriching days,
 let us cry out:
 "Rejoice, town of Bethany, home of Lazarus!
 Rejoice, Martha and Mary his sisters!
 Tomorrow Christ will arrive,
 in order to bring your dead brother to life by his word.
 On hearing his voice,
 bitter, insatiable Hades
 quivering in fear
 and groaning mightily
 will set Lazarus free,
 still wrapped in the shroud of death.
 Astonished at seeing this wonder,
 the Hebrews come forth to greet him
 with palms and branches.
 Although the parents are full of deception,
 the children will praise him without deception, saying,
 "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,
 the King of Israel!"

Entrance, "O Joyful Light"

Prokimenon, Tone 6 (Ps 123)

Our help is in the name of the Lord (who made heaven and earth). (Ps 123.8)

V. Had not the Lord been on our side, let Israel say. . . #Ps 123.1#

Reading: Genesis 49.33 - 50.26.

Prokimenon: Tone 4 (Psalm 124)

Those who trust in the Lord shall be as the hill of Zion (Ps 124.1a)

V. Those who dwell in Jerusalem shall never be shaken. (Ps 124.1b) #124.3#

Reading: Proverbs 31.8-31

And the rest of the Liturgy of the Presanctified.

Friday Evening

At complines, we sing the following Kanon of Andrew of Crete.

First Ode Tone 1**Irmos or Linking Verse**

Let us all sing a triumphant hymn to God,
so that God might be glorified.

God who has done marvelous wonders by the strength of his arm
and who has saved Israel.

O my Savior, you raised Lazarus
who had been dead for four days,
Freeing him from corruption by the strength of your arm,
and demonstrating your power as strength.

O Savior, calling forth Lazarus from the tomb,
straightaway you raised him;
While Hades below bitterly groaned,
and whining, trembled before your power.

O Lord, you wept for Lazarus,
demonstrating that you took on (our) flesh,
according to your plan of salvation,
Since while existing as God by nature,

you became human, according to our nature.

O Lord and Savior, in raising Lazarus from the dead,
you brought the tears of Martha and Mary to an end,
and you bestowed breath upon one who was dead,
according to your power.

O Master, according to the laws of human nature,
you asked, "Where has Lazarus been laid?";
Showing to all, O Savior,
your incomprehensible plan of salvation for us.

O You who alone are our Savior, in calling forth Lazarus,
you shattered the prison bars of Hades,
and rattled the power of the Adversary,
Forcing him to tremble, even before your Crucifixion.

O Master, you came forth to Lazarus as God,
and set free from his restraints,
the one who was seized and confined by Hades;
for everything submits to your command, O Mighty One.

Glory to the Father, . . .

Let us give glory to the Father,
and to the Son,
and to the Holy Spirit,
The Trinity, Undivided in the Singularity of Nature,
And together with the angels, we will offer glory,
to the one, uncreated, God.

Now and always . . . Theotokion.

O Virgin-Mother,
by the Holy Spirit,
in accordance with the good-will of the Father,
you conceived the Creator of (All) {nature},
And the Creator became even as we are,
without any alteration or intermingling. {change or mixture}

Second Ode.

The Irmos or Linking Verse

Pay heed, O Heaven,

and I shall speak and sing hymns to Christ,
 the Savior of the world,
 who alone loves us all.

Glory to you,
 the only one who called forth from the tomb
 one who was four days dead,
 raising Lazarus your friend.

O Lord, the lifeless one heard your voice,
 and straightaway rose,
 filled with the breath of life,
 giving glory to you.

O my Savior, Lazarus, reeking {from decay},
 obeying the command of your life-giving voice,
 rose from the tomb.

O my Savior, you wept for your friend Lazarus,
 demonstrating how you bore our nature,
 even as you raised him.

Hades trembled as it observed,
 one still wrapped in the shroud of death,
 who immediately raced back to this life
 at the sound of your voice.

Glory . . .

O Savior, the crowd of Hebrews was amazed
 when you called out to Lazarus,
 reeking with the stench of death,
 as you raised him by your word.

Now and ever . . .

The secret chambers of Hades shuddered,
 as within their depths,
 Lazarus was immediately restored to life
 by the sound of your enlivening voice.

Third Ode

The Irmos or Linking Verse

The stone which the builders rejected has become the capstone;
This is the rock on which Christ established the Church,
which he redeemed from among the peoples.

What a strange and wondrous marvel!
How the Creator of all, although not without knowledge,
asked as if ignorant,
"Where lies the one you mourn?"
"Where is Lazarus buried,
the one whom I shall in a little while
have raised from death to life for you?"

O Lazarus, Jesus ordered them to take away the stone
which they had placed over you when they buried you,
And immediately He raised you, calling out:
"Lazarus, rise up and come to me,
that hell may quiver at your voice."

O Lord, Martha and Mary called out in their grief,
"Behold, the one you loved lies four days dead,
and filled with the stench of death.
If you had been here, Lazarus would not have died."
However, since you are everywhere present,
you immediately called out to him and raised him.

O Savior, in shedding tears for your friend,
you demonstrated that the flesh which you assumed from us,
according to your plan of salvation,
was united to your very being,
not simply in appearance.
And since you are a God who loves us all,
straightaway you called out to him
and raised him up.

"Woe is me! Now I am annihilated!" shrieked Hades,
calling out to death and saying,
"Behold, the Nazorean rattles the depths,
ripping open my guts,
He speaks to a lifeless corpse and raises it up."

What is this folly of the Hebrews?
What is this lack of faith?

How long these deceptions?
 How long these illegitimacies?
 You see the one who had died
 springing forth at the sound of a voice,
 yet still you do not believe in Christ.
 You are all children of darkness!

Glory . . .

I know you to be one of the Trinity,
 even though you have taken on flesh;
 I give glory to the one incarnate Son,
 conceived by the Godbearer without any seed,
 while still being glorified as the one Son
 with the Father and the Spirit.

Now and ever . . . Theotokion

O what a strange and fearsome sight,
 seen in advance by the prophets without deception,
 A virgin, the Godbearer,
 conceiving even without seed,
 giving birth to God without being destroyed,
 remaining pure even after childbirth.

The Fourth Ode

The Irmos or Linking Verse

The sun went dark, the moon was suspended on its way;
 O Longsuffering one, You were raised up upon the cross
 from it sprang forth your Church.

O Lord, you wept for Lazarus,
 thus demonstrating that you are human,
 and yet O Master you raised the one who had died,
 thus demonstrating to the people
 that you are the Son of God.

O Good One, the lifeless one heard your command,
 "Lazarus come forth!"
 He burst forth, still wrapped in the shroud of death,
 demonstrating your power.

O Christ our God,
 You brought an end to the tears of Martha and Mary
 You called forth Lazarus,
 thus raising him up by the sound of your voice,
 through your own authority,
 and he offered You worship.

O Good One, You shed tears for Lazarus as a human being,
 while as God you raised him up.
 You asked, "Where is he buried,
 the one who has been dead for four days?"
 By doing so, you strengthened our faith in Your Incarnation.

O Beloved One,
 Desiring to make known the hidden dimensions of your Passion and Cross,
 You ripped open the guts of insatiable Hades,
 and as God you raised up the one
 who was already dead for four days.

Who has ever heard of such a thing, or known of anything like this,
 that a person be raised from the dead,
 even though the body already reeked of death.
 Elijah and Elisha raised the dead,
 but not from the tomb,
 and certainly not four days after death.

O Lord, we sing a hymn to your power,
 O Christ, we sing a hymn to your Passion;
 For through your power you worked a miracle
 in your loving-kindness,
 While as a human you willingly accepted the passion
 according to your plan of salvation.

O Master, the crowd of Hebrews was astonished
 when they observed the dead one, Lazarus,
 rising from the tomb at the sound of your voice,
 and yet they remained skeptical about your miracles.

Glory be . . .

O Savior, you radiated from your Father as one of the Trinity
 without any beginning,
 While within time you came forth by the Spirit,
 receiving flesh from the virgin's flesh,

O Transcendent One!

Now and ever . . . Theotokion

God, who was conceived without seed of the Theotokos,
 who gave birth without suffering corruption,
 by accomplishing both of these marvels
 You poured Yourself out in love
 that You might be united to us.

The Fifth Ode

The Irmos or Linking Verse

O Son of God, grant us your peace,
 for we know no other God but You,
 We call upon your name,
 for you are the God of the Living and the Dead.

O Lord, being Life and the true Light,
 you called forth and raised (the dead) Lazarus;
 By your power you demonstrate to all
 that you are the God of the living and the dead.

O Jesus, Hades that had acquired so many,
 could not get around your irresistible decree,
 and trembling it gave up Lazarus,
 already dead for four days,
 now alive by the sound of your voice.

O Word, by your word of old you joined dust and breath,
 breathing into clay a living soul,
 and now by your word you raise your friend from corruption
 and from the depths of the earth.

O Lord, no one can resist your command!
 When you called the dead Lazarus,
 even though he was lifeless he arose at once,
 and even though he was restrained, he walked out.??

O Ignorance of the Jews! O Blindness of the Enemies!
 Who has ever known of a dead one being awakened from the tomb?
 Of old Elijah raised the dead,
 but never from the tomb, never four days after death!

O You whose patience never runs out,
 as God you do everything for us,
 while as human you suffer for us;
 Through the prayers of Lazarus,
 make us all to be sharers in your Kingdom.

Glory . . .

O Trinity,
 Existing before all things,
 Existing together, Equal in honor, before all things,
 Almighty Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,
 Sacred Unity in three Persons;
 Save us, {the children} of Adam {and Eve}
 who faithfully sing hymns to you.

Now and ever . . . Theotokion

O Pure One, your pristine womb was made holy
 by the transcendant God who took flesh from it,
 Worshipped as one of the Trinity,
 the Word from the Father,
 one God with the Spirit.

The Sixth Ode

The Irmos or Linking Verse

O Savior, you hurled me into the depths,
 into the heart of the sea,
 and then you saved me from slavery to death,
 and cut loose the restraints of my misdeeds. (Twice)

O Savior, You asked where I was,
 even though you know everything;
 You wept for me, as befits human nature,
 even as you raised me from the dead by your command.

O Savior, Lazarus cried out to you
 when you freed him from Hades,
 "You called me from the depths of Hades,
 and you raised me from the dead by your command.

O Savior, you clothed me in a body of clay,
 you breathed life into me, and I saw your light;
 and you raised me from the dead by your command.

O Savior, you breathed life
 into the lifeless form of my flesh,
 You knit me together with bones and tendons,
 and you raised me from the dead by your command.

O Savior, you have ripped open the the guts of Hades
 which devours all within its grasp,
 and by your power you snatched me out,
 and you raised me from the dead by your command.

O Savior, you have examined all from which I am made,
 preserving the purity of the pristine Mother
 from whom you came forth enfleshed
 being one of the Trinity.

Glory . . .

O Holy Trinity, I glorify your loving-kindness,
 and with the angels I sing the thrice-holy hymn:
 Have mercy on the souls of us who sing hymns to you.

Now and ever. Theotokion.

What a startling wonder!
 Your pristine womb received the Word,
 maintaining its integrity even after birth,
 O pure One who begot God.

The Seventh Ode

The Irmos or Linking Verse

O Savior, the fire did not bother nor even concern
 your youths in the furnace,
 Then the three, as if with one mouth,
 sang hymns and blessed you saying,
 "Blessed are you, O God of our fathers!"

O Savior /according to your human nature/
 (who loves us all),
 you wept over the dead,
 thus demonstrating to all the peoples that,
 while still being God,
 you appeared as a human person for us,
 and in shedding tears you gave us an example
 of your heartfelt love.

O Savior, although Lazarus was already dead for four days,

when he heard your voice in the depths
 he rose up and sang a hymn to you, shouting with joy:
 "You are my God and my Creator!
 I worship you and sing hymns to you,
 for you have raised me up!"

Lazarus cried from below to the one who set him free,
 "Even if I am bound in restraints, O Savior,
 I shall not be left forever in the depths of Hades,
 if only you will call to me, 'Lazarus come out!'
 You who are my Light and my Life."

"Lazarus, I beg you," says {Hades},
 "Rise up, quickly leave my constraints behind, and be off!
 It is better for me to bitterly grieve over one who escapes
 than {to lose} all those I have ravenously devoured."

"Lazarus, why do you dally?" says Hades.
 "Your friend stands shouting to you, 'Come out!'.
 "Depart then, so that I may also experience relief,
 because ever since I devoured you,
 all other food makes me sick."

"O Lazarus, why don't you rise quickly?"
 Hades shrieks in pain,
 "Why don't you rise up and bolt from here this instant?
 Unless you do, Christ may capture others after raising you."

O Master Christ,
 you are exalted by the many wonders you have accomplished:
 You gave light to the blind,
 You opened the ears of the deaf by your word,
 and calling out to your friend Lazarus,
 as God you raised him from the dead.

Glory . . .

Let us sing hymns to the Trinity,
 the eternal Father(,)
 and the Son,
 and the steadfast Spirit. {MM - the Spirit of righteousness}
 One single essence,
 to whom we sing the three-fold hymn:
 "Holy, Holy, Holy are You O Trinity!"

Now and ever . . . Theotokion

O Christ, we give glory to you as one of the Trinity,
 for you took flesh from the Virgin,
 triumphing over that way of being, {?}
 enduring all things as a human,
 O Jesus, You did not abandon the Father's nature
 even as you were united with us.

The Eighth Ode

The Irmos or Linking Verse

You heavens of the heavens, and waters above the heavens,
 Bless and sing hymns to the Lord!

The One who in loving-kindness made and sustains all that is,
 arrives at Bethany /to raise/ (raising) Lazarus.

He who was dead for four days,
 reeking with the stench of death,
 confined by the shroud of death,
 and lacking the breath of life,
 upon hearing You, O Lord, he burst forth,
 filled with the breath of life.

O Christ,
 the Jewish people were enraged
 on seeing the dead one rise
 at the sound of your voice.

O Jews, surrounded by light yet still in darkness,
 Why do you dispute the resurrection of Lazarus?
 It is the accomplishment of Christ. {work of the Messiah.}

O Sion, Rejoice!,
 and sing hymns to the Giver of Life,
 who raises Lazarus from the tomb by His word.

The powers of the heavens and the peoples of the earth
 sing hymns to You O my Savior,
 who has raised Lazarus.

Glory . . .

/We/ (I) give glory and sing hymns
 to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Spirit, together,
 and /we/ (I) exclaim, singing incessantly:
 O Thrice-Holy, Glory to You!

Now and ever . . . Theotokion

I bless and I worship You,
 Born of the virgin,
 yet never separated from the throne of Your holy glory.

The Ninth Ode

The Irmos or Linking Verse

The God of Israel has shown the might of His arm,
 casting down the mighty from their thrones,
 and exalting the lowly;
 The Dayspring from on high has visited us,
 and led us along the path of peace.

Let Bethany sing a hymn with us in praise of the wonder,
 for it was there that the Creator wept for Lazarus
 as befits the law of nature and the flesh,
 then bringing Martha's tears to an end, [?]
 and transforming Mary's grief into joy,
 he raised the dead.

O Word, strengthening faith in your resurrection,
 you called forth Lazarus from the tomb,
 and as God you raised him,
 that you might demonstrate to the peoples
 that you are truly both God and human
 even raising of the temple of your body.

O Savior,
 rattling the gates and iron bars,
 you frightened Hades with the sound of your voice;
 Death was terrified as well,
 seeing Lazarus, whom they had entangled,
 brought to life by the sound of your voice,
 and rising up.

O Savior,

all were unnerved as they observed you
 weeping over dead Lazarus,
and the devastated ones said,
 "See how he loves him!"
Immediately you called to him,
 and the lifeless one arose at your command,
 freed from corruption.

When the gates were rattled,
the bars demolished, and
the bonds of the dead unshackled,
Hades groaned bitterly
on hearing the powerful voice of Christ
and shrieked, /wailing,/br/> "Woe is me!
 What is this voice?
 Where does it come from,
 that it gives life to the dead?"

Rise up now!
 Give heed to the voice;
 for your friend is outside calling to you.
This is the one who raised the dead in earlier times,
 for when Elijah and Elisha raised the dead,
 this is the one who spoke and acted through them.

O Word and Savior,
 we sing hymns to your invincible power,
for by your word,
 as one who gave form to everything,
you raised the dead one from the depths,
 bones, tendons and all,
 even as you raised the widow's son from the casket.

Glory be . . .

All Holy Trinity,
 God the eternal Father,
 Co-eternal Son and Word of God,
 Good Comforter, the Holy Spirit of God,
 One radiance of the three-fold Sun,
 whose being shares the same nature,
 One God and Lord,
 Have mercy on the world.

Now and ever . . . Theotokion

O Jesus, who made all things in wisdom,
 who took on all that I am from a virgin,
 while remaining all that you were from eternity
 in the bosom of the Father,

O Christ,
 as God you sent to your flock
 the Holy Spirit who overshadows us.

Note that from this day until the Saturday of Renewal (i.e. after Pascha) neither the Octoechos nor the Martyricon, nor the Theotokion is sung.

**The Saturday before Palm Sunday,
 of the holy and righteous Lazarus.**

AT MATINS

(After the 6 Psalms of Matins, at) "The Lord is God" /in the first tone, and/ we sing the following Troparion 3X.

Tone 1

O Christ our God,
 you raised Lazarus from the dead,
 giving us an assurance of the new resurrection
 even before your passion;
 Thus we, like the children,
 carrying symbols of victory,
 cry out to You,
 the Victor over death:
 "Hosanna in the highest!
 Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!"

*Then we recite the Kathisma "Thus said the Lord our God." {16th Kathismata}
After that the following verses:*

Sessional Hymn. Tone 1 {To the tune of:} "The stone was sealed. . ."

(O Christ our God,)

sympathizing with the tears of Martha and Mary,
you commanded the stone to be rolled away,
calling out and raising the dead one,
/shattering the bars of death,/

You who gave life to the Cosmos,
thus strengthening faith in the Resurrection.

Glory to your power, O Savior,

Glory to your authority;

Glory to You who sustains all by your word.

Glory . . . Now and ever . . . And repeat the same.

Then we recite the "Spotless one" {Ps. 118, 17th Kathismata}

and we sing the Evlogitaria of the Resurrection,

as on Sundays: "The company of angels . . ."

Then the following Sessional Hymn

Tone 5 {To the tune of:} "The eternal Word. . ."

O Source of Wisdom, knowing the future,

when you came to Bethany you asked those around Martha,

"Where have you laid my friend Lazarus?"

Weeping in compassion,

calling out to the one who was already dead for four days,

You raised him by your voice,

For You are the One who loves us all,

You are the One who is full of compassion,

You are the Giver of Life and the Lord.

Glory . . . Now and ever . . . Repeat the same hymn.

Then comes the reading from John, "Around the feast the word . . ."

We do not say the Gospel, but only the "Having seen the Resurrection of Christ".

After that Psalm 50,

then the following two Kanons up to the Fifth Ode,

then Four Odes until the 12th Verse.

THE FIRST ODE

The Kanon of Theophanes Tone 8

The Irmos or Linking Verse

Let us sing to the Lord who led his people through the Sea
a hymn of Victory, that he might be glorified. *(Twice)*

O You who love us all,
You raised up the dead Lazarus by your divine decree,
You who are the Shaper and Protector of life.

O Immortal One,
by your word
you raised up Lazarus
even though he was already dead for four days,
and by your power
you demolished the gloomy reign of Hades.

O Master,
You provided to all
a demonstration of your divinity beyond God
raising Lazarus from the dead,
who was already deceased for four days.

Today Bethany proclaims the the Resurrection of Christ
even before it happens
rejoicing in the raising of Lazarus.

Another Kanon of Kosmas the Monk First Ode, Tone 8,

Irmos, "Having crossed the water . . ."

In the beginning,
you brought the entirety of Creation into existence out of nothing;
Now, knowing the hidden chambers of the heart,
you foretell the falling asleep of Lazarus to your disciples.

O Christ,
you accepted human nature from a virgin,
and as a human you inquired after the tomb of Lazarus
in order to instruct us,
even though as God you knew where it was.

O Word,

as a confident assurance of your own resurrection,
 you raised your friend as if from sleep
 even though he reeked with the stench of death,
 already dead in the tomb for four days.

Theotokion

O Unwed Mother,
 Orders of angels and of mortals unceasingly praise you,
 for you carried their Creator as an infant in your arms.

Katavasia or Hymn of Descents

Having crossed the water as though it were dry land,
 and having fled the wickedness of Egypt,
 the Israelites cried out:
 "Let us sing to our Redeemer and our God!"

THE THIRD ODE

{The Kanon of Theophanes.}

The Irmos or Linking Verse

O Lord,
 you are the sustenance of those who assail you,
 You are the light of those in darkness,
 and my spirit sings to you. (Twice)

O Savior,
 in displaying your two energies,
 You demonstrated your two natures,
 For You are both God and man. (divine and human?)

O Giver of Life,
 even though you are the inexpressable depths of knowledge,
 You asked, "Where has the deceased been laid?"
 for you intended to raise the sleeping one.

O You who fill all things,
 as God you are without limits,
 even though while going from place to place as a mortal,
 you came to be limited in space and time.

O Christ,
 you raised up Lazarus by your divine word,

I beg You to also raise me,
 who have died through my many stumblings into sin.

The Other {Kanon of Kosmas the Monk}

Irmos or Linking Verse "O Lord, builder of the vault of the heavens"

O wonder-working Lord,
 as you stood in Bethany at the tomb of Lazarus
 you wept for him,
 by the principle of (your) nature, {as was appropriate for your humanity}
 thus confirming our faith in the flesh you had assumed,
 O Jesus, my God.

O Savior,
 you immediately brought an end to the suffering of Mary and Martha,
 demonstrating your personal power.
 You are the Resurrection and the Life, even as you said,
 truly You are the Lord of all.

O Lord,
 you rescued your friend Lazarus,
 from the abode of the dead and the darkness of Hades,
 even though he was still wrapped in the shroud of death,
 and You demolish the gates of the Kingdom of death
 by your all-powerful word.

Theotokion

O Lord,
 by dwelling within a virgin and taking on flesh
 you became visible to the human race,
 in order that we might perceive you;
 O You who love us all as no one else ever could,
 you have thus demonstrated that she is truly the One who bore God,
 and the comfort of all the faithful.

Katavasia or Hymn of Descents

O Lord,
 builder of the vault of the heavens
 and founder of the Church,
 strengthen me in your love,
 you who are highest aspiration
 and the support of the faithful,

O You who loves us as no one else ever could.

THE FOURTH KATHISMA OR SESSIONAL HYMN "Joseph took down. . ."

The sisters of Lazarus,
 mourning with bitter tears
 as they stood alongside of Christ
 said to Him, "
 O Lord, Lazarus is dead!"
 Although as God He was not ignorant of the burial site,
 still He asked,
 "Where have you laid him?"
 Arriving at the tomb,
 he called out to Lazarus,
 who was already dead for four days,
 and Lazarus arose,
 and worshipped the one who had raised him.

Another {Sessional Hymn} Tone 8. {To the tune of:} "The Wisdom. . ."

Knowing all things from the beginning,
 as the one who brought them to be,
 you prophesied to your disciples at Bethany,
 "Our friend Lazarus has fallen asleep today."
 Even while knowing the answer, you asked,
 "Where have you laid him?"
 You called upon the Father,
 even while weeping as a human.
 O Lord,
 you then called out to the one you loved,
 raising Lazarus from Hades,
 even though he was already dead for four days.
 Therefore we cry out to you, "
 O Christ our God,
 accept the praises we are so bold as to offer,
 and count us all as worthy of Your /great/ glory."

THE FOURTH ODE

**{The Kanon of Theophanes}
 The Irmos or Linking Verse**

O Lord,
 I have been touched

by the hidden realities of your plan of salvation;
 I have pondered your works,
 and I give glory to your divinity. *Twice*

All-powerful One,
 when you raised the corpse that was already dead for four days,
 You prayed,
 not because you needed assistance,
 but rather to satisfy any doubts
 concerning your plan of salvation.

O Word,
 co-eternal with the Father,
 recognized as being God from the beginning,
 now you offer prayers as a human,
 even while you receive the prayers of all.

O Savior,
 your voice demolished every trace of the power of death,
 even as the foundations of Hades were shaken by your divine power.

Theotokion

Let us sing hymns to the virgin
 who remained virgin even after giving birth,
 and delivered Christ, our God, who has set the world free from deception.

Another Irmos {for the Kanon of Kosmas the Monk}.

{To the tune of:} "O Lord, you are my strength . . ."
 /{To the tune of:} "You are my Christ"/

O Savior and creator of all people,
 You were like a shepherd,
 when you rescued from the gruesome wolf who would like to devour everyone,
 the one who was already decaying
 after being dead for four days;
 At the same time, as powerful Lord, you demonstrated beforehand
 the glory of your resurrection on the third day,
 which now shines throughout the whole world.

O Christ, who are our life,
 when those around Martha saw you they cried out:
 "O Light and Life of all,
 If you had been here, Lord,
 the healthy one would not have died,

and Lazarus would not appear to be dead!"

O You who love us all,
Life of those who have died,
You changed their sorrow into joy.

O Lord,
the depths are terrified by You,
the source of all that is;
the waters serve You,
the jailers of Hades tremble before You,
and the bars of Hades are smashed by your power
as Lazarus is raised from the dead by the sound of your voice,
O All-powerful Savior who loves us all.

Theotokion

O Unwed (Virgin),
You are the pride of the faithful,
You are (their) support,
You are the secure refuge of Christians,
(their) protective wall,
(their) safe harbor;
O Spotless One, you carry our petitions to your Son,
saving from danger those who in faith and love
acknowledge you as the pure God-bearer.

Katavasia or Hymn of Descents

O Lord, You are my strength,
You are my power,
You are my God,
You are my joy.
Without leaving the father's bosom,
You sought out our poverty
Therefore with the prophet Habbakuk we cry out to you:
"Glory to your power, O You who love us all!"

THE FIFTH ODE

The Kanon of Theophanes

The Irmos or Linking Verse

O Light that never sets,
why have you banished me from Your face?

Why has this strange darkness enveloped me in my cowardice?
 I beg you, please turn me in the proper direction,
 guiding my paths towards the light of your laws.

O You who love us all,
 arriving at the tomb of Lazarus
 you called out and granted him life
 thus being revealed as the immortal Life of all mortals,
 and as God clearly designating the Resurrection
 which would soon take place.

O Wonder of wonders!
 Lazarus walks out, even while his feet are bound;
 Christ who gave him this power,
 is seen to be more powerful than the one who restrained him
 for all things slavishly obey his word,
 serving Him as God and Master.

O Christ,
 you raised Lazarus on the fourth day,
 even though he already reeked with the stench of death;
 Raise me up also,
 for I am already dead in my sins,
 and I lie in the grave,
 in the dark shadow of death;
 Deliver me!
 Save me,
 for you care deeply for us all.

{The Second Kanon of Kosmas}

The same Irmos or Linking Verse {O Light that never sets. . .}

O Long-suffering One,
 when you had prayed
 and given glory to (your) Father,
 although not as one opposed to God,
 in order to strengthen the faith of the crowd
 that gathered around you
 after offering thanks to your Father,
 You raised Lazarus by your decree.

O Savior,
 your voice,

resounding with your divine power and strength,
 shattered the gates of Hades
 and of all-consuming death.
 Rescue me from my passions,
 as you rescued your friend Lazarus
 even though he was already dead for four days.

O You who love us all,
 through the intercessions of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary,
 make us worthy to see Your Passion, O Lord,
 and the radiant queen of days of Your resurrection.

Theotokion

O all-pure one,
 since you enjoy a mother's openness towards your Son,
 we beg you not to forget us or our concerns,
 for we are (also) your family.
 Thus we christians have chosen you alone
 to seek the loving-kindness of the Master.

Katavasia or Hymn of Descent "O Light that never sets. . ." (Irmos above)

*We now begin the two four-canticle Kanons.
 The irmos of the first Kanon is sung twice,
 and the troparia of the two Kanons are then repeated so as to
 make up the number twelve.*

*{Ware/MM - Current greek says the Irmoi are sung twice and the Troparia are
 sung 4X}*

Four-Ode {Kanon}, a poem of {done by} the same Kosmas

THE SIXTH ODE

{First Kanon of Kosmas} Tone 8

The Irmos or Linking Verse

O Lord who made Jonah stay alone in the whale,
 as you rescued him,
 so rescue me from corruption,
 for I have been ensnared by the traps of the enemy.

O Lord,
 love guided you to Lazarus in Bethany,

and even though he already reeked of decay
as God you raised him,
rescuing him from the constraints of Hades.

Even though Martha abandoned hope for Lazarus,
because he was already (dead) for four days,
nevertheless Christ, as God, and simply by his word,
raised him from decay.
and led him back to life.

Another {Kanon} done by John the Monk
Same Tone {8}

(Irmos) "O Savior, look favorably upon me . . ."

O Master, since you are truly God,
you knew of Lazarus' falling asleep,
and so you foretold it to the apostles,
thus strengthening their faith
in the limitless power of your divinity.

O Master, although you exist without any limits,
in the flesh you were limited in space and time,
and arriving at Bethany as a human being
you wept for Lazarus,
while as God, simply by willing it,
you raised the one who was already dead for four days.

Katavasia

O Savior, look favorably upon me, for my offenses are many;
I beg you, lead me up from the depths of evil.
I have appealed to you
- please listen to me,
O God of my salvation.

Kontakion Tone 2 "Those living above. . ."

Christ, the joy of all,
the truth, the light, the life, and the resurrection
of the world,
appeared to those on earth, to those whom he loved,
and he himself became the visible pattern of resurrection,
bestowing divine forgiveness to all.

The Oikos

The Creator of the whole predicted to the disciples saying:
 "Brothers and confidants, our friend has fallen asleep."
 In predicting this, he taught (them) that
 as the Creator of all, he knows all.
 "Therefore, let us go," he said.
 "Let us proceed and see a strange funeral,
 let us witness the grief of Mary
 and the grave of Lazarus.
 There I will work a miracle, an opening work
 which will be brought to completion
 in my crucifixion,
 bestowing divine forgiveness to all."

Synaxarion from the Menaion, then the following:

THE SEVENTH ODE

The First Kanon (of Kosmas)

The Irmos or Linking Verse

The Hebrew youths in the furnace boldly trampled on the flames,
 changing the fire into dew as they cried out:
 "Blessed are you O Lord our God forever."

While crying in compassion as a man, as God you raised Lazarus from the tomb;
 set free from Hades, he cried out:
 "Blessed are you O Lord our God forever."

Lazarus came out at the Master's word, still wrapped in the burial shroud,
 and escaping from the chaos and darkness of Hades
 he screamed out:
 "Blessed are you O Lord our God forever."

Another (Kanon; of John the Monk) {To the tune of:} "The youths from Judea. . ."

While shedding tears for your friend,
 your loving-kindness brought an end to the tears of Martha;
 and by enduring suffering willingly,
 you wiped away all the tears of your people.
 "Blessed are you, O God of our fathers."

O Treasury of Life and Savior,
 you called to the dead one as if he were asleep,
 you ripped open the guts of Hades with (only your) word;

You raised up (Lazarus) as he sang:
 "Blessed are you, O God of our fathers."

O Master, you raised the dead,
 who reeked of death and was still bound in the burial shroud;
 I too am held captive in the shackles of sin,
 raise me up so that I may sing:
 "Blessed are you, O God of our fathers."

Katavasia

The youths from Judea who were living in Babylon
 trampled on the flames of the furnace
 through their faith in the Trinity, singing:
 "Blessed are you, O God of our fathers."

THE EIGHTH ODE

{The First Kanon of Kosmas}

The Irmos or Linking Verse

When the musical instruments sounded
 countless peoples worshipped the image in Dura,
 but the three youths would not lower themselves
 rather they sang hymns, praising the Lord forever.

You sought out the helpless lamb like a shepherd,
 rescuing the victim,
 bringing him back from corruption to health,
 as he cries out to you:
 "Sing hymns, and exalt (the Lord) above all for all time."

As a mortal you asked about the tomb,
 while as the One who shapes the universe
 you raised the dead by your authoritative command.
 Hades was terrified of him as he cried out to you:
 "Sing hymns, and exalt (the Lord) above all for all time."

Another {Kanon, of the Monk John}

(The Irmos) "The King of Heaven . . ."

As a mortal You sought to find (the body of Lazarus),
 while as God you raised the one
 who had been dead for four days
 by (the power of) your word,
 therefore we sing hymns to you for all time.

O Master, when Mary offered you the fragrant spices,
 (it was as if she was) paying a debt for her family,
 as she sings hymns to you for all time.

While as a mortal you were calling upon the Father,
 as God you raise Lazarus,
 therefore, O Christ, we sing hymns to you for all time.

We praise, bless, and worship the Lord.

Katavasia

The King of heaven, to whom whole armies of angels sing hymns,
 we (also): "Sing hymns, and exalt above all for all time."

The hymn "More Honorable than the Cherubim. . ." is not sung.

THE NINTH ODE

{The First Kanon of Kosmas}

The Irmos or Linking Verse

O People, let us honor and give glory to the pure Godbearer,
 who conceived the divine fire within her womb
 yet was not consumed,
 Let us magnify her with unceasing hymns.

Upon seeing one who was dead for four days walking around,
 the people were stunned at this miracle
 and they cried out to the Redeemer:
 "O God, we magnify you in hymns."

O my Savior, when you freed Lazarus from Hades,
 even though he was already dead for four days,
 you strengthened our faith in your glorious resurrection,
 (therefore) I magnify you in hymns.

Another {Kanon, of John the Monk}

(Irmos) "O Pure virgin . . ."

O Christ,
 while praying you honored your Father,
 and after demonstrating that you are not opposed to God

you raised the one who had been dead for four days
by your own authority.

O (my) Christ,
you raised Lazarus from the grave,
even though he was already dead for four days,
thus establishing him as a useful witness (?)
to your Resurrection on the third day.

O my Savior,
by walking, and weeping and speaking,
you showed us your human energies,
while in raising Lazarus
you reminded us of your divinity.

My Master and Savior,
you willed my salvation
through your own authority,
according to both of your natures
in actions beyond description.

Katavasia

O Pure virgin,
we who have been saved through you
confess you to be the Godbearer of our Lord,
and we join the bodiless choirs in magnifying you.

*Then, "Holy is the Lord our God . . ." (3 times)
and the following Exapostilarion, twice.*

{To the tune of:} "Look over us . . ." (MM says Tone 1)

O Word of God,
at your word Lazarus springs forth,
coming back to life,
and the people honor you with branches, O Mighty One,
for when all is completed
you shall demolish Hades by your death.

Another, similarly {Tone 1?} once.

O death,
through Lazarus Christ has already plundered you.
O Hades, where is your victory?
The mourning which was in Bethany is now transferred to you.

Let us all wave branches of victory before him!

AT THE PRAISES

we take 8 verses, and we sing the following Idiomela.

Verse: All his saints are his glory. (Ps 149.9)

Tone 1

O Christ,

You who are the Resurrection and the Life of All,
standing by the tomb of Lazarus

you strengthened our faith in your two natures,
for you came forth from the pure virgin

both as God and as man, O Long-suffering One.

While as a mortal you asked,

"Where have you laid him?"

as God you raised by (your) life-giving decree,
the one who was already dead for four days.

Verse: Praise God in his holy places. (Ps 150.1a)

The Same Tone {1}

O Christ,

even before your own death

you raised Lazarus from Hades,

even though he had already been dead for four days.

You destroyed the power of death,

and through this one whom you loved,

you proclaimed that all would be freed from corruption.

Therefore worshipping your all-powerful authority,

we cry out:

"Blessed are you, O Savior, have mercy on us!"

Verse: Praise him for his mighty deeds . . . (Psalm 150.2)

Same Tone {1}

Martha and Mary said to the Savior,

"If you had been here, Lord,

Lazarus would not have died."

But Christ, the resurrection of those have fallen asleep,

raised him from the dead,
 even though it had already been four days.
 Come, all the faithful,
 let us worship the one
 who is coming in glory to save our souls.

Verse: Praise him with the sound of the trumpet . . . (Ps 150.3a)

The same (Tone - 1)

O Christ,
 you gave to your disciples
 visible expressions
 of the invisible reality of your divinity,
 still you humbled yourself before the crowds,
 wanting this to remain hidden.
 Since as God you knew the future
 you predicted to the apostles the death of Lazarus,
 even though as a man surrounded by people in Bethany,
 you sought to find out where the tomb of your friend was,
 {as if} you didn't know.
 When you then raised him on the fourth day,
 your divine power was clearly shown.
 O All-powerful Lord, glory to you!

Verse: Praise him with timbrel and dance . . . (Ps 150.4a)

Tone 4

O Christ, you raised your friend
 even though he had been dead for four days,
 you brought an end to the grief of Martha and Mary
 demonstrating to all that You are the One
 who fills all things with your divine power
 and self-directing will.
 To You the Cherubim unceasingly cry:
 "Hosanna in the Highest!
 Blessed are You O God over all,
 Glory to You!"

Verse: Praise him with clashing cymbals . . . (Ps 150.5a)

Martha cried to Mary,

"The Teacher is here and is calling for you. Come!"
 Hurrying to the place where the Lord was,
 she cried out upon seeing you,
 and falling before your beloved, spotless feet said:
 "O Lord, if you had been here,
 our brother would not have died."

Verse: Arise, O Lord my God, raise up your hand,
 do not forget your poor ones forever. (Ps 9.33)

Tone 8

You raised Lazarus at Bethany
 even though he had been dead for four days,
 as you stood by the tomb, your voice became life
 for the one who had died.
 Hell released him in dismay, whining all the while.
 What a great wonder!
 O most merciful Lord, glory to You!

Verse: O Lord, I will acknowledge you with all my heart,
 I will speak out concerning your wondrous deeds. (Ps 9.2)

The same (Tone - 8)

O Lord, you said to Martha: "I am the resurrection."
 You fulfilled this saying with action,
 calling Lazarus from Hades.
 O You who love us all, because you care for us
 I beg you to raise me also
 for I am dead because of {my} passions.

Glory . . . Tone 2

A great and strange marvel has been fulfilled today!
 Christ raised his friend,
 calling from the tomb
 one who had been dead for four days.
 Let us give glory
 to one who is beyond glory,
 so that through the prayers of the righteous Lazarus
 He might save our souls.

Now and ever . . . "You are most blessed . . ."

Great Doxology and the dismissal.

{MM adds "the 2 litanies".}

AT THE LITURGY

The Typika, and during the Beatitudes four troparia from the Third Ode and four from the Sixth Ode.

Instead of the Trisagion,

All you who have been baptised into Christ . . .

Epistle.

Prokeimenon.

The Lord is my light and my savior; {whom shall I fear?} (Ps 16.1a)

The Lord is the defender of my life; {before whom shall I cower?} (*Ibid.*)

(A Reading) from the Letter of Paul to the Hebrews

Hb 12.28 - 13.8

Alleluia. Tone 5.

The Lord reigns, he is robed in majesty. (Ps 92.1)

He has made the world firm; it shall not be moved. (*Ibid.*)

Gospel according to John 11.1-45

Communion Hymn

From the mouths of infants and nursing babies
you have appointed praise. Alleluia (Ps 8.3)

APPENDIX 4

TYPIKON DIRECTIVES FOR LAZARUS SATURDAY¹

<p. 84>**FRIDAY OF THE PALMS**

59. In Vespers

after Kathisma 18: "In my trouble I cried to the Lord...",

at "Lord I have cried..." the following Stichera:

"Account us worthy of beholding the week of thy passion..." (Idiomelon, 2x),
the Martyrion: "Entreat our God..." (once);

the following Idiomela of Lazarus (once each):

"O Lord, desiring to see the tomb of Lazarus...",

"O Lord, coming to the place of Lazarus' burial...",

"O Lord, thy voice destroyed the kingdom of Hell...",

"O Lord, desiring to confirm thy Disciples thy Resurrection from the
dead...",

"O Lord, Thou didst come to Bethany to raise Lazarus..."

GLORY, "Standing by the tomb of Lazarus, O Savior..."

NAE "Having completed the edifying forty days...",

Fos Ilaron;

the readings:

Genesis 49:33-50:26;

Proverbs 31:8-31 .

"Let my prayer arise..."

¹ The text presented here, as well as for the following Appendix Four, is taken directly from B. Athas, "A Comparison of the Instructions of the Printed Triodion and the Typikon of George Violakis," Masters Thesis at St. Vladimir's Seminary, Library # 3486-35-1. Thus the translations and the transliterations are those of Athas. Adaptation has been limited to re-arranging the text and adding bold and italic type to help distinguish the many different elements presented. {Comments in curly brackets represent additions of Philip Yevics.}

and the rest of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.

60. In the evening Small Compline;

after "It is meet..."

the Canon of Lazarus is sung with the verse:

"Glory to thee our God, glory to thee."

After the Ninth Ode the Irmos: "He has shown strength with his arm...",

TRISAGION,

Kontakion: "Christ who is the Truth and Joy of all...";

"Lord have mercy" (40x).

"Thou who at all times...",

"O Pure, unspotted..."

The Dismissal with "For the peace of the world, let us pray."

"Through the prayers of our Fathers the Saints, O Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon us."

<Footnote 34: From this day neither Martyrikon nor Ochtoechos is sung until the Saturday of the Apodosis of the Sunday of Saint Thomas.>

<p. 86>**SATURDAY OF LAZARUS**

61. In Matins,

after Psalm 50, TRISAGION,

"O Christ God, when thou didst raise Lazarus from the dead..."
and the Hexapsalmos.

At "God is the Lord...",

the Apolytikion:

"O Christ God, when thou didst raise Lazarus from the dead..."(3x).

Kathisma 16 of the Psalter

followed by the Kathisma {Sessional Hymn} of the Triodion:

"O Christ God, thou didst have compassion on the tears of Mary and
Martha...";

Kathisma 17 (Amomos)

followed by the Evlogitaria,
 Little Litany
 and the Kathisma {Sessional Hymn}: "The fountain of wisdom..."(2x);

"In that we have beheld the Resurrection of Christ...."

Psalm 50 (read)

and both Canons

with the verse: "Glory to thee, our God, glory to thee" until the Sixth Ode.
 After the Third Ode, the Kathismata {Sessional Hymns}.
 After the Fifth Ode, the Tetraodia of the Sixth Ode,
 Kontakion, Ikos,
 Menologion and the Commemoration of the Triodion.
 Katavasia: "Verily, the people of Israel...",
instead of "More honorable..."
 the Ninth Ode of both Canons
 and the Katavasia: "We, O immaculate Virgin...";

then "Holy is the Lord our God." (2x)

"Extol the Lord our God; worship at his footstool! Holy is he! (Psalm 99:5) is **not** said,

and the Exapostilaria:

"By thy word O Word of God..." (2x)
 and "Christ hath taken thee captive..." (once).

At the Praises the following Idiomela:

"O Long-suffering Christ ...",
 "Thou didst raise from Hades Lazarus dead four days...",
 "Verily, Mary and Martha said to the Savior..."
 "Wishing to grant thy Disciples of thy Godhead...",
 "Thou didst raise thy friend after four days...",
 "Martha said to Mary, the Teacher cometh and he calleth thee...",
 "Thou didst raise Lazarus in Bethany after four days...",
 "As thou saidst to Martha..."
GLORY, "Today hath <p. 87.>been fulfilled a great and strange wonder...",
NAE, "Thou hast transcended...."

The Great Doxology

and "Today hath Salvation come into the world...."

62. At the Liturgy,
the Typika and the Makarismoi,

the Hymns of the Third Ode of the first Canon and the Sixth Ode of the second Canon.

Eisodikon: "Come let us worship and fall down to Christ. Save us, O Son of God, who didst rise from the dead, us who sing unto thee Alleluia."

After the Entrance "O Christ God, when thou didst raise Lazarus...."

The Kontakion: "Christ, who is the Truth and Joy of all...."

Instead of "Holy God" we sing the Baptismal TRISAGION:
"Ye who have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ, Alleluia."

The Epistle (Hebrews 1?:28-13:18) and the Gospel (John 11:1-45).

At "Especially...",
"Come ye people, let us honor with glorifications the undefiled Theotokos...."

The Koinonikon:
"Out of the mouths of infants and of sucklings thou hast perfected praise."

Instead of "We have seen the True Light..."
the Apolytikion: "O Christ God, when thou didst raise Lazarus...";

"Blessed be the Name of the Lord...."

The Dismissal: "May He who rose from the dead Christ our True God...."
<Footnote 35: This Saturday, as well as on Palm Sunday and the Sunday of Thomas, memorial services with memorial wheat are forbidden: the names of the departed are commemorated if desired, at the end of the Liturgy, singing only the four hymns: "With the souls of the righteous...." etc.>

APPENDIX 5

DIFFERENCES IN DIRECTIVES OF THE TYPIKON AND THE TRIODION

Friday of the Palms.

At "Lord, I have cried..."

the Triodion indicates that the first two Prosomoia of Lazarus are sung twice each rather than the one time indicated in the Typikon (59,85).

<p. 13>

Lazarus Saturday.

The Triodion has "Holy is the Lord our God..." three times the Typikon once only once. (69,6).

Palm Sunday.

At "Lord, I have cried..."

the Triodion prescribes that the five stichera be repeated,
as well as the Glory after NAE.

At the Aposticha the GLORY. "Today hath the grace..." is repeated after NAE (63,88)

which is not done in the Typikon.

In *Matins* the Triodion notes that while the Gospel is venerated the Abbot distributes the Palms v. p.89 n.36.

At the Praises, the Triodion indicates that the first two stichera be repeated.

In the Liturgy at the Small Entrance,

the Triodion makes this slight variation from the Typikon (65,):

"O Christ God, when we were buried with thee in Baptism ..."

NAE, the Kontakion "Upborne upon the heavenly throne..."

(GLORY and NAE being deleted from the Typikon.)

APPENDIX 6

Checklist of Hymnographic elements for Lazarus Saturday.

Key based on *AT* pp. 365-391.

FRIDAY EVENING

I. Vespers

At Ps 140

1. Ὁ τὴν ψυχῶθελὴ πληρώσατες Τεσσαρακοστήν
2. Μάρτυρες Κυρίου

By Leo the Emperor

3. Ὁ Κύριε, Λαζάρου θέλων τάφον ἰδεῖν
 4. Κύριε, ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ τετρατημέρου
 5. Ὁ Κύριε, ἡ φωνὴ σου κατέλυσε
 6. Κύριε, πιστώσαι θέλων τοὺς Μαθητάς σου
 7. Κύριε, παραλαμβάνων τοὺς Μαθητάς σου
- G Ὁ Ἐπιστὰς τῷ μνήματι Λαζάρου

By Andrew the Blind

N&E Τὴν ψυχῶθελὴ πληρώσατες Τεσσαρακοστήν, βοήσωμεν

Vespers Prokeimenon Ps 123

- 6 Ὁ Βοήθεια ἡμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου
- v. Εἰ μὴ ὅτι Κύριος

Reading from Genesis 49.33 - 50.1-26

Prokeimenon Ps 124

- 4 Οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπὶ Κύριον ὡς ὄρος Σιών.
- v. Οὐ σαλευθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ

Reading from Proverbs 31.8-31

And the rest of the Liturgy of the Presanctified {Gifts}

II. Compline

Canon by Andrew of Crete

1E Ὡιδὴν ἐπινίκιον
 1T1 Νεκρὸν τετραήμερον
 1T2 Φωνήσας τὸν Λάζαρον
 1T3 Ἐδάκρυσας Κύριε
 1T4 Τῆς Μάρθας τὰ δάκρυα
 1T5 Τῷ νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως
 1T6 τὰ κλεῖθρα συνέτριψας
 1T7 Δεσμώτην τὸν Λάζαρον
 1G Πατέρα δοξάσωμεν
 1N&E Ἀτρέπτως ἐκύησας

2E Πρόσεχε, Οὐρανὲ
 2T1 Δόξα σοι
 2T2 Ἦκουσε
 2T3 Πρόσταγμα
 2T4 Ἐδάκρυσας
 2T5 Ἐτρόμαξεν
 2G Ἐξέστησαν
 2N&E Ἐσείσθησαν

3E Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασα·
 3T1 θαῦμα ξένον καὶ παράδοξον!
 3T2 Λίθον, ὃν σοι προσεκύλισαν
 3T3 Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία
 3T4 Ράνας
 3T5 Οἱμοι,
 3T6 Ποῦ ἢ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἄνοια;
 3G Ἐνα τῆς Τριάδος
 3N&E Ξένον

4E Ἐπὴρθη ὁ ἥλιος
 4T1 Ἐδάκρυσας Κύριε
 4T2 Ὁ ἄπνους
 4T3 Τῆς Μάρθας τὰ δάκρυα
 4T4 Δακρύσας ὡς ἄνθρωπος
 4T5 Τοῦ Πάθους τὰ σύμβολα
 4T6 Τίς οἶδε,
 4T7 Ὑμνοῦμεν σου Κύριε
 4T8 Θεὸς εἰκαὶ ἄνθρωπος
 4T9 Ἐξέστησαν Δέσποτα

4G Ἀνάρχως ἐξέλαμψας

4N&E Ἡ σύλληψις

5E Τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην

5T1 Ζωὴ ὑπάρχων Κύριε

5T2 Τὴν ἄστεκτόν σου

5T3 τὸν χοῦν συνάψας πνεύματι

5T4 Τῷ νεύματι σου Κύριε

5T5 Ὡ Ἰουδαίων ἄνοια!

5T6 Ἀνείκαστε μακρόθυμε

5G Προάναρχε σινάναρχε,

5N&E Τὴν ἄχροντον γαστέρα σου

6E Ἀπέρριψάς με εἰς βάθη,

6T1 Ἡρώτησας Ποῦ εἰμι

6T2 Ἐφώνησάς με ἐξ Ἀίδου

6T3 Ἐνέδυσάς με Σωτήρ

6T4 Ἐψύχωσας σύ

6T5 Τὴν παμφάγον διαρρηξας, γαστέρα

6T6 Ἐφόρεσάς μου Σωτήρ

6G Τριάς ἀγία δοξάζω

6N&E Τὴν ἄχραντόν σου ἠδύον

7E Τοὺς ἐν καμίνῳ Παῖδάς σου

7T1 Ἐπὶ νεκρῷ ἐδάκρυσας

7T2 Ὁ τεταρταῖος Λάζαρος,

7T3 Εἰ καὶ δεσμὰ περίκειμαι

7T4 Παρακαλῶ σε Λάζαρε,

7T5 Καὶ τί βραδύνεις Λάζαρε;

7T6 Τί οὐκ ἐγείρη Λάζαρε ταχύ;

7T7 Ἐθαυμαστώθης Δέσποτα

7G Τριαδικὴν ὑμνήσωμεν

7N&E Ὡς τῆς Τριάδος ἓνα σε Χριστέ

8E Οἱ Οὐρανοὶ τῶν Οὐρανῶν

8T1 Ὁ Ποιητὴς καὶ συνοχεὺς

8T2 Ὁ τεταρταῖος ὁδωδῶς

8T3 Τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ λαός

8T4 Οἱ σκοτεινοί

8T5 Ἀγαλλιᾶσθω ἡ Σιών

8T6 Ἄι Στρατιαὶ τῶν Οὐρανῶν
 8G Σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ
 8N&E Σὲ εὐλογῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ

9E Ἐποίησε κράτος
 9T1 Ὑμνεῖτω τὸ θαῦμα
 9T2 Πιστούμενος Λόγε
 9T3 Συνέσεισας πύλας
 9T4 Ἐξέστησαν πάντες
 9T5 Ἐσείσθησαν πύλαι
 9T6 Ἀνάστα ἐντεύθεν
 9T7 Ὑμνοῦμέν σου, Λόγε
 9G Τριάς παναγία,
 9N&E Ὁ πάντα ποιήσας

SATURDAY MORNING

III. At Matins

At "God is the Lord"

1. Ἐν κοινῇ Ἀνάστασιν

Kathisma 16 of Psalter

1 Sessional Hymn Ἐκατοκτείας τῆς Μάρθας
 G,N&E

Kathisma 17 of Psalter (Ps 118)

Evlogetaria of the Resurrection [as on Sundays]

2 Sessional Hymn Ἡ πηγὴ τῆς σοφίας
 G,N&E

Canon of Theophanes

1E Ἄσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ
 1T1 Λάζαρον τεθνεῶτα
 1T2 Λόγω τὸν τεταρταῖον
 1T3 Πᾶσι τῆς ὑπερθέου
 1T4 Σήμερον Βηθανία

Canon of Kosmas

1T1 ὁ πρὶν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων
 1T2 Τὸν ἄνθρωπον φύσει
 1T3 Πιστούμενος Λόγε τὴν σεαυτοῦ
 1TH Τάξεις σε Ἀγγέλων
 1K Ὑγρὰν διοδεύσας ὡσεὶ ξηράν

Canon of Theophanes

3E Σὺ εἰ τὸ στερέωμα
 3T1 Δύο προβαλλόμενο
 3T2 Ἀβυσσος ὧν γνώσεως
 3T3 Τόπους ἀμειβόμενος
 3T4 Λάζαρον ἐξηγείρας

Canon of Kosmas

3T1 Ἐπιστὰς σὺν τῷ τάφῳ
 3T2 Τῆς Μαρίας τὸ πένθος
 3T3 Εἰληγμένον κειρίαις
 3TH Ἐνοικήσας Παρθένῳ
 3K Οὐρανίας ἀψίδος

4' Sessional Hymn

Συμπαρεστησαν Χριστῷ

Another

Ἐρογινώσκων τὰ πάντα

Canon of Theophanes

4E Εἰσακήκοα Κύριε
 4T1 Οὐ συμμάχου δεόμενος
 4T2 Ὁ πατρὶ συναίδος, Λόγο
 4T3 Ἡ φωνή σου κατέλυσε
 4TH Τὴν Παρθένον ὑμνήσωμεν

Canon of Kosmas

4T1 Σὺ ὡς ποιμὴν
 4T2 Σὲ τὴν ζωὴν
 4T3 Σὲ τὴν πηγὴν
 4TH Σὺ τῶν πιστῶν
 4K Σὺ μου ἰσχύς

Canon of Theophanes

5E Ἵνα τί με ἀπώσω,
 5T1 Ἐπιστὰς τῷ Λαζάρου
 5T2 Δεδεμένος τοὺς πόδας
 5T3 Ὁ νεκρὸν ὁδωδότα

Canon of Kosmas

5T1 Τῷ πτρί νέμων δόξαν
 5T2 Ὡ φωνῆς θεοφθόγγου
 5T3 Ἰκεσίας Λαζάρου
 5TH Μητρικὴν παρρησίαν
 5K Ἵνατί με ἀπώσω

Tetraodion of the same Kosmas

6E Ὁ τὸν Ἰωνᾶν, ἐν τῷ κήτει
 6T1 Ἀγάπη σε
 6T2 Ἡ Μάρθα μέν

Tetraodion of John the Monk

6T1 Θεὸς ὢν ἀληθινός
 6T2 Τῇ σαρκὶ περιγραφτός
 6K Ἰλάσθητί μοι Σωτήρ

Kontakion

² Ἡ πάντων χαρά

Oikos

Τοῖς Μαθηταῖς ὁ Κτίστης τῶν ὅλων

Synaxarion

Tetraodion of Kosmas

7E Παῖδες Ἑβραίων
 7T1 Δακρύσας ὡς ἄνθρωπος
 7T2 Ἐξήλθε κειρίαις

Tetraodion of John the Monk

7T1 Ἐπὶ φίλῳ δακρύσας
 7T2 Τῆς ζωῆς ὁ ταμίας
 7T3 Τὸν νεκρὸν ὁδωδότα
 7K Οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας

Tetraodion of Kosmas

- 8E Μουσικῶν ὀργάνων
 8T1 Ὡς ποιμῆντὸν ἄρνα κατιχνεύσας
 8T2 Ὡς βροτὸς

Tetraodion of John the Monk

- 8T1 Ἐπιζητεῖς μὲν ὥσπερ θνητός
 8T2 Σοὶ εὐγνωμόνως
 8T3 Ἐπικαλεῖς μὲν ὥσπερ βροτός
 8K Τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν

Tetraodion of Kosmas

- 9E Τὴν ἀγνὴν ἐνδόξως
 9T1 Οἱ λαοὶ ἰδόντες βαδίζοντα
 9T2 Προποστώντην ἔνδοξον

Tetraodion of John the Monk

- 9T1 τιμῶν σου τὸν πατέρα
 9T2 Ἐκ τάφου τεταρταῖον
 9T3 βαδίζεις καὶ δακρύεις
 9T4 Ἐνήργσας ἀφράστως
 9K Κυρίως θεοτόκον

Exapostolaria

1. Λόγῳ σου Λόγε τοῦ θεοῦ
2. Διὰ Λαζάρουσε Χριστός

At the Praises

1. Ἀνάστασις καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
2. Λάζαρον τεθνεῶτα
3. Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία
4. Τῆς θεότητός σου Χριστέ
5. Ὑψίστην ἡγείρας τὸν φίλον σου
6. Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία ἐβόα
- ν. Ps 9.33
7. Ὑψίστην τεθνεῶτα
- ν. Ps 9.2
8. Καθὼς εἶπας Κύριε τῇ Μάρθᾳ

G ²Μέγα καὶ παράδοξον θαῦμα
N&E Ἵπερευλογημένη ὑπάρχεις

IV. At the Liturgy

Instead of the Trisagion

Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε

*Prokeimenon*³ Ps 26.1

Κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου

v. Κύριος ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου.

Epistle Hb 12.28 - 13.8

Alleluia Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, . . .

Gospel Jn 11.1-45

Communion Hymn Ps 8.3 Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων . . .

Alleluia Ps 116?

PALM SUNDAY

SATURDAY EVENING

V. Little Vespers

At Ps 140

1. Ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξ ἀκάκων Χριστέ
 2. Ἴδοὺ ὁ Βασιλεὺς σου Σιών
 3. Κροτήσωμεν συμφώνως πιστοί
 4. βαίᾳ ἀρετῶν ἀδελφοί
- G,N&E Ὁ νῶτοις Χαρουβίμ

Aposticha Prosomoia

- 1 Ἐλαμπρύνου ἡ Σιών
- v. Ps 8.3
- 2 Ἀγάλλεσθε Ἀδάμ
- v. Ps 8.2
- 3 Ὁ ἄνω σὺν Πατρί
- G,N&E Ὑμνῶ σου τὴν φρικτὴν

Apolutikia

1. Τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν
2. Συνταφέντες σοι διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος

VI. Great Vespers

At Ps 140

1. Ἐσήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
 2. Ὁ ἔχων θρόνον Οὐρανόν
 3. Δευτεκαὶ ἡμεῖς σήμερον
 4. Τὴν σεπτὴν Ἀνάστασιν
 5. Πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα
- G Ἐσήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
N&E Again the same

Prokimenon Ps (Usual Saturday)

Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο

Readings

Gen 49.12 & 8-12

Zephaniah 3.14-19

Zachariah 9.9-15

At the Lite Idiomela ¹

1. Τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα
2. Ὁ συνάναρχος καὶ συναΐδος Υἱός
3. Πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα, ἡ φωνή σου

4. Εἰσεχομένου σου Κύριε
 5. ²Δόξα σοι Χριστέ
- G,N&E ³Πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν, τοῦ γενέσθαι

Aposticha

1. ⁵Χαῖρε καὶ εὐφραίνου πόλις Σιών
- v. Ps 8.3
2. Ἦλθενὸ Σωτὴρ σήμερον
- v. Ps 8.2
3. Ὁ τοῖς Χερουβὶμ ἐποχούμενος
- G ⁶Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος

Apolutikia

1. Ἡ κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν
2. Ὑνταφέντες σοι διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος

PALM SUNDAY MORNING

VII. MATINS

1 Sessional Hymn

1. Ὑμετὰ κλάδων νοητῶς
2. Ὑμετάρταϊον Λάζαρον

2 Sessional Hymn

1. Ὑμετὰ φίλῳ σου Χριστέ
2. Ἀἰνέσατε συμφώνως, οἱ λαοὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη

Sessional Hymn after Polyelei

1. ⁸Ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου Χερουβὶμ
- G,N&E Again the same.

Antiphons of Assent

1. Ὑμε νεότητός μου (2X)
 2. Οἱ μισοῦντες Σιών (2X0)
- G Ὑμε Πνεύματι, πᾶσα ψυχὴ
N&E Ὑμε Πνεύματι, ἀναβλύζει

/Prokeimenon/Ps 8.3

v. Ps 8.2

Gospel: Mt 21.1-11 & 15-17

No "Having seen the resurrection. . ."

After Ps 50

G Ὁ Σήμερον ὁ Χριστός

N&E Again the same

v. Have Mercy on Me O God . . .

ἘΣήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος

Kanon [Kosmas]

Acrostic Ὡσαννὰ Χριστός, εὐλογημένος θεός

1E Ὡφθησαν αἱ πηφαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου

1T1 Στόματος ἐκ νηπίων ἀκάκων

1T2 Αἰνεσὶν Ἐκκλησία ὁσίων

3K Νάουσαν ἀκρότομον

3T1 Νεκρὸν τετραήμερον

3T2 Ἀσατε λαοί

3K=3{E}K!

Hupakoe ἘΜετὰ κλάδων ὑμνήσαντες

4E Ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ ἐρχόμενος

4T1 Ρηξάτω εὐφροσύνην

4T2 Ἰσχὺν ὁ βασιλεύων

4T3 Στιθαμῇ ὁ μετρήσας

4K=4E

5E Τὴν Σιών ἐπ' ὄρους

5T1 Ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις καθήμενος

5T2 Σιών θεοῦ ὄρος τρὸ ἁγίον

5K=5E

6E Ἐβόησαν, ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ

6T1 Ὑπόδειξαι, Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ

6T2 Λελυμένους, σοὺς δεσμίους Σιών

6K=6E

Kontakion ἘΤῷ θρόνῳ ἐν Οὐρανῷ

Oikos Ἐπειδὴ ἘΑδην

Synaxarion

7E Ὁ διασώσας ἐν πυρί

7T1 Γονυπετοῦντες οἱ λαοί

7T2 Ἡ ἀπειρόκακος πληθύς

7T3 Μετὰ βαίων σε Χριστέ
7K=7E

8E Εὐφράνθητι Ἱερουσαλήμ
8T1 Νέον πῶλον ἐπιβεβηκώς
8T2 Ὁ θεός σου
8T3 Σπανίζεται θείων περιβόλων
8K=8E

9E Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν
9T1 Ἔθνη ἵνα τί ἐφρυάξατε
9T2 Οὗτος ὁ θεός
9T3 Σκάνδαλα τρίβου
9K=9E

Exaposteilarion

* Ἅγιος Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν

At the Praises

1. Ὁ πλεῖστος ὄχλος Κύριε
 2. Μέλлонτός σου εἰσιέναι
 3. Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη
 4. Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν
- GN&E Ἐπὶ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα, ἦλθεν

VII. AT THE LITURGY

1 Antiphon ²

1. Ps 114.1
- v. Through the Prayers of the Mother of God
2. 3
3. 3-4
4. 9

2 Antiphon

1. Ps 115.1
- v. . . ὁ ἐπὶ πῶλου ὄνου καθεσθείς . . .
2. 3
3. 4
4. 9

3 Antiphon ¹

1. Ps 117.1
- v. Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν
2. 2
3. 3

4. 4

Entrance Ps 117.26 v. 1*Apolutikion*

Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν

G Συνταφέντες σοι διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος

N&E *Kontakion* Τῷ θρόνῳ ἐν Οὐρανῷ, τῷ πέλῳ*Prokeimenon* 4Ps 117.26 v. 1*Epistle* Phil 4.4-9*Alleluia* 1Ps 97.1 v. 3*Gospel* Jn 12.1-18*Communion Hymn* 117.26**PALM SUNDAY EVENING****VIII. At the Lamplighting***At Ps 140*

1. Ὑπαίρε καὶ εὐφραίνου πόλις Σιών

2. Ἦλθεν ὁ Σωτὴρ σήμερον

3. Ὁ τοῖς Χερουβίμ

G Χαίρε καὶ εὐφραίνου πόλις Σιών

N&E Ὁ τοῖς Χερουβίμ

Prokeimenon 8*Aposticha*

1. Ὑπαίρων καὶ κλάδων

v. Ps 97.1

2. Ὑποβερὸν τὸ ἐμεσεῖν

v. Ps 97.3

3. Ὑναγωγὴ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς

G Ὑπαίρων καὶ κλάδων

N&E Ὑποβερὸν τὸ ἐμεσεῖν

Apolutikion Θεοτόκε Παρθένε**IX. At Compline 3-Oded Canon of Andrew of Crete**

1T1 Ὑποσηφ τὴν σωφροσύνην

1T2 Τῶν καλῶν ἡ ἀπραξία

1T3 Τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Δεσπότη

1T4 Τῆς συκῆς τὴν ἀκαρπία

1T5 Ἰησοῦς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κόσμου

1T6 Κολληθέντες τῷ Κυρίῳ

1T7 Πάθη πάθεσιν ἰάται

G Τρία ἄναρχα δοξάζω

N&E Ἡμὲν ράβδος Μωυσέως

Sessional Hymn

Ἐτῆς συκῆς τὸ ἔγκλημα

8T1 Σωφροσύνη κοσμήσαντες

8T2 Ἄλλην Εὐαν

8T3 Παραδεύων τοῦ βίου

8T4 Ὁ προπάτωρ

8T5 Ἐτοιμάζου ψυχὴ

8T6 Πῶς μὴ φρίξῃ

8T7 Τοῦ Λαζάρου τὴν ἔγερσιν ὁρῶντες

8T8 Ἡ Ἀμνάς σου

G Ὡς Μονάδα

N&E Δυσωπεῖ σε, Χριστὲ

9T1 Ἀλλότριον τῶν ἀσέμνων

9T2 Ἀλλότριον τῶν ἀνόμων

9T3 Ἐπείνασε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν σωτηρίαν

9T4 Τὴν νομικὴν ἀκαρπίαν προκατηράσω

9T5 Ἡ ράβδος μὲν Μωυσέως

9T6 Ἐτοίμαζε Ἰουδαία τοὺς ἱερεῖς

9T7 Ὑπόδεξαι Ἰουδαία τὸν βασιλέα

9T8 μετέστρεψεν Ἰουδαία τὰς ἐορτάς σου

G Ἀλλότριον τοῖς ἀνόμοι· τὸ σὲ δοςάζειν

N&E Ποσάγομεν εἰς πρεσβείαν τὴν θεοτόκος

FIELD(V)

Appendix 7

Byzantine Hymns Reflecting the Theme of the Destruction of Hades¹

From the Lenten Triodion

Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee

Matins, Ode 7

... the wretched Pharisee was lifted on the rotten emptiness of pride and fell into the snare of hell.

Saturday of the Dead

Matins

At the Praises

Christ is Risen, releasing from bondage Adam, the first-formed man and destroying the power of hell. Be of good courage, all ye dead, for death is slain and hell despoiled; the crucified and risen Christ is King. He has given incorruption to our flesh; He raises us and grants us resurrection, and He counts worthy of His joy and glory all who, with faith that wavers not, have trusted fervently in Him.

Sunday of the Last Judgement

Matins

Ode 6

Deliver me O Lord from the gates of Hell, from chaos and darkness without light, from the lowest depths of the earth and the unquenchable fire, and from all the other everlasting punishments.

Sunday of the Cross

Matins

Kanon

Ode 1

This is a day of festival: at the Awakening of Christ, death fled away and the light of life has dawned; Adam has arisen and dances for joy. therefore let us cry aloud and sing a song of victory.

¹ For the particular source texts used, see Footnotes 1-3 of chapter 4.

Ode 3

O come, let us sing a new song, celebrating the overthrow of hell, for Christ has risen from the tomb; death He has taken captive, and saved all the world.

Sessional Hymn after Ode 3

No sooner had the wood of Thy Cross been set up, O Christ our Lord, than the foundations of death were shaken. Hell swallowed Thee eagerly, but it let Thee go with trembling. . . .

Ode 5

Today the ranks of angels dance with gladness at the veneration of Thy Cross. For through the Cross, O Christ, Thou hast shattered the hosts of devils and saved mankind.

Ode 6

Thou hast crushed death, O Christ, and risen as a mighty King; Thou hast recalled us from the depths of hell and brought us to the land of immortality, granting us the joy of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Kontakion

The fiery sword no longer guards the gates of Eden, for in a strange and glorious way the wood of the Cross has quenched its flames. The sting of death and the victory of hell are now destroyed, for Thou art come, my Saviour, crying unto those in hell: 'Return again to Paradise.'

Ode 7

Thou hast risen on the third day from the tomb as one awakening from sleep, O Lord, and by Thy divine power Thou hast struck down the gatekeepers of hell; Thou hast raised up all our ancestors from the beginning, O God of our fathers, who alone art blessed and greatly glorified.

Ode 9

Thou hast gone down into the tomb, O God the Giver of Life, and Thou hast broken all the bolts and bars, raising up the dead who cry aloud: Glory to Thy Resurrection, O Christ, the Saviour all-powerful.

Thy tomb, O Christ, has brought me life: for Thou, the Lord of life, hast come and cried to those who were dwelling in the grave: 'O all who are in bonds, be loosed: for I am come, the Ransom of the world.'

Saturday of the Akathistos

Matins

Kanon attributed to Joseph the Hymnographer

Ode 1

Hail, Virgin bride of God, restoration of Adam and death of hell; . . .

Ode 3

Hail, only gate through which the Word alone has passed. By thy birthgiving, Lady, thou hast broken the bars and gates of Hell. Hail, Bride of God, divine entry of the saved.

Palm Sunday Night Compline, Kanon of Andrew of Crete, Canticle Eight

How should death not tremble, O my Saviour? How should hell not crouch with fear, when it meets Thee hastening of Thine own good pleasure to the Passion, and sees Thee, who art righteous, coming to suffer for the unrighteous? <Footnote 51: 1 Pet 3.18.>

Holy Thursday Matins

At the Praises

The Lamb whom Isaiah proclaimed goes of His own will to the slaughter. He gives His back to scourging, and His cheeks to blows, and turns not his face away from the shame of their spitting; He is condemned to a disgraceful death. Though sinless, he accepts all these things willingly, that He may grant to all men resurrection from the dead.

Holy Friday

Matins

At the Beatitudes

When thou was crucified, O Christ, all the creation saw and trembled. The foundations of the earth quaked in fear of Thy power. The lights of heaven hid themselves and the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, the mountains trembled and the rocks were split.

O Lord, on the cross Thou has torn up the record of our sins; numbered among the departed, Thou hast bound fast the ruler of hell, delivering all men from the chains of death by Thy Resurrection. . . .

Thou wast lifted up, O Lord, upon the Cross, and hast destroyed the power of death, and as God Thou hast blotted out the record of our sins that was against us. . . .

At the Praises

Seeing Thee crucified, O Christ, the whole creation trembled. The foundations of the earth shook with fear at Thy power. For when Thou wast raised up today, the people of the Hebrews was destroyed. The veil of the temple was rent in twain, the graves were opened, and the dead rose from the tombs. . .

See also Aposticha after Eleventh Gospel;

Glory after the Aposticha after Eleventh Gospel

Lord, when Thou has ascended on the Cross, fear and trembling seized all creation. Thou hast not suffered the earth to swallow those that crucified Thee, but Thou hast commanded hell to render up its prisoners, for the regeneration of mortal men. . . .

Great Friday

Ninth Hour

When the thief beheld the Author of life hanging upon the Cross, he said: If it were not God incarnate that is crucified with us, the sun would not have hid its rays nor would the earth have quaked and trembled. . . .

O loving Lord, for our sakes Thou wast born of a Virgin and hast endured Crucifixion, despoiling death by death, and as God Thou hast revealed the Resurrection. . . .

Vespers

At Ps 140

. . . The Creator of the world is delivered over into the hands of lawless men, and He who loves mankind is raised upon the Cross, that He might free the prisoners in hell, who cry: O longsuffering Lord, glory to Thee!

A dread and marvelous mystery we see come to pass this day. He whom none may touch is seized; He who looses Adam from the curse is bound. He who tries the hearts and inner thoughts of man is unjustly brought to trial. He who closed the abyss is shut in prison. He before whom the powers of heaven stand with trembling, stands before Pilate; the Creator is struck by the hand of His creature. He who comes to judge the living and the dead is condemned to the Cross; the Destroyer of hell is enclosed in a tomb. . . .

Aposticha

When Thou, O Redeemer of all, wast laid for the sake of all in a new tomb, hell was brought to scorn and, seeing Thee, drew back in fear. The bars were broken and the gates were shattered, the tombs were opened and the dead arose. Then Adam in thanksgiving and rejoicing cried to Thee: 'Glory to Thy self-abasement, O Thou who lovest mankind.'

In the flesh Thou wast of Thine own will enclosed within the tomb, yet in Thy divine nature Thou dost remain uncircumscribed and limitless. Thou hast shut up the treasury of hell, O Christ, and emptied all his palaces. Thou hast honoured this Sabbath with Thy divine blessing, with Thy glory and Thy radiance.

Great Friday

Compline

Ode 7

'Release me from my agony and take me with Thee, O my Son and God. Let me also descend with Thee, O Master, into hell. . . .'

Holy Saturday

Matins

"The Praises" at Ps 118

O Life, how canst Thou die? How canst Thou dwell in a tomb? Yet Thou dost destroy death's kingdom and raise the dead from hell.

O Jesus, my Christ and king of all, why hast Thou come to those in hell? Is it to set free the race of mortal men?

Thou who art Life was laid in a tomb, O Christ; by Thy death Thou hast destroyed death and art become a fountain of life for the world.

How could hell endure Thy coming, O Saviour? Was it not shattered and struck blind by the dazzling radiance of Thy light?

When Thou was laid in the tomb, O Christ and Creator, the foundations of hell were shaken and the graves of mortal men were opened.

He who holds the earth in the hollow of His hand is held fast by the earth; put to death according to the flesh, He delivers the dead from the grasping hand of hell.

O Saviour, my Life, dying Thou hast gone to dwell among the dead; yet Thou hast shattered the bars of hell and arisen from corruption.

The flesh of God is hidden now beneath the earth, like a candle underneath a bushel, and it drives away the darkness of hell.

All-devouring hell received within himself the Rock of Life, and cast forth all the dead that he had swallowed since the beginning of the world.

To earth Thou hast come down, O Master, to save Adam: and not finding him on earth, Thou hast descended into hell, seeking him there.

Buried in the earth like a grain of wheat, Thou hast yielded a rich harvest, raising to life the mortal sons of Adam.

How great the joy, how full the gladness, that Thou hast brought to those in hell, shining as lightening in its gloomy depths.

Though Thou art buried in a grave, though Thou goest down to hell, O Saviour Christ, yet hast Thou emptied the graves and stripped hell naked.

O Thou who hast fashioned Adam with Thine own hand, Thou hast gone down beneath the earth, to raise up fallen men by Thine almighty power.

Through Thy burial, O Christ, Thou dost destroy the palaces of hell; by Thy death

Thou slayest death, and dost deliver from corruption the children of the earth.

Source of the river of life, the Wisdom of God descends into the tomb and gives life to all those in the depths of hell.

O Morning Star of righteousness, Thou art gone down beneath the earth and has raised up the dead as if from sleep, dispersing all the darkness of hell.

Adam was afraid when God walked in Paradise, but now he rejoices when God descends to hell. Then he fell, but now he is raised up.

Hell trembled, O Saviour, when he saw Thee, the Giver of Life, despoiling him of his wealth and raising up the dead from every age.

Evlogitaria of the Resurrection (also sung every Sunday at Matins)

The company of angels was amazed, beholding Thee, O Saviour, numbered among the dead, who hast destroyed the power of death and raised up Adam with Thyself, setting all men free from hell.

Ode 1

All things above and all beneath the earth quaked with fear at Thy death, as they beheld Thee, O my Saviour, upon Thy throne on high and in the tomb below. For beyond our understanding Thou dost lie before our eyes, a corpse yet the very Source of Life.

To fill all things with Thy glory, Thou has gone down into the nethermost parts of the earth; for my person that is in Adam has not been hidden from Thee, but in Thy love for man Thou art buried in the tomb and dost restore me from corruption.

Ode 4

Thou hast gained the victory by Thy greater strength: Thy soul was parted from Thy body, yet by Thy power, O Word, Thou hast burst asunder the bonds of death and hell.

Hell was filled with bitterness when it met Thee, O Word, for it saw a mortal deified, marked by wounds yet all-powerful; and it shrank back in terror at the sight.

. . . O Master, Thy flesh saw not corruption, nor was Thy sould left in hell as that of a stranger.

Ode 6

Hell is king over mortal men, but not forever. Laid in the sepulchre, mighty Lord, with Thy life-giving hand Thou has burst asunder the bars of death. To those of every age who slept in the tombs, Thou hast proclaimed true deliverance, O Saviour, who art

become the firstborn of the dead.

Ode 7

Hell was wounded in the heart when it received Him whose side was pierced by a spear; consumed by divine fire it groaned aloud at our salvation who sing, O God, our Deliverer, blessed art Thou!

O happy tomb! It received within itself the Creator, as one asleep, and it was made the divine treasury of life, for our salvation who sing, O God, our Deliverer, blessed art Thou!

Ode 8

The most pure Temple is destroyed, but raises up the fallen tabernacle. The second Adam, He who dwells on high, has come down to the first Adam in the depths of hell. . . .

Ode 9

'By mine own will earth covers me, O Mother, but the gatekeepers of hell tremble when they see Me, clothed in the blood-stained garment of vengeance: for on the Cross as God have I struck down Mine enemies, and I shall rise again and magnify Thee.'

Holy Saturday

Vespers

At Ps 140 Today, Hell groans and cries aloud, 'It had been better for me, had I not accepted Mary's son, for He has come to me and destroyed my power; He has shattered the gates of brass, and as God He has raised up the souls that I once held.' . . .

Today, Hell groans and cries aloud, 'My power has been destroyed. I accepted a mortal man as one of the dead; yet I cannot keep him prisoner, and with Him I shall lose all those over whom I ruled. I held in my power the dead from all ages, but see, He is raising them all.'

Today, Hell groans and cries aloud, 'My dominion has been swallowed up; the Shepherd has been crucified and He has raised Adam. I am deprived of those I once ruled; in my strength, I devoured them, but now I have cast them forth. He who was crucified has emptied the tombs; the power of death has no more strength.'

From the Pentekostarion

Paschal Matins

Ode 1, "hymn of victory"

Ode 5

When those bound by chains in the realm of Death * saw your boundless mercy O Christ, * they hastened to the light with joy, * praising the eternal Pasch.

Ode 6

You have descended into the realm of Death, O Christ, * and have broken ancient bonds which held the captive. * You arose from the tomb on the third day * like Jonah from the whale.

Ode 7

We celebrate the victory over Death, * the destruction of the deep Abyss, * and the birth of a new eternal life. . . .

At the Praises

You endured crucifixion; * You destroyed Death and rose from the dead. . . .

You captured Hades, O Christ. * You raised us up by your own resurrection. . . .

Bright Week Vespers Hymns at Psalm 140 all covered from Saturday Evening Vespers in 8 tones.

Thursday of Bright Week

Matins

At the Praises

O Lord, You demolished the gates of everlasting damnation, * and You broke asunder the chains of the grave. . . .

Thomas Sunday

Matins

Exaltation

We extol You, * O Life-giving Christ, * because You descended into Hades for our sake, * and You resurrected all with You.

v2. For he bursts the gates of bronze and shatters the iron bars.

v3. He led them forth from darkness and gloom and broke their chains to pieces.

Kanon

Ode 1

O Christ, neither the gates of death, nor seals of the tomb, * nor the bars of the gates could hold You back; . . .

At the Praises, Now and Ever: = Sunday of Myrrh-Bearers, Samaritan Woman

You are truly most blessed, O virgin Mother of God. * Through the One who was incarnate of you, * Hades was chained, Adam revived, the curse wiped out, * Eve set

free, Death put to death, * and we ourselves were brought back to life. . . .

Tuesday of Thomas Week

Matins

Sessional Hymn I = Saturday of Thomas Week

. . . Christ alone who is mighty and powerful, * has despoiled Hades and raised all those held in corruption. * He has released us from the fear of condemnation * by the power of the cross.

Wednesday of Thomas Week

Matins

Sessional Hymn I

By your crucifixion, O Christ, * the curse of the tyrant was abolished, * and by your suffering, the power of evil was overthrown, . . .

At the Praises

You captured Hades, O Christ. * You raised us by your resurrection.

Vespers

At Ps 140

You were nailed upon the Cross, and your side was pierced by a lance; * You tasted gall, O Christ, and endured death; * and you were placed in the tomb as one dead. * But as God you destroyed the bonds of Hades, * resurrecting those dead from all ages. . . .

Thursday of Thomas Week

Vespers

At Ps 140

The unbelief of Thomas * strengthens our faith in the Resurrection of the Word; * He is both God and Man. * He rose from the black depths of Hades. . . .

Friday of Thomas Week

Matins

Aposticha

You were crucified, opening Paradise for all. * You raised the dead with yourself, O our Life. You have destroyed death by your power. * You have joined things of heaven to those of earth. . . .

The curse has been banished. * Immortal life has come forth. * The ancient chains have been broken. * Let heaven rejoice; let the earth and everything in it be glad. * Christ is risen and Death is withered away. . . .

This is the day which the Lord has made. * Let us rejoice and be glad. * The Giver of

Life is risen and Hades is wailing. . . .

At the Praises

You captured Hades, O Christ, * You raised us by your own Resurrection. . . .

Sunday of the Myrrh-Bearing Women

Saturday Vespers

At Ps. 140

O Lord, the gates of Death opened before you in fear, * and the gatekeepers of Hades were filled with dread at the sight of You. * You smashed the gates of brass and crushed the posts of iron. * Then You burst our chains asunder * and led us out from the darkness, away from the shadow of death.

. . . How could they bury the One who trampled down Hades?

At the Litija

. . . It was fitting for the Lord to come forth from the tomb * as from a bridal chamber. * You destroyed the dominion of death. * You opened the gates of paradise to the human race. * Glory to you, O Lord.

Sunday Matins

Sessional Hymn II

The myrrh-bearing women arrived early in the morning * and seeing the tomb of the Lord empty, they ran to the apostles and said: * The Mighty One has broken the strength of Death * and has delivered all those held in the bonds of Hades. * Announce with confidence that Christ our God is truly risen * and grants great mercy to us.

Glory . . . Now and ever:

We praise you, Mother of God * for you are covered with more glory than any other. * Death has been put to death and Hades trampled underfoot * by the Cross of your Son. * He raised us from death and granted us eternal life. * Paradise is again offered for us to enjoy as before. * Therefore in thanksgiving we glorify the love and power of Christ our God.

Kanon

Ode 3

Resurrected, You despoiled our Enemy; * Adam and Eve were both freed, * escaping the chains of death by your holy Resurrection.

When you resurrected, O Christ, * the bars and gates of Hades were shattered; * the chains of Death were broken, * terrified by your power, O Lord.

Ode 4

By your cross You have despoiled the dens of Hades, * awakening the dead and crushing the dominion of Death. * We praise your burial, bowing down with all the children of Adam, * and we worship your holy Resurrection.

Seeing you O Savior, * Hades was irritated in its infernal depths, * since it was forced to give up those that it formerly had swallowed, * all the dead of whom it is now deprived.

Risen from the dead, you despoiled Hades and gave life to the dead; * by your Resurrection You opened to me the well-springs of immortality. * Deliver me also from the bond of my passions, * for you can do whatever You will.

Ode 5

With the weapon of your Cross, * You have destroyed the Serpent, that prince of evildoers; * and by your Resurrection, O Lord, * You have broken the sting of death.

O Death, where is your sting? * Where is the victory of Hades? * Rejoice Adam, for Death is abolished * by the life of Him who is risen from the dead.

Ode 6

O Immaculate Virgin, * He who wondrously dwelt in your womb and became flesh, * descended into the depths of the earth, * and rising from the tomb, * raised with Him all human nature.

Take courage! Hades is put to death, * for by his death on the Cross Christ has turned the sword against it. * It is now deprived of its spoils * and has lost all the dead which it had seized.

Hades is despoiled! Take courage, O People! * The tombs are opened. * Awaken! Christ calls you forth from Hades; * He has come to redeem the human race from the grave and death.

The Source of Life said to Hades: I have now come to reclaim the dead * which you had formerly swallowed up. * For He is God who has come to redeem the human race from the grave and death.

Christ is Risen, destroying our Enemy; breaking the bonds, he has delivered up the human race. In his tenderness He has raised up Adam, our first father, * by extending his hand as the God of goodness.

Ode 8 = Sunday of Paralytic, Sunday of Samaritan Woman

The Creator came into this world * from you, O Virgin Mother of God; * destroying the jail of Hades. * He gave resurrection to us mortals; * and we also bless Christ

forever.

Destroying the power of Death * on the day of his Resurrection, O Virgin, * your Son and the all-powerful God * made us partakers of his glory and divinity. * We also bless Christ forever.

The rays of the Sun were hidden in fear * when they saw the sufferings of Christ. * The dead rose up and the mountains trembled; * the earth shook in fright * and Hades was deprived of its spoils.

Christ is truly risen; * Hades is empty, the Serpent is crushed, and Adam is returned to grace. Despite the doubts of the impious, * the entire human race is saved by Christ.

Ode 9

You were numbered among the dead, * even though You gave life to us who were placed in the tomb. * You emptied the tombs when You conquered Hades and raised up Adam.

You are risen, O Jesus, * and the Enemy is in chains; * both Hades and the tombs are emptied, * and the dead rise up to adore You O Lord.

Who would steal a dead body, especially a naked one? * This is no myth: * Christ is risen breaking down the gates and bolts of Hades.

Hymn of Light (Used all week)

O myrrh-bearing women, listen to the news that brings joy: I have put Hades, that cruel tyrant, to flight; I have made the world rise from the depths of the tomb; . . .

Monday of Week of Myrrh-bearers

Vespers

Aposticha

Christ our Savior canceled the decree that was written against us, * by nailing it to the cross; * and he abolished the dominion of Death. * Let us glorify his Resurrection on the third day.

Wednesday of Week of Myrrh-bearers

Matins

Sessional Hymn I

By rising from the tomb You burst the bonds of Hades. * By destroying the condemnation of Death, O Lord, * You freed us all from the snares of the Enemy . . .

At the Praises

. . . You freed us from the slavery of the Enemy . . .

Wednesday of Week of Myrrh-bearers

Vespers

At Ps 140

... the women ... evangelized the apostles: * He who was hidden in the earth is risen from Hades ...

Thursday

Matins

Aposticha

The unapproachable Light has appeared to us. * On this day Christ the Lord shines forth from the tomb. * Hades is held captive and Satan is bound. * Let the ends of the earth rejoice! Let creation dance! * Keep the feast, O Church of Christ! * In memory of the noble Joseph, * offer hymns to Him and the myrrh-bearing women.

... The seals give brilliant witness: * that the guards of the godless have watched in vain, * that mortal nature has been saved by the flesh of God, * and that Hades is in mourning. ...

Saturday

Matins

Aposticha

When they placed You in the tomb, O Redeemer of all, * all the powers of Hades quaked in fear. * Broken and defeated by your death, * Hades no longer reigned supreme, * and the dead came forth alive from their tombs, * casting off the bonds of captivity. * Adam, too, was filled with joy, * and he gratefully cried out to You, O Christ: * Glory to your condescension, O Lover of Mankind.

Sunday of the Paralytic

Matins

Sessional Hymn I

When you tasted death in the flesh, O Lord, * You took away the bitterness of death by your Resurrection, * and made the human race prevail over it, * restoring victory over the ancient curse. * Therefore, O protector of our Life, glory to You!

Sessional Hymn II

You have deigned to take upon yourself our entire human condition, O Lord, * and You willed to let yourself be nailed on the Cross, O God our Creator. * You have suffered in your humanity * destroying Death by your death * in order to redeem the human race. ...

Let us believers speak of divine things, * of the secret of your inscrutable crucifixion and of your ineffable Resurrection; * for today Death and Hades have been led captive, * and the human race has been invested with incorruption. ...

Kanon

Ode 1

O faithful people, rejoice today in honor of the risen Christ. * Vanquished Hades promptly frees its ancient captives * who sing of God's wondrous deeds.

Ode 3

When you entered with your soul * into the depths of the earth, O Savior, * Hades was forced to give up the souls which it held, * and they sang a hymn of thanksgiving to your power.

Ode 4

O Immaculate Virgin, * He who made Adam your first father, * was made a man from your womb, * and by his death He destroyed the death caused by sin, * and today he makes the divine brilliance of his holy Resurrection shine on you.

Ode 5

Christ is risen as He promised. * He emptied the kingdom of Hades; * then He showed himself to the apostles * giving them a share of the eternal joy.

Ode 6

Willingly You were lifted on the Cross; * You were buried in the sepulcher as dead, O Christ; * You gave life to the dead and Hades; * and You rose as God all-powerful.

When Hades met You in the depths, * it was shaken and had to give up its prisoners * who never cease singing, O Savior God, * of your wondrous Resurrection.

Ode 8

The veil was torn when You were crucified, O Savior, * and Death gave up all the mortals which it had swallowed. * Hades was stripped when it saw your descent into its depths.

O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory now? You have been put to death by the risen King; * you have been brought to nothing; you reign no more; * for the mighty God has delivered your captives.

Monday of the Week of the Paralytic

Matins

Sessional Hymn I = Saturday of same week.

Christ is risen from the dead, * the first-fruits of them that sleep, * the first-born of all creation, * and the maker of all created things. * In his flesh He restored the human nature which had grown corrupt. * Your reign is over, O Death, * for the Master of all has made you power of no avail.

Mid Pentecost

Matins

Canon I

Ode 4

By your power You have broken the gates of Death; * You have shown us the path to eternal life; * You opened its gates to the faithful who cry to You: * Glory to your power, O Lord.

Ode 7

By your strength, You have broken the power of Death, O Lord, * and the dead You have shown the way of life . . .

Canon II

Ode 1 = Sunday of Samaritan Woman

All you people, clap your hands; * Christ the Giver of life has broken the bonds of Hades, * He has raised up the dead, and by his word He healed the sick; for he is our God and gives life to those who love his name.

Wednesday Evening Vespers

Aposticha Glory be. . . Now and Ever:

In the middle of the Feast * let us glorify Him who worked salvation in the middle of the earth. . . .

Thursday Evening Vespers

Aposticha

By your Cross, O Christ our Savior, * the power of Death has been vanquished, * and the deceit of the devil has been destroyed. * Therefore the human race, saved by faith, * offers You hymns of praise forever.

Friday Matins

Sessional Hymn I

We, the faithful, discoursing on divine things, * touch a wondrous mystery: * his Crucifixion which our minds cannot comprehend, * and his Resurrection which our words cannot describe. * For today Death and Hades are despoiled; * the human race is clothed in incorruption; * and we cry in thanksgiving: * Glory to your Resurrection, O Christ!

Sunday of the Samaritan Woman

Kanon

Ode 3 = Thursday

Seeing your soul descend into Hades, O Word, * the souls of the just escaped from the bonds which held them through the ages; * and they praised your power which surpasses every spirit.

Ode 5

Death is trampled down, Hades is imprisoned, * and the captives are delivered by the Resurrection of Christ. * Let us exalt with joy and clap our hands; * let us celebrate with gladness.

Ode 8

You willingly suffered death, O only immortal One; * and You crushed the bronze gates; * You took Hades captive, O heavenly King, * and freed those who had been held there throughout the ages * so that they may unceasingly praise the power of your goodness.

Ode 9

Behold Christ, the Life of all, * who of his own will is seen hanging on the Cross. * Seeing this, both the earth and the prisons of Hades trembled, * and many of the just were raised up in their bodies.

You came forth from the tomb, resplendent in beauty, * as a bridegroom coming from his bridal chamber. * O Christ, You have conquered Death; * and by your divine power You broke the tyranny and the bolts of Hades, illuminating the world by your holy Resurrection.

At the Praises = Tuesday after Samaritan Woman

By your Cross You delivered us from the ancient curse, O Christ; * by your death You have utterly destroyed the Devil * who tyrannized the human race; * by your Resurrection You have filled the whole world with joy. * Therefore we cry out to You: * O Lord who rose from the dead, glory to You!

The rocks were split asunder, O Savior, * when your Cross was planted on Golgotha; * and the gate-keepers of Hades shook with fear * when your body was placed in the grave like the dead. * For You abolished the might of Death, * and in your Resurrection You granted immortality to the dead. * O Lord and Giver of life, glory to You!

Tuesday after Samaritan Woman

Matins

Sessional Hymn I

By your own will, O Savior, * You endured the Cross. * Mortals placed you in a new tomb, though your word summoned the universe into existence. * Thus the Stranger was bound, * Death was despoiled without mercy, * and when the prisoners of Hades saw your life-bearing Resurrection * they cried out: Christ, the Giver of life, is risen! * He shall live forever!

Thursday

Matins

Sessional Hymn I

You were willingly crucified for us; * You were counted among the dead, O Giver of life. * You are risen on the third day, O Christ our God. * You demolished the dominion of Death by your power. * By your Resurrection You gave life to all in Hades. * Therefore we all bless You and sing of your Resurrection, O immortal Lord.

Kanon

Ode 1

O Lord, You willingly suffered crucifixion in the flesh, * and on the third day You arose from the dead, * emptying the prisons of Hades * and delivering those held captive, * for You are the Prince of Life.

Ode 3

You were raised on the Cross of your own will, O Word, * and the rocks were rent asunder when they saw You. * All creation trembled with fear, * and the dead came forth from the tombs as from a dream.

Ode 4

Your power, O Death, has been abolished by the death of Christ our God; * and as the spouses come forth from the bridal chamber, * the dead arise from the tomb, * following the risen Lord.

Ode 5

Death is trampled down, Hades is imprisoned, * and the captives are delivered by the Resurrection of Christ. * Let us exalt with joy and clap our hands; * let us celebrate with gladness.

Ode 6

O Lord, in your power You crushed the gates and bolts of Hades; * You resurrected as God and told the myrrh-bearing women to rejoice . . .

Ode 7

At the moment of your divine Passion, O God of mercy, * according to your will You were placed among the ranks of criminals; * and when You bowed your head, O Creator, * the rocks were split in two and the earth trembled, * and the dead, who were asleep through the ages, were raised up.

Ode 8

O long-suffering One, You were raised on the Cross; * the rocks were split open and the sun hid itself; * the curtain of the Temple was torn in two; the earth shook and Hades was humiliated, * trembling because it had to give up its prisoners.

Sunday of the Man Born Blind

Matins

Kanon

Ode 5

You freely suffered death and were placed in the tomb; * You emptied the Kingdom of Hades, O Lord and Immortal King, * and by your holy Resurrection You raised the dead with you.

Ode 8

Seeing You in the depths, Hades lamented * and hastened to give up all the dead * which it had held in its power through the ages; * and it praised your love for us, O Lord.

You performed unheard of wonders, O Christ: You were willingly raised upon a Cross; * You were counted among the dead even though You are the conqueror of Hades; * and You freed all the captives by your mighty arm.

Ode 9

O Word, when Hades saw You descend to its depths, * it was seized with fright, * and it set free all the dead * who recognized the strength of your divine power, and joining with them, we extol You.

Seeing Him perform miracles and wondrous signs, * the people were filled with jealousy * and put to death the One who despoiled Hades by his Resurrection, O Giver of life; * You performed miracles and gave sight to the blind. * With them we extol You through the ages.

At the Praises = Tuesday

O Lord, You demolished the gates of everlasting damnation, * and You broke asunder the chains of the grave. * You rose from the tomb leaving your wrappings in the grave * in testimony of your three-day burial; * and leaving the guards watching at the tomb. . . .

O Lord God, who shall proclaim your dazzling wonders, * or who shall declare your divine mysteries? * For You were willingly incarnate for our sakes, * manifesting the might of your power. By your cross You opened Paradise to the thief; * by your death You crushed the bars and bolts of Hades; * and by your Resurrection You enriched all creation. * Therefore O Compassionate One, glory to You!

Wednesday before Ascension

Matins

Kanon

Ode 9

O God, in your power You have broken the gates and bolts of Hades, * and You arose from the dead * and with glory ascended to heaven * so that the angels, seized with fright, cried out in one voice: * Lift high the gates for the entrance of our King.

Ascension Thursday

Matins

Kanon I

Ode 9

You have descended into the depths of the earth; * You have saved humanity; and you have raised it up by your Holy Ascension. * O Christ our God, we extol You!

Kanon II

Ode 4

Having demolished the dominion of Death as the immortal Lord, * You granted immortality to all people, O God who loves us. * And now You have ascended in glory, O Lord almighty, * in the sight of your holy apostles.

Sunday of the Council Fathers

Matins

Kanon

Ode 3

The power of Death was shattered by death, * and henceforth it lies powerless; * for it could not bear the divine invasion of Life, * and Resurrection is granted to the whole world.

Ode 6

Deceived by the serpent, Adam was hurled into the pit of Hades; but You, O compassionate God, have descended there * and have carried him upon your shoulders to the Resurrection.

Ode 7

At the time of your descent, O Christ, * the kingdom of the underworld was filled with light; * and our first father was filled with joy * as he danced and sang out in jubilation: * Blessed are You, O Lord God of our fathers!

Ode 8

Without leaving the vault of heaven, You descended to Hades, O Christ, * and You raised up with You * humanity which had been given over to the corruption of the grave; * this same humanity exalts You forever.

Ode 9

You descended into the grave, * and in death You preserved your body from the corruption of the tomb; * your soul was not left in Hades, O Giver of life; * You awoke as from sleep, O Lord, and raised us with You.

At the Praises

Your burial, O Master, opened Paradise to the human race. * Delivered from Death, we now sing to You: * O our risen God, have mercy on us.

Glory after the Gospel Stanza

After your descent into Hades, O Christ, * and your Resurrection from the dead, * the disciples grieved over your departure. * . . .

Pentecost Sunday

Matins

Kanon II Ode 6

O Christ our salvation and redemption, * You have come forth in splendor from the Virgin * to rescue us from the pit of the tomb; * as Jonah was saved from the sea monster, the whole human race was saved after the fall of Adam.

Sunday Evening Vespers

Third Kneeling Prayer

. . . O Christ our God, who shattered the indissoluble bonds of Death and bolts of Hades: You trampled upon a multitude of evil spirits, offering yourself for us as a blameless Victim and giving your most pure Body, untouched and unapproachable by any sin, as a sacrifice. And through this awesome and inscrutable sacred sacrifice You have given us eternal life.

For by descending into Hades and smashing the eternal gates, and having shown the way into heaven for those who were sitting in darkness, You ensnared the Prince of evil and the snake of the Abyss with divinely-wise-enticements. And you bound him up with the chains of gloom by your immeasurable power, and you shackled him in Tartarus, the deepest infernal region of Hades, and through your might confined him to the unquenchable fire and the eternal darkness. Thus, O greatly-eminent Wisdom of the Father, You manifested yourself as the great Helper of the misfortunate, and you enlightened those who were sitting in darkness in the shadow of death.

. . .

O Creator of Life and of its termination, of that life of being transferred into another world: You measure out years for the living, and You appoint the time of death. You led people down into Hades, binding them in impotency, and afterwards you raise them up, releasing them in power. You order present necessities and expediently secure those needed for the future. To those who have been wounded by the sting of death, You make them glad with the hope of the resurrection.

. . .

Also, on this salvific feast on which everything was totally accomplished, You deigned therefore to accept supplications in behalf of those who are imprisoned in Hades; and to those being held in bondage, you promised great hopes for their release from the grievous

bonds constraining them by sending down your consolation.

Hear us, your humble servants, beseeching You, and grant repose to the souls of your servants who have already departed into a place of light and a place of refreshment and peace from which all illness, sorrow, and sighing have been taken away. Commit their souls to the places of the just, and make them worthy of peace and repose. For the dead cannot praise You, O Lord, nor do those in Hades venture to offer confession to You. But we, the living, do bless You, and we do pray and offer You supplications and sacrifices for their souls.

Sunday of All Saints

Saturday Evening Vespers

At Ps. 140

... By his death on the Cross and his Resurrection, * He saved the human race from the ancient curse of death.

O Christ, we glorify your Resurrection; * for by rising from the dead * You freed the race of Adam from the sufferings of Hades, * and as God you granted eternal life * and great mercy to the world.

Glory be: ... O Divine ranks of the Martyrs. * By your deeds you have fulfilled the words of the Savior; * for through you the gates of Hades, * once opened against the Church, have now been closed. ...

Sunday Morning Matins

Sessional Hymn I,2

... the women witnessed your resurrection from the dead. * They proclaimed to your disciples in Zion * that You arose and broke asunder the bonds of death, O Life of all. ...

Kanon

Ode 1

The doors of affliction have become attentive, * and the jail-keepers of Hades have trembled * when they saw descending into their depths * the one who transcends the nature of all.

The angels were astonished to see, sitting on the throne of the Father, * the human nature which had fallen * and was enclosed in the darkest depths.

Ode 4

Who would not be struck with wonder, O Lord, * in seeing You destroy Death by your Passion, * and destroying corruption by your Cross, * and emptying the treasures of Hades by your death? * Such is the work of your divine power, * O Lover of Mankind

who was nailed to the Cross.

Risen from the tomb, You raised with you all the dead in Hades; * in your mercy, You illumine those who glorify your Resurrection.

Ode 7

When you descended into the caverns of Hades, O God, * they were filled with light and the dismal darkness disappeared; * the captives, who for ages had been in chains, arose and began to sing: * Blessed are You, O God of our fathers!

In accordance with the prophecy of David, * You accomplished our salvation in the middle of the earth. . . .

Ode 8

The crucified One is awakened and the arrogance of Hades is abolished; * fallen and broken humanity is raised up; * Death is banished and immortality flourishes; * life has once again claimed its rights over mortals.

The Lord has raised me from the deepest depths of Hades * to which I had descended * and has glorified me on the throne of the Father. . . .

At the Praises

You gave us the Cross, I Lord, as a weapon against Satan * who fears and trembles since he is unable to behold its power; * for it raised the dead and triumphed over Death. * Therefore we worship you burial and your holy Resurrection.

From the Oktoechos

Resurrection Troparion, Tone 2

When you descended to death, O immortal Life, * You destroyed the Abyss by the radiance of your divinity. * And when You raised the dead from the depths of the earth * all the heavenly powers cried out: * O Giver of life, Christ our God, glory to You!

Tone 8 Kontakion

Although you descended into the grave, O immortal One, * You destroyed the power of death. * You arose again as victor, O Christ God. . . .

Tone 1 Saturday Vespers, Aposticha, 3

. . .

When you descended below,
 Hades was filled with bitterness as you confronted it;
 but the souls of the just received you with great joy.
 Adam arose when he saw You, his Creator, down in the depths.

...

Tone 2 Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 6

O Lord, the gates of Death opened before You in fear,
 and the gatekeepers of Hades were filled with dread at the sight of you.
 You smashed the gates of brass and crushed the posts of iron.
 You burst our chains asunder,
 and led us out of darkness, away from the shadow of death.

Tone 3, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 6

Christ descended into Hades and announced to those confined there:
 Take courage, for today I have conquered Death.
 I am the Resurrection, the One who will set you free.
 I have shattered the gates of the realm of death.

Aposticha 3

...

All creation was prostrate with fear
 when it saw You hanging on the Cross,
 and it groaned in sorrow as it sang the praises of Your long-suffering.
 But you descended into Hades and arose on the third day,
 granting life and great mercy to the world. p. 65

Tone 4, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140, 2 = Friday after Samaritan Woman

O Savior, You have absolved the penalty of disobedience
 committed through the tree of Eden,
 by willingly being nailed to the tree of the Cross.
 As Almighty God, you descended into Hades
 and broke asunder the bonds of death.

...

3 = Aposticha at Vespers, Wednesday, Friday after Samaritan Woman
 O Lord, You have battered down the gates of Hades,
 and by Your death You have dissolved the realm of Death.
 You have freed mankind from corruption,
 bestowing life, incorruption, and Your great mercy upon the world.

4

Come, all you people,
 let us sing the praises of our Savior's resurrection on the third day.
 For we have, thereby, been delivered from the invincible bonds of Hades,
 and we have received incorruption, together with eternal life.
 Therefore we cry out to you
 after Your crucifixion, burial, and resurrection:
 Save us by Your resurrection, for You love mankind.

6

O Christ our God, You have demolished the brazen gates of Hades.
 You have broken asunder the bonds of Death,
 and lifted up the fallen human race.
 Therefore we cry out with one accord:
 O Lord, Who arose from the dead, glory to You!

7

O Lord, Your birth from the Father is timeless and eternal;
 Your incarnation from the Virgin is beyond the understanding of all,
 and beyond the expression of our words.
 Your descent into Hades and victory over Death
 caused Satan and his angels to tremble with fear.
 Your resurrection on the third day
 brought to mankind incorruption and great mercy.

Aposticha 1

In being lifted upon the Cross, O Lord,
 You abolished the curse which we had inherited from our ancestors.
 By going down into Hades,
 You freed from eternal captivity those imprisoned there,
 and granted incorruption to the human race.
 We therefore, praise your life-giving and redeeming resurrection.

Tone 5, Saturday Evening, At Psalm 140

1

With your precious Cross, O Christ,
 You have put the Devil to shame.
 With Your resurrection You have deadened the sting of sin,
 and have saved us from the gates of Death.
 We, therefore, glorify You, O only-begotten Son of God.

2

O Christ, Who granted resurrection to mankind,
 you were led like a lamb to the slaughter.
 Then the princes of Hades were struck with terror
 as they saw the gates of their tearful domain being lifted up;
 for Christ, the King of Glory, entered therein
 and exclaimed to those in chains: Go forth from here!
 and to those in darkness: Go forth into the light!

4

We offer to you our evening worship,
 O Light Whom the darkness of night can never extinguish.
 For in these latter days Your radiance has appeared to the world
 shining in your flesh as light reflected from a mirror.
 Your brilliance has descended even to the depths of Hades and dissolved its gloom.
 O Lord, Giver of Light, glory to You,
 for You have shown the radiance of Your resurrection to all the nations.

Aposticha

3

O Lover of Mankind,
 Your crucifixion and descent in to Hades are most wondrous.
 For as God, You thereby conquered the power of Hades
 and raised up in glory with Yourself, those who were long imprisoned there.
 ...

Tone 6, Saturday Vespers, At Psalm 140

1

O Christ, You won the victory over Hades,
 You ascended the Cross so that you might raise up with yourself
 all those who dwelt in the darkness of death.
 ...

7

By your death and burial, O Lord,
 You broke asunder the bonds of Hades;
 and by your resurrection from the dead,
 You enlightened the whole world.
 We therefore exclaim: Glory to You, O Lord.

Aposticha

2

Almighty God, You destroyed the brazen gates and bars of Hades
 and raised up fallen mankind.
 Therefore with one accord, we cry out:

O Lord, risen from the dead, glory to You!

4

O Christ,

You were crucified of Your own free will,
and by your burial You imprisoned Death.
As God, You rose in glory on the third day,
granting life and great mercy to the world.

Tone 7, Saturday Vespers

At Psalm 140

1

Let us rejoice in the Lord,
Who destroyed the power of Death
and enlightened the human race;
and let us cry with the angels:
Glory to You, our Creator and Savior!

6

O Christ, of Your own free will, You descended into Hades;
and, as God and Lord, You destroyed Death.
On the third day You arose from the dead and raised up Adam
from the bonds of Hades and corruption.
In joy he cried out and said:
Glory to Your resurrection, O Lover of Mankind!

Aposticha

2

Come let us worship Christ Who arose from the dead and enlightened all creation.
For by His resurrection on the third day,
He set us free from the oppression of Hades,
granting us life and His great mercy.

3

O Christ, Lover of Mankind,
You descended into Hades and destroyed Death.
Then you arose on the third day;
and, together with yourself, You lifted up all of us
who glorify your mighty resurrection.

Tone 8, Saturday Vespers

Aposticha

2

Let us glorify Christ, the Savior of our Souls,

Who arose from the dead.
 For He took upon himself a soul and a body,
 and during His passion He separated the one from the other.
 His pure soul went down to conquer Hades,
 while his holy body lay uncorrupted in the grave.

3

O Christ, we glorify your resurrection with psalms and hymns.
 For by Your victory over Death
 You delivered us from the sufferings of Hades,
 and as God You granted us eternal life and great mercy.

4

O Lord of All, Creator of heaven and earth,
 You are above all understanding.
 Through Your passion on the cross
 You freed us from the sufferings of Hades.
 And, after condescending to be buried, You arose in glory;
 and with your mighty arm You also raised up Adam.
 O most merciful Lord, we glorify You;
 for by Your resurrection on the third day
 You granted us remission of sins and eternal life.

From the General Menaion

Feasts of the Holy Cross
 At Psalm 140

3

The divine cross shines brighter than the sun
 and shows itself to the world as the scepter of Christ the King.
 If clearly shines forth to the ends of the world.
 It has delivered the human race from Hades.
 Having despoiled Hades and overturned the enemy,
 it utterly destroyed the arrogance of the demons.
 It now declares the resurrection of the Savior
 and saves those who cry out:
 Give peace to our world and enlighten our souls.

APPENDIX 8

EGERIA'S ACCOUNT OF LAZARUS SATURDAY

Latin from *CCSL*
Pages also give for *SC*
{*CCSL* p.72} . . .

{26.1} Sane quadragesimae de epiphania ualde cum summo honore hic celebrantur. Nam eadem die processio est in Anastase, et omnes procedunt et ordine suo aguntur omnia cum summa laetitia ac si per pascha. Praedicant etiam omnes presbyteri et sic episcopus, semper de eo loco tractantes euangelii, ubi quadragesima die tulerunt Dominum in templo Ioseph et Maria et uiderunt eum Symeon uel Anna prophetissa filia Fanuhel, et de uerbis eorum, quae dixerunt uiso Domino, uel de oblatione ipse, quam optulerunt parentes. Et postmodum celebratis omnibus per ordinem, quae consuetudinis sunt, aguntur sacramenta, et sic fit missa.

{27.1} Item dies paschalis cum uenerint, celebrantur sic. {*CCSL* p.73} Nam sicut apud nos quadragesimae ante pascha adten{*SC* p. 208} duntur, ita hic octo septimanae attenduntur ante pascha. Propterea autem octo septimane {G,P septimanae} attenduntur, quia dominicis diebus et sabbato non ieiunantur excepta una die sabbati, qua uigiliae paschales sunt et necesse est ieiunare; extra ipsum ergo diem penitus nunquam hic toto anno sabbato

English from Wilkinson, *Egeria*
{additions to W's translation by PEY}
[Wp. 128] ...

[26] Note that the Fortieth Day after Epiphany is observed here with special magnificence. On this day they assemble in the Anastasis. Everyone gathers, and things are done with the same solemnity as at the Feast of Easter. All the presbyters preach first, then the bishop, and they interpret the passage from the Gospel about Joseph and Mary taking the Lord to the Temple, {on the fortieth day} and about Simeon and the prophetess Anna, daughter of Phanuel, seeing the Lord, and what they said to him, and about the sacrifice offered by his parents. When all the rest has been done in the proper way, they celebrate the sacrament and have their dismissal.

[27.1] Then comes the Easter season, and this is how it is kept. In our part of the world we observe forty days before Easter, but here they keep eight weeks. It makes eight weeks because here there is no fasting on the Sundays or the Saturdays (except one of them, which is a fast because it is the Easter Vigil - but apart from that the people here never fast on any Saturday in the year.) So the eight weeks, less eight Sundays and

ieiunatur. Ac sic ergo de octo septimanis deductis octo diebus dominicis et septem sabbatis, quia necesse est una sabbati ieiunari, ut superius dixi, remanent dies quadraginta et unum {G,P unus,} qui ieiunantur, quod hic appellant eortae, id est quadragesimas.

{27.2} Singuli autem dies singularum ebdomadarum aguntur sic, id est ut die dominica de pullo primo legat episcopus intra Anastase locum resurrectionis Domini de euangelio, sicut et toto anno dominicis diebus fit, et similiter usque ad lucem aguntur ad Anastasem et ad Crucem, quae et toto anno dominicis diebus fiunt.

{27.3} Postmodum, mane sicut et semper domonica die proceditur et aguntur quae dominicis diebus consuetudo est agi, in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur Martyrio, quae est in Golgotha post Crucem. Et similiter missa de ecclesia facta ad Anastase iter cum ymnis, sicut semper dominicis diebus fit. Haec ergo dum aguntur, facit se hora quinta; lucernare hoc idem hora sua fit sicut semper ad Anastasem et ad Crucem, sicut et singulis locis sanctis fit; domonica enim die nona [non] {SC p. 210} fit. |

{27.4} Item secunda feria similiter de pullo primo ad Anastasem itur sicut et toto anno, et aguntur usque ad mane, quae semper. Denuo ad tertia itur ad Anastasim et aguntur quae {P quae} toto anno ad sextam solent agi, quoniam in diebus quadragesimarum et hoc additur, ut et ad tertiam eatur. Item ad sextam et nonam et lucernare ita aguntur, sicut consuetudo est per totum annum agi semper in locis sanctis.

{27.5} Similiter et tertia feria similiter omnia

seven Saturdays - one being a fasting Saturday - make forty-one fast days. The local name for Lent is *Heortae*.

[27.2] Here is what is done on each day of these weeks. On Sundays the bishop reads the Gospel of the Lord's resurrection at first cock-crow, as he does on every Sunday throughout the year. Then, till daybreak, they do everything as they would on an ordinary Sunday at the Anastasis and the Cross.

[27.3] In the morning they assemble (as they do every Sunday) in the Great Church called the [Wp. 129] Martyrium, on Golgotha Behind the Cross, and do what it is usual to do on Sunday. After the dismissal in this Church, they go singing, as they do every Sunday, to the Anastasis, and it is after eleven o'clock by the time they have finished.

Lucernare is at the normal time when it always takes place in the Anastasis and At the Cross and in all the other holy places; for on Sundays there is no service at three o'clock.

[27.4] At first cock crow on Monday people go to the Anastasis, and till morning they do what is normal during the rest of the year. Then at nine o'clock they go to the Anastasis and do what during the rest of the year would be done at noon, since this service at nine o'clock is added during Lent. The services at noon and three o'clock, and Lucernare, are held as is usual in the holy places all the year round.

[27.5] On Tuesday everything is done as on Monday, and on Wednesday they

aguntur sicut et secunda feria. Quarta feria autem similiter itur de noctu ad Anastase et aguntur ea, quae semper, usque ad mane, similiter ad tertiam et ad sexta {P sextam}; ad nonam autem, quia consuetudo est semper, id est toto anno, quarta feria et sexta feria ad nonam in Syon procedi, quoniam in istis locis, excepto si martirorum dies eunerit, semper quarta et sexta feria etiam et a cathecuminis ieiunatur : et ideo ad nonam in Syon proceditur. Nam si fortuito in quadragesimis {CSCO p.74} martirorum dies eunerit quarta feria aut sexta feria neque ad nona in Syon proceditur.

{27.6} Diebus uero quadragesimarum, ut superius dixi, quarta feria ad nona in Syon proceditur iuxta consuetudinem totius anni et omnia aguntur, quae consuetudo est ad nonam agi, pr[a]eter oblatio. Nam ut semper populus discat legem, et episcopus et presbyter pr[a]edicant assidue. Cum autem facta fuerit missa, inde cum ymnis populus deducet episcopum usque ad Anastasem; inde sic uenitur, ut cum intratur in Anastase, iam et hora lucernare sit; sic dicuntur ymni et antiphonae, fiunt {SC p. 212} orationes et fit missa lucernaris in Anastase et ad Crucem.

{27.7} Missa autem lucernarii in isdem diebus, id est quadragesimarum, serius fit semper quam per toto anno. Quinta feria autem similiter omnia aguntur sicut secunda feria et tertia feria. Sexta feria autem similiter omnia aguntur sicut quarta feria et similiter ad nonam in Syon itur, et similiter inde cum ymnis usque ad Anastase adducetur episcopus. Sed sexta feria uigiliae in Anastase celebrantur ab ea hora, qua de Sion uentum fuerit cum ymnis, usque in mane, id est de hora lucernarii,

again go to the Anastasis while it is still night, and follow the usual order till morning, and so at nine o'clock and at midday. But at three o'clock they assemble on Sion, because all through the year they regularly assemble on Sion at three o'clock on Wednesdays and Fridays. On those days there is fasting even for catechumens, unless they coincide with a martyrs' day, and this is their reason for assembling on Sion at three o'clock. But even on a martyrs' day they still assemble on Sion at three o'clock if it also happens to be a Wednesday or Friday in Lent.

[27.6] On Wednesdays in Lent then, they assemble as during the rest of the year, at three o'clock on Sion, and have all the things usual for that hour, except the Offering. The bishop and the presbyter are at pains to preach, to ensure that the people will continue to learn God's Law. And after the dismissal the people conduct the bishop with singing to the Anastasis, starting out in time to arrive at the Anastasis for Lucernare. They have the hymns and antiphons, and the Lucernare dismissal takes place at the Anastasis and the Cross, [27.7] though during Lent it is later than at other times of the year. Thursday is exactly like Monday and Tuesday, and Friday like Wednesday since they again go to Sion at three o'clock and from [Wp. 130] there conduct the bishop with singing to the Anastasis. But from the time of their procession from Sion on Friday there is a vigil service in the Anastasis until the early morning. It lasts from the time of Lucernare till the morning of the next day (Saturday) and they make the Offering in the Anastasis so early that the dismissal takes place

quem/admodum intratum fuerit in alia die mane, id est sabbato. Fit autem oblatio in Anastase maturius, ita ut fiat missa ante solem.

{27.8} Tota autem nocte uicibus dicuntur psalmi responsorii, uicibus antiphonae, uicibus lectiones diuersae, quae omnia usque in mane protrahuntur. Missa autem, quae fit sabbato ad Anastase, ante solem fit, hoc est oblatio, ut ea hora, quae incipit sol procedere, et missa in Anastase facta sit. Sit ergo singulae septimanae celebrantur quadragesimarum.

{27.9} Quod autem dixi, maturius fit missa sabbato, id est ante solem, propterea fit, ut citius absoluant hi, quos dicunt hic hebdomadarios. Nam talis consuetudo est hic ieiuniorum in quadragesimis, ut hi, quos appellant hebdomadarios id est qui faciunt septimanas, domenica die, quia hora quinta fit missa, ut manducent. Et quemadmodum prandiderint domenica die, iam non manducant nisi sabbato mane, mox communicauerint {SC p. 212} in Anastase. Propter ipsos ergo, ut citius absoluant, ante solem fit missa in illi Anastase sabbato. Quod autem dixi, propter illos fit missa mane, non quod soli communicent, sed omnes communicant, qui uolent eadem die in Anastase communicare.

{28.1} {CSCO p. 75} Ieiuniorum enim consuetudo hic talis est in quadragesimis, ut alii quemadmodum manducauerint domenica die post missa, id est hora quinta aut sexta, iam non manducent per tota

before sunrise.

[27.8] Throughout the night they have psalms with refrains or antiphons, or various readings, and this goes on till morning. So the Saturday service, the Offering, in the Anastasis is before sunrise, by which I mean that at the time when the sun begins to rise the dismissal has already taken place in the Anastasis. That is how they keep each week of Lent.

[27.9] They have the Saturday service as early as this, before sunrise, so that the people here called hebdomadaries can break their fast as soon as possible. The Lenten fasting rule for these hebdomadaries (people who "keep a week") is that they may eat on a Sunday - when the dismissal is at eleven in the morning. And since their Sunday meal is the last they will have had, and they cannot eat till Saturday morning, they receive communion early on Saturday. So the Saturday service at the Anastasis takes place before sunrise for the sake of those people, so that they can break their fast all the sooner. But when I say that the service is early because of them, it is not that I mean that they are the only ones to receive Communion. Anyone who wishes may make his communion in the Anastasis on Saturdays.

[28.1] These are their customs of fasting in Lent. There are some who eat nothing during the whole week between their meal after the Sunday service, and the one they have after the service on Saturday in the Anastasis. They are the ones who "keep a week."

septimana nisi sabbato ueniente post missa
Anastasis, hi qui faciunt ebdomadas.

{28.2} Sabbato autem quod manducauerint
mane, iam nec sera manducant, sed ad aliam
diem, id est domenica, prandent post missa
ecclesiae hora quinta uel plus et postea iam
non manducant nisi sabbato ueniente, sicut
superius dixi.

{28.3} Consuetudo enim hic talis est, ut
omnes, qui sunt, ut hic dicunt, aputactit[a]e,
uiri uel feminae, non solum diebus
quadragesimarum, sed et toto anno, qua
manducant, semel in die manducant. Si qui
autem sunt de ipsis aputactitis, qui non
possunt facere integras septimanas
ieiuniorum, sicut superius diximus, in totis
quadragesimis in medio quinta feria cenant.
Qui autem nec hoc potest, biduanas facit per
totas quadragesimas; qui autem nec ipsud,
de sera ad seram manducant.

{28.4} Nemo autem exigit, quantum debeat
facere, sed unusquisque ut potest id facit ;
nec ille laudatur, qui satis fecerit, nec ille
uituperatur, qui minus. Talis est enim hic
consuetudo. Esca autem eorum
quadragesimarum diebus haec est, ut nec
panem, qui delibari non potest, nec oleum
gustent, nec aliquid, quod de arbo{SC p.
216}ribus est, sed tantum aqua et sorbitione
modica de farina: Quadragesimarum sic fit,
ut diximus.

{29.1} Et completo earum septimanarum
uigiliae in Anastase sunt de hora lucernii
sexta feria, qua de Syon uenitur cum
psalmis, usque in mane sabbato, que oblatio
fit in Anastase. Item secunda septimana et
tertia et iiii^a et quinta et sexta similiter fiunt,
ut prima de quadragesimis.

[28.2]And though they eat on Saturday
morning, they do not eat again in the
evening, but only on the next day,
Sunday, after the dismissal at eleven
o'clock (or later), and then nothing more
till the following Saturday, as I have
described.

[28.3]The people known here as
apotactites as a rule have only one meal
a day not only during Lent, but also
during the rest of the year. Apotactites
who cannot fast for a whole week in the
way I have described eat a dinner half
way through Thursday, those who in
Lent cannot manage this eat on two days
of the week, and those who cannot
manage this have a [Wp. 131]meal every
evening.

[28.4]No one lays down how much is to
be done, but each person does what he
can; those who keep the full rule are not
praised, and those who do less are not
criticised. That is how things are done
here.

And this is what they eat during the
Lenten season. They are not so much as
to taste a crumb of bread, nor oil either,
or anything that grows on trees; only
water and a little gruel. Lent is kept in
the way I have described.

[29.1]During Lent they have a vigil
service at the Anastasis from Lucernare
on Friday (when they come singing
psalms from Sion) to the morning of
Saturday when they make the Offering
in the Anastasis, and they do this from
the second to the sixth week as they do
in the first.

[29.2]But in the seventh week when,
counting this week there are two left

{29.2} Septima autem septimana cum uenerit, id est quando iam duae superant cum ipsa, ut pascha sit, singulis diebus omnia quidem sic aguntur sicut et ceteris septimanis, quae transierunt; tantummodo quod uigiliae quae in illis sex septimanis in Anastase factae sunt, septima autem septimana, id est sexta feria, in Syon | fiunt uigiliae iuxta consuetudinem eam, {CSCO p. 76} qua in Anastase factae sunt per sex septimanas. Dicuntur autem horis singulis {P,G totis uigiliis} apti psalmi semper uel antiphonae tam loco quam diei.

{29.3} At ubi autem c[o]eperit se mane facere sabbato illuscente, offeret episcopus et facit oblationem mane sabbato. Iam ut fiat missa, mittit uocem archidiaconus et dicit: Omnes hodie hora septima in Lazario parati simus. Ac sic ergo cum c[o]eperit se hora septima facere, omnes ad Lazarium ueniunt. Lazar{SC p. 218}ium autem, id est Bethania, est forsitan secundo milario a ciuitate.

{29.4} Euntibus autem de Ierusalima in Lazarium forsitan ad quingentos passus de eodem loco ecclesia est in strata in eo loco, in quo occurrit Domino Maria soror Lazari. Ibi ergo cum uenerit episcopus, occurrent illi omnes monachi, et populus ibi ingreditur, dicitur unus ymnus et una antiphona et legitur ipse locus de euangelio, ubi occurrit Domino soror Lazari. Et sic facta oratione et benedictis omnibus, inde iam usque ad Lazarium cum ymnis itur.

{29.5} In Lazario autem cum uentum fuerit, ita se omnis multitudo colligit, ut non solum ipse locus, sed et campi omnes in giro pleni sint hominibus. Dicuntur ymni etiam et antiphonae apti ipse diei et loco; similiter et

before Easter, they do the same as in the other weeks, but the vigil service they have been holding in the Anastasis is, on the Friday of the seventh week, held on Sion, though they follow the same order as they did during the previous six weeks in the Anastasis. At each of these occasions the psalms and antiphons they have are appropriate to the place and the day.

[29.3] At dawn on the morning of Saturday the bishop makes the usual Offering of a Saturday morning. Then for the dismissal, the archdeacon makes this announcement: "At one o'clock today, let us all be ready at the Lazarium."

Just at one o'clock everyone arrives at the Lazarium, which is Bethany, at about two miles from the city.

[29.4] About half a mile before you get to the Lazarium from Jerusalem there is a church by the road. It is the spot where Lazarus's sister Mary met the Lord. All the monks meet the bishop when he arrives there, and the people go into the church. They have one hymn and an antiphon, and a reading from the Gospel about Lazarus' sister meeting the Lord. Then after a prayer, everyone is blessed, and they go on with singing to the Lazarium.

[29.5] By the time they arrive there, so many people have collected there that they fill not only the Lazarium itself, but all the fields around. [Wp. 132] They have hymns and antiphons which - like all the readings - are suitable to the day and the place. Then at the dismissal a presbyter announces Easter. He mounts

lectiones aptae diei, quaecumque leguntur. Iam autem, ut fiat missa, denuntiatur pascha, id est, subit presbyter in altiori loco et leget illum locum, qui scriptus est in euangelio: *Cum uenisset Iesus in Bethania ante sex dies paschae* et cetera. Lecto ergo eo loco et annuntiata pascha fit missa.

{29.6} Propterea autem ea die hoc agitur, quoniam sicut in euangelio scriptum est, ante sex dies paschae factum hoc fuisset in Bethania; de sabbato enim usque in quinta feria, qua post cena noctu comprehenditur Dominus, sex dies sunt. Reuertuntur ergo omnes ad ciuitatem rectus ad Anastase et fit lucernare iuxta consuetudinem.

{30.1} Alia ergo die, id est domenica, qua intratur in septimana paschale, quam hic appellant septimana maior, celebratis de pullorum cantu his, quae con{SC p. 220}suetudinis sunt in Anastase uel ad Crucem usque ad mane agi: die ergo domenica mane proceditur iuxta conseutudinem in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur Martyrium. Propterea autem Martyrium appellatur, qui in Golgotha est, id est post crucem, ubi Dominus passus est, et ideo Martyrio.

{30.2} Cum ergo celebrata fuerint omnia iuxta conseutudinem in ecclesia maiore, et antequam fiat missa, mittet uocem archidiaconus et dicit {CSCO p. 77} primum: Ista septimana omne, id est de die crastino, hora nona, omnes ad Martyrium conueniamus, id est in ecclesia maiore. Item mittet uocem alteram et dicet: hodie omnes hora septima in Eleona parati simus.

{30.3} Facta ergo missa in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium, deducitur episcopus

a platform, and reads the gospel passage which begins "When Jesus came to Bethany six days before the Passover". After this reading, with its announcement of Easter, comes the dismissal.

[29.6] They do it on this day because the Gospel describes what took place in Bethany "six days before the Passover", and it is six days from this Saturday to the Thursday night on which the Lord was arrested after the Supper. Thus they all return to the Anastasis and have Lucernare in the usual way.

[30.1] The next day, Sunday, is the beginning of the Easter week, or as they call it here, "The Great Week". On this Sunday they do everything as usual at the Anastasis and the Cross from cock-crow to daybreak, and then as usual assemble in the Great Church known as the martyrrium because it is on Golgotha behind the Cross, where the Lord was put to death.

[30.2] When the service in the Great Church has taken place in the usual way, before the dismissal, the archdeacon makes this announcement: "During this week, starting tomorrow, let us meet at three in the afternoon at the Martyrium" (that is in the Great Church). And he makes another announcement: "At one o'clock today let us be ready on the Eleona."

[30.3] After the dismissal in the Great Church, the martyrrium, the bishop is taken with singing to the Anastasis. They do in the Anastasis the things

cum ymnis ad Anastase, et ibi completis quae consuetudo est diebus dominicis fieri in Anastase post missa Martyrii, et iam unusquisque hiens ad domum suam festinat manducare, ut hora inquoante septima omnes in ecclesia parati sint, quae est in Eleona, id est in monte Oliueti, ubi est spelunca illa, in qua docebat Dominus.

{31.1} Hora ergo septima omnis populus ascendit in monte Oliueti, id est Eleona, in ecclesia; sedet episcopus, dicuntur ymni et antiphonae apte diei ipsi uel loco, lectiones similiter. Et cum ceperit se facere hora nona, subitur cum ymnis in Imbomon, id est in eo loco, de quo ascendit Dominus in caelis, et ibi seditur; nam omnis populus semper presente episcopo iubetur sedere, tantum quod diacones soli stant semper. Dicuntur et ibi ymni uel antiphonae aptae loco aut diei: similiter et lectiones interpositae et orationes.

{31.2} Et iam cum coeperit esse hora undecima, legitur ille locus de euangelio, ubi infantes cum ramis uel palmis occurrerunt Domino dicentes: *Benedictus, | qui uenit in nomine Domini*. Et statuam leuat se episcopus et omnis populus, porro inde de summo monte Oliueti totum pedibus itur. Nam totus populus ante ipsum cum ymnis uel antiphonis respondentes semper: *Benedictus, que uenit in nomine Domini*.

{31.3} Et quotquot sunt infantes in hisdem locis, usque etiam qui pedibus ambulare non possunt, quia teneri sunt, in collo illos parentes sui tenent, omnes ramos tenentes

which usually follow the Sunday dismissal in the Martyrium, and then everyone goes home and eats a quick meal, so as to be ready by one o'clock at the Eleona church on the Mount of Olives, the place of the cave where the Lord used to teach.

[31.1] At one o'clock all the people go to the Eleona Church on the Mount of Olives. The Bishop takes his seat, and they have hymns and antiphons suitable to the place and the day, and readings too. When three o'clock comes, they go up with hymns and sit down at the Imbomon, the place from which the Lord ascended into [Wp. 133] heaven. (For when the bishop is present everyone is told to sit down, except for the deacons who remain standing the whole time.) And there too they have hymns and antiphons suitable to the place and the day, with readings and prayers between them.

[31.2] At five o'clock the passage is read from the Gospels about the children who met the Lord with palm branches, saying, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

At this the bishop and all the people rise from their places and start off on foot down from the summit of the Mount of Olives. All the people go before him with psalms and antiphons, all the time repeating, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

[31.3] The babies and the ones too young to walk are carried on their parents' shoulders. Everyone is carrying branches, either palm or olive, and they accompany the bishop in the very way the people did when once they went down with the Lord.

alii palmorum, alii oliuarum; et sic deducetur episcopus in eo typo, quo tunc Dominus deductus est.

{31.4}Et de summo monte usque ad ciuitatem et inde ad Anastase per totam ciuitatem totum pedes omnes, sed et si quae matrone sunt aut si qui domini, sic deducunt episcopum respondentes et sic lente et lente, ne lassetur populus, porro iam sera peruenitur ad Anastase. Ubi cum uentum fuerit, quamlibet sero sit, tamen fit lucernare, fit denuo oratio ad Crucem et dimittitur populus.

[31.4]They go on foot all down the Mount to the city, and all through the city to the Anastasis, but they have to go pretty gently on account of the older women and men among them who might get tired. So it is already late when they reach the Anastasis; but even though it is late they hold Lucernare when they get there, then have a prayer At the Cross, and the people are dismissed.

APPENDIX 9

POTENTIAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE TRIODION

Arranged by Type of Source, within each category Chronologically.
Adapted from Bertonière¹, pp. xiii-xv

K = Used by Karabinov²; K+ = Listed by Karabinov, Not Bertonière; Underlined - Slavonik source listed by Karabinov

P = listed by Petras³

G = Listed by Grosdidiers de Matons; G+ = Listed *only* by Grosdidiers de Matons

Early Hymnographers, not included in Wellesz
Sophronius of Jerusalem
Romanos, the Melodist
Andrew of Crete

Joseph and Theodore, "the Stoudites"

List of Hymnographers adapted (re-arranged chronologically)
from Wellesz, E., *Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, p. 442ff.

Typika

Triodia (T-P)

Pre-10th Century * * * * *

Grottaferrata # A.B. (8th-10th) K+ W

Sin 150 (Kanonarion - 9th -11th)

Patmos 266 T of Hagia Sophia (End 9th, 10th)

Lavra Γ 67 950-1025 G = "B"

Sin 925 G+ = G

Lavra of Athanasius Γ 12 K+

Lavra of Athanasius B 32 K+ *Irmologion*

Crypt 292 (End of 10th)

K+ E

Lavra S. Athanasius D 13 (10th-11th)

Sin 755 T-P (10th - 12) (K E 11th)

Vatopedi 1041 (10th-11th) G+ = "A"

Crypt 300 (T-P)

Sin 734-5 (10th -11th)⁴ K E

Athens 626 K+ ?

Lavra S. Athanasius D 13 (10th-11th)

Sin 755 T-P (10th - 12) (K E 11th)

Vatopedi 1041 (10th-11th) G+ = "A"

Crypt 300 (T-P)

Sin 734-5 (10th -11th)⁴ K E

Athens 626 K+ ?

Lavra S. Athanasius D 13 (10th-11th)

Sin 755 T-P (10th - 12) (K E 11th)

Sticheraria

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Triodia (T-P)	Sticheraria	Typika	Hymnographers
<i>11th Century</i> * * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *	
Sin 736 T-P (1028) K E	Lavra Γ 72 < 1025		Nilus the Younger c. 910-1005
Sin 742 T (1099) K E	Vatopedi 294 K + (928-1292)		Bartholomew Abbot Grottaferrata +c.
1040			
Sin 760 <i>Pentecostarion</i>	Vatopedi 295 K + (929-1299)		John Mauropus + 1060
Vat Gr 771 T-P K W	Bible Nat Gr 242		Niketas Serron + 1075
Vat Gr 2118 T-P	Mess Gr 110		Arsenius of Grottaferrata
11th?	Vatopedi 1488 ⁶		
Rii II 30 K + W			
Rii II 31 K + W			
Vat Pius II Gr 30 T-P			
Vat Reg Gr 58-59 T-P			
Vatoped 315-949 K + E (11th)			
Lavra S. Athanas Γ -25 K + E (11th)	Lavra Γ 28 (11th) G + = "D"		George Skylitzes
Lavra S. Athanas Δ -29 K + E (11th)	Turin 189anc B.IV 34 (11th) G + = "T"		Germanus of Grottaferrata
Barberini 339 K + W	Patmos 213 G + = "Q"		Leo Magister fl. 11th
Reginae Svecorum 59 K + W	Sin 926 (11th) G + = "H"		
	Corsinianus 366 (11th) G + = "C"		
	Moscow Press Library 285/142 P + ⁷		
	Sin 1241 (11th-12th)		
	Sin 1216 (11th-13th)		

Triodia (T-P)	Sticheraria	Typika	Hymnographers
12th Century * * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *	
Vat Barb Gr 484 T-P K (1120)		HS 43 T of Anastasis (1122)	
Sin 754 T-P (1177)	Patmos 218 (1167)	Mess Gr 115 (T of S Salvatore, 1131-32) ⁸	
Vat Gr 788 <i>Pent</i> (1170)		Jena (T of Patiron 1130-50)	
		Tor 216 T of Casole (1174)	
Sinai 737 K + E	Sinai 121 K +		
Lavra S. Athanas Γ-15 K + E (12th)	Athens 883 K +		
Lavra S. Athanas Γ-47 K + E (12th)	Iveron 470 K + <i>Irmologion</i>		
Porphyria 229 K + E	Jerusalem 83 K + <i>Irmologion</i>		
Porphyria 230 K + E	Mess Gr 142	Ath 788 (T of Evergetes)	
Moscow Synodal Library 217 K + E		Lavra A 99 (T of Sabba)	
Grottaferrata # A.B. I K + W (12th)	Moscow Synod 437 G + = "M"	Sin 1095 (T of Sabba, 12th)	
Grottaferrata # A.B. IV K + W (12th)		Vat Gr 782 (T of Sabba, 12th)	
Grottaferrata # A.B. V K + W (12th)			
Grottaferrata # A.B. II K + W (12th)			
Grottaferrata # A.B. III K + W (12th)			
Grottaferrata # A.B. XI K + W (12th)			
Grottaferrata # A.B. VII K + W (12th)			
Grottaferrata # A.Γ. VI K + W (12th)			
Shafariki 74 K + (12th)	<u>Sophia</u> 96 K + <i>Triodic</i>	<u>Sophia</u> 1136 K +	
Moscow Printing House Library 137 K +	<u>Typografia</u> 147,8 K + <i>Triodic</i>	<u>Moscow Synodal Library</u> 330 K, P ⁹	
Moscow Synodal Library 319 K +			
Crypt 210 T-P	Mess 157 (12th) G + = "N" (stops @ Meatfare)		
Crypt 486 T-P			
Sin 775 <i>Pent</i> (12-13th)			
Vat Gr 775 <i>Pent</i> (12th-13th)	Mess Gr 127 12th - 14th	<u>Moscow Synodal Library</u> 380 (T of Alexis 12-13th) P	
Tif 222 <i>Synax</i> of Mtatsmindeli (12th c. copy)		Sin 1094 (T of Sabba, 12-13th)	
		Sin 1096 (T of Sabba, 12-14th)	

Triodia (T-P)	Sticheraria	Typika	Hymnographers
<i>13th Century</i> * * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *	
Sin 756 T-P K? (1205)	Patmos 219 (1219)	Sabba 312 (1201)	
1222	Patmos 220 (1223)	Sin 1097 (T of Sabba, 1214)	Theodore I Lascaris, Emp of Nicea <i>reg</i> 1204-
	Sophia 85 <i>Triodic</i> K+ (1226)		John Vatatzes + 1222
	Vind Theol Gr 181 (Mid-13th)		Germanus of Constantinople + 1240
	Sin 927 (1285) G+ = "J"	Shio-Mgimve (1247-69)	
	Bibl Nat Gr 261 (1289)	Vat Gr 1877 (T of S. Maria de Mili 1292)	
HS 15			
Athens National Library 625 K+ E			
Vatoped 316-950 K+ E			
Sin 1242 T-P (13th)	Sin 1244 (13th)		Athanasius the Younger, Pat. of
Alexandria 13th			
<u>Collection of S. Verkovicha</u> 102 K+			
<u>Collection of M.P. Pogodina</u> 40 K+			
	Crypt 378	Bibl Nat Coislin Gr 402 (T of Sabba)	
	Crypt 408	Sabba 628	
	Crypt 291		
	Esfigmenski 52 K+	<u>Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136¹⁰</u> P+	
	Patmos 221 ?		Michael Aneotes 13/14th
	Patmos 222 ?		Nikephorus Ethikos 13/14th
	Patmos 226 ?		
	Patmos 227 ?		

Triodia (T-P)	Sticheraria	Typika	Hymnographers
<i>14th Century</i> * * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *	
+ 1349		Crypt 404 (T of Grottaferrata 1300) Sin 1101 (T of Sabba 1312) Vat Pal Gr 101 (T of Sabba, 1373)	Gregory Sinaites + 1310 Isidorus Vouchiras, Pat of Constantinople
Vatican 786 K+ ? (1379)	Mark Gr II 118	Mark Gr II 117 (T of Sabba, 1387) Sin 1098 (T of Sabba, 1387) <u>Moscow Synodal Library 333/381</u> (1398) P+	
Bibl Nat Gr 246	Bibl Nat Gr 260		John Glykys 14th
Imperial Public Library # DXIX K+ E			Koukouzeles, John Papadopoulos,
Magister 14th			
Collection of Archim. Antonina # DXLIX K+ E		<u>Moscow Typogr. Library 144</u> (14th) P+	
Grottaferrata # Δ.B. IX K+ W (14th)			
Sophia Library 84 K+ (14th)			
Sophia Library 110 K+ (14th)			
Imperial Public Library # DXXX K+ E (14-15th)			
Vatopedi 14-15th			Koukouzeles Joasaph Younger,
Sin 1245 (14-15th)		Vat Gr 785 (T of Sabba, 14-15th)	Mark "the Monk" 14-15th Xenus Koronis, Protopsaltes of H. Sophia 14-
15th			
<i>Triodia (T-P)</i>	<i>Sticheraria</i>	<i>Typika</i>	Koukouzeles, Gregory ?
<i>15th Century</i> * * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *	
Patmos 612		Sin 1109 (T of Sabba 1464-65)	
Sin 1614			
Vat Gr 1517 <i>Holy Week, Pent</i>	Iveron 470 K+ (12th) Jerusalem 83 K+ (12th)	Sin 1108 (T of Sabba 15th)	
Vatican 769 K+ ? (15-16th)		Sabba 311 (15-16th)	

Triodia (T-P) * * * * * **Sticheraria** * * * * * **Typika** * * * * *

16th Century * * * * *
 Sin 746 (1519)
 Vat Gr 1537 *Varia from Horol* (1573)
 Grottaferrata # A.B. XII K+ W (16th)

Other Types of Manuscripts
Prophetologia

Vat Reg Gr 75	982	
Crypt A δ II (554)	10th c.	
Florence Laurentianus Pl. IX, 15	10th c.	
Sabba 98	11th c.	
Sabba 247	11th c.	
Sin 9	11th	
Sin 14	11th-12th	
Venice Marcianus 13	11th	
Sabba 143	12th c.	
Oxford Laudianus Gr 36		

Vat Gr 1069 (Italo-Greek T)

Lectionary Type Sources

Armenian Lectionary and Variants
 Georgian Lectionary and Sources
 Dresden, Royal Library A 104 Praxapostolos of the Great Church, 950 to 1050
 Vat Syr 21 Melkite Praxapostolos 1353
 HS 67 Apostle, 11-12th Cent.
 Sinai 210 K+ 9-10th
 Sinai 211 K+ 10th
 PP b (Salemo?) 71 (1022)
Euchologia Crypt Γ B I 11th Cent, Patriarchal Euchologion of the Great Church
Varia Liturgica Bibl Nat Gr 263 14th c.
Varia Musicalia Mess Gr 129 12th c.

Vat Gr 2029 *Hypotyposis*
 Vatop 322 *Hypotyposis* 13-14th c. copy

1. Gabriel Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* = *OCA* 193 (Rome: PIOS), 1972.
2. И. А. Карабинов, *Постная Триодъ. [The Lenten Triodion]*. St. Petersburg:, 1910.
3. David Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136*. (Cleveland: Star Printing Company) 1991.
4. Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Saint-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, 2 volumes = *OCA* 165-166 (Rome: PIOS), 1965-1966.
5. Andrew Quinlan, "Sinai Greek 734-735 Triodion." Doctoral dissertation, PIOS, Rome, 1991. Quinlan notes (p. XIV) that Karabinov and Clark follow the dating originally given by Gardthausen, while Dmitrievsky dates them to the 12th century, without giving any reasons for differing from Gardthausen, whose dating he does cite without comment.
6. Enrica Follieri and Oliver Strunk, *Triodion Athoum, & Pars Suppletoria*, = *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae IX* (Munksgaard:, 1975).
7. See Petras, p. 9. He notes, "The greatest part of this manuscript is actually a kontakarion with musical notation for the whole year. The typicon is incomplete, running only from Cheese-fare Sunday to the Sunday of All Saints."
8. Miguel Arranz, *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensis gr. 115, AD 1131* = *OCA* 228 (Rome: PIOS), 1987.
9. Cf. Petras, *op. cit.*, p. 9-10. Following Skaballanovich, Petras lists MSL 380/330 as two separated parts of what was originally one manuscript, noting that it is almost complete for the Paschal cycle and the whole Menaion.
10. Cf. Petras, *op. cit.* This is the primary manuscript presented by Petras.

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The following abstracts are taken from the WilsonDisk CD-ROM for the Religion Index, although they appear as the English summaries after each article. The part 3 before the second article would seem to be a typing error, not uncommon on the Wilsondisk.

ABSTRACT Part 1: With regard to the veneration of the Cross, which in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition is celebrated the third Sunday of Lent and throughout the following week, the author studies the place and meaning of the mystery of the Cross in the Triodion. He retraces the history of this veneration, then indicates the two principal significations of this feast of the Cross: as preparation for

Easter and as middle of Lent.

ABSTRACT Part 3: This is the conclusion to a continuing article on the celebration of the Cross on the 3rd Sunday of Lent by the Byzantine Orthodox Churches. After having spoken of the role of the celebration of the Cross through the liturgical year, the author treats the cosmological significance of the Cross in the liturgical texts and in the patristic tradition, and of the spiritual crucifixion of Lent as initiation into the mystery of the life in Christ, so that, by communion with his humanity we may be truly deified by the grace of his divinity.

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Already on sarcophagi there is a certain development of the theme. In addition to Christ and Lazarus there are the women kneeling at the feet of Jesus and several witnesses.

Finally the icons demonstrate a more developed image of the resurrection of Lazarus. They closely follow the text of St. John and include many details mentioned in the gospel narrative. These icons show Christ as conqueror of death, that of Lazarus and that of all who believe in Christ. At the same time, by way of contrast they are like an announcement of the resurrection of Christ himself, since Lazarus is resurrected by Christ, while Christ himself leaves the tomb by his own power.

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